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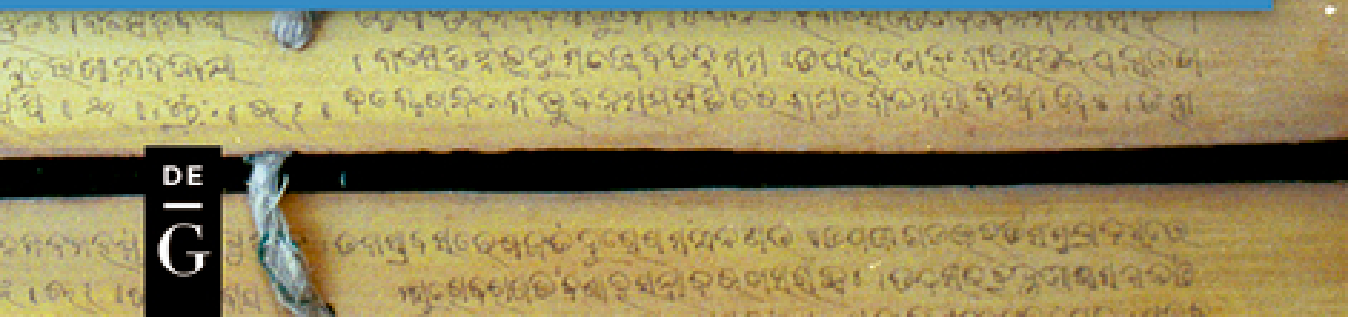
STUDIES IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3RD ZURICH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDIAN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

Edited by Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and Thomas Zehnder

Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft
Société SuisseAsie

WELTEN SÜD- UND ZENTRALASIENS
WORLDS OF SOUTH AND INNER ASIA
MONDES DE L'ASIE DU SUD ET DE L'ASIE CENTRALE



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Studies in the Atharvaveda

Welten Süd- und Zentralasiens / Worlds of South and Inner Asia / Mondes de l'Asie du Sud et de l'Asie Centrale

Im Auftrag der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft / On behalf of the Swiss Asia Society / Au nom de la Société Suisse-Asie

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Volume 15

Studies in the Atharvaveda

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Supported by the Swiss Academy
of Humanities and Social Sciences
www.sagw.ch

ISBN 978-3-11-124441-9
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-124443-3
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-124475-4
ISSN 1661-755X
DOI https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2024945243

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

© 2025 the author(s), editing © 2025 Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and Thomas Zehnder, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: Folio of Odishan Paippalāda-Saṁhitā manuscript (Ek2), ca. 1844. Photograph by Arlo Griffiths, publicly accessible at SWISSUbase, Atharvaveda Paippalada manuscript collection https://doi.org/10.48656/yyzd-bf48
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

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Preface

The articles collected in this volume are the outcome of the 3rd Zurich International Conference on Indian Literature and Philosophy (ZICILP), *The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts*, held over three days (September 26th–28th) at the University of Zurich in the autumn of 2019. We are extremely grateful to Angelika Malinar for supporting this event with funds granted to her personally by the University of Zurich for the ZICILP series of conferences. We would like to warmly thank everyone who participated in the conference and who thereby contributed to an extremely enjoyable and instructive three days. Our sincere thanks also to the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) – and to the Swiss taxpayer – for funding since 2017 the ongoing project 'Online Edition of the Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda' (https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/edition) within the framework of which we were able to host this conference. We would also like to thank the University of Zurich for providing the room and technical support. Our gratitude to Angelika Malinar and Paul Widmer, the directors of this project, cannot be adequately expressed here, but we note it nonetheless. Two integral members of the team whose names do not appear again in these pages, but whose technical support we could not do without are Magdalena Plamada and Reto Baumgartner. Finally, our thanks to Samantha Döbeli for her pivotal part in organising the conference.

It was with great sadness that we learnt, just a few days before the peer review process started, that Werner Knobl (1942–2023), one of our three invited speakers, had passed away. His contribution appears herein in the form of his final draft which was about to be sent out for review. We are immensely grateful to be able to include within this volume a late offering from such a learned and distinctive scholar. He will be missed by many in our field.

Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and
Thomas Zehnder, Zurich 2024

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-202

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Robert Leach, Oliver Hellwig and Thomas Zehnder

Introduction

The *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* (henceforth Rigveda) has attracted a fairly steady stream of philological and linguistic scholarship ever since the pioneering modern editions of Friedrich Max Müller (1849–1874) and Theodor Aufrecht (1861–1863; 1877). In recent decades, thanks to the publication of the metrically restored version of the text by van Nooten and Holland (1994), sophisticated translations by Elizarenkova (1989–1999), Witzel and Gotō (2007), Witzel, Gotō and Scarlata (2013), Jamison and Brereton (2014), and Dōyama and Gotō (2022), alongside far-reaching studies such as those by Oberlies (1998; 1999) and the online commentary by Jamison (http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu), this stream has become a relative torrent. By contrast, work on the two extant Saṁhitās of the Atharvaveda, namely the *Śaunaka-Saṁhitā* (ŚS) and the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* (PS), long considered second in antiquity only to the Rigveda, has been decidedly more sporadic since Roth and Whitney's critical edition of the ŚS was published in 1856. Certainly this can, to some extent, be explained by the fact that until the 1950s the PS was known to outsiders only via a single, extremely corrupt birch-bark manuscript (discovered in Srinagar, in Kashmir, in 1873), published in facsimile by Bloomfield and Garbe (1901) and now available online at https://opendigi.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/opendigi/MaI421_1. However, since the partial translation of the ŚS by Bloomfield (1897), covering about one third of the text, the near-complete translation by Whitney, with revisions and additions by Lanman (Whitney and Lanman 1905), and the revision of Roth and Whitney's *editio princeps* by Lindenau (1924), little substantial work has been carried out on this Saṁhitā either until the last few years, which have seen several important studies by Shrikant Bahulkar, as well as a new critical edition by Kim (2021).

For its part, the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* occupies a unique place in Vedic literature in that it only became accessible to genuine scholarly research from the late 1950s, with the discovery of several palm-leaf manuscripts in rural Odisha by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya (1899–1965), Professor of Sanskrit at Scottish Church College in Kolkata. These manuscripts preserve a much better version of the PS text than does the Kashmir manuscript, and their discovery constituted a significant enlargement of the Vedic textual corpus and a major advance in scholarly research into Vedic language and culture. Since this "Announcement of a Rare Find" by Bhattacharyya (1957), a text of the complete PS has been edited by his son, Dipak Bhattacharya (Bhattacharya 1997, 2008, 2011, 2016). Moreover, further Odishan PS manuscripts have come to light courtesy of the Odisha State Museum in Bhubaneswar, and the pioneering fieldwork of Michael Witzel in 1983 and Arlo Griffiths between 1998–

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-001

2001 (on which, see Griffiths 2003). On this basis, the prodigious task of understanding and evaluating the PS is now being embarked upon, and pioneering editions and translations of individual books (*kāṇḍa-*) have been published (e.g. Zehnder 1999, Lubotsky 2002, the landmark work of Griffiths 2009, the online publications of our own team in Zurich https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/edition; for the current status of the PS in translation, see https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/paippalada-research). It is already five years since Selva's (2019) "state of the art" overview of scholarship on the PS to date, and since that time, five more PS Kāṇḍas have been critically edited and translated (four of these by our own project team in Zurich, the other by Spiers 2020).

This very cursory and inadequate summary of scholarship to date on the two Atharvaveda Saṁhitās is intended only to highlight the fact that the present moment represents an unusually lively and fertile period in Atharvaveda research. It is our hope that this volume can capture and reflect this. As is stated in the Preface, the articles contained herein are the outcome of a conference hosted within the framework of the ongoing project 'Online Edition of the Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda' (https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/paippalada-recension), funded in three phases by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2017–2021; 2021–2025; 2025–2028). This project was jointly conceived by its two directors, Paul Widmer, Professor of Comparative Indo-European Studies in the Department of Comparative Language Science, and Angelika Malinar, Professor of Indian Studies in the Department of Indian Studies at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies. Its explicit aim is to bridge the disciplinary approaches of linguistics and philology in creating a digital critical edition of Books 1, 4, 10, 12 and 19 of the PS, along with English translations, a full morpho-lexical analysis, detailed linguistic and Indological comments, and documentation of parallel passages in other texts. Inevitably, by far the most parallels are found in the ŚS, and the project therefore endeavours to make new and valuable contributions to the study of this text also.

In keeping with these aims, we invited the world's leading scholars of the Atharvaveda (from Europe, India, Japan and North America) to present their research on linguistic, philological, literary and historico-cultural aspects of either recension of this text. Of course, the study of the Atharvaveda is rarely just that, for its antiquity and its cutural importance ensure close contacts with other texts and traditions, be they Vedic, post-Vedic, or more broadly Indo-European, and we especially encouraged contributions that explored these connections and interactions. The articles collected in this volume accordingly span a broad range of disciplinary approaches and subject matter. We have tried to impose some sort of thematic structure to the volume, but as always with such exercises, different arrangements could have been settled on.

The first four articles all study the language of the Atharvaveda, which is placed in its Vedic context. Knobl offers a rich and wide-ranging study of relative

clauses in old Vedic. He focuses especially on a comparison between what he calls the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction (see his footnote 6 for an explanation of the orthography), which occurs first (albeit very rarely) in the Rigveda, and the *ETÁD–yád* construction, which is first attested in prose passages of the Atharvaveda. In the former, Knobl argues, the *YÁD* clause almost always has a non-restrictive, appositive function, with the *there*–deictic demonstrative pronoun *ETÁD* functioning more or less independently. In these cases the relative pronoun (*YÁD*) is flexible, changing its gender and number in grammatical agreement with *ETÁD*. By contrast, in the *ETÁD–yád* construction, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD* and has itself lost its variability, it has become fixed (thus Knobl's neologism "*yád figé*").

The article by Widmer and Hellwig provides a survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions in Vedic texts, with a special focus on the Atharvaveda. The authors extract 8,789 complex nominal expressions from a corpus of dependency-annotated Vedic texts and conduct statistical tests to understand the interactions between continuity and two properties of the modifier. In this way, the study complements previous qualitative work that focused on semantics but used a considerably smaller number of data points.

In his brief remarks on issues pertaining to the place of the Atharvaveda, and especially the PS, in the chronology of Vedic literature, Lubotsky argues on linguistic grounds that the bulk of the Atharvavedic hymns (*sūktá-*) most likely acquired their final shape at approximately the same time as the tenth book of the Rigveda, while the prose passages (the so-called *paryāya* sections) are contemporaneous with those of the Yajurveda. In pursuing a *terminus ante quem*, at least for the PS, Lubotsky defers to Bronkhost's (2007, 197) rather imprecise claim that it must have "existed essentially in its present form" by the time of Patañjali (2nd century BCE), who quotes its opening pāda and appears to recognise that it consists of 20 kāṇḍas.

Hellwig undertakes a quantitative approach to the vocabulary of the ŚS. Distinguishing between words shared by old Vedic sources and those first occurring in later texts, he is able to reproduce textual stratifications of the ŚS postulated on the basis of style and content in previous research.

Working within a tradition of Indo-European studies that is concerned with poetic language (Indogermanische Dichtersprache), Massetti examines an Atharvavedic passage (PS 4.15.6–7 ~ ŚS 4.12.6–7) in which a simile compares a healer of a broken bone to a craftsman (*ṛbhú-*) fixing a chariot. She then traces phraseological correspondences between these two stanzas and a passage from an ode by Pindar (Pythian 3.47–53), and argues that the metaphor of the healer as a craftsman or "fashioner" (complementary to the metaphor of the body as a chariot) is but one of several "thematic matches" between the two texts. Massetti concludes that the correspondences she uncovers speak strongly in favour of a "common background".

The contribution of Pooth re-edits and translates substantial parts of the last anuvāka of kāṇḍa PS 18 (= PS 18.76–82). According to the interpretation presented here, this passage describes the burial ceremony and the construction of a burial mound for a dead king. While many of the conclusions arrived at may be viewed as being based on a preconceived hypothesis, there are nonetheless important insights here on a fascinating and difficult textual passage.

The next two contributions try to make sense not of a long passage, but of a single phrase found in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās. Pontillo focuses on the phrase *páñcaudana- ajá-*, which denotes a billy goat offered with five portions of mashed rice, in the context of a sacrifice aimed at gaining access to heaven. Pontillo undertakes a lexically grounded comparison with other Vedic texts, especially the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*, and proposes that the billy goat might have originally represented the individual self with its five sense organs, and that this offering sought to achieve not merely a temporary stay in heaven, as would be the norm for such a sacrifice, but a permanent deathless state. Leach explores the possible meanings of the word *śvànvant-*, attributed to Apsarases in the ŚS and PS but not found outside these texts. He highlights the difficulty in unravelling the meaning of this rarely-attested epithet, but suggests in his final analysis that 'dogs' (*śván-*) most likely refers, metaphorically, to either death or the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of the latter metaphor, he argues, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology.

The following two contributions deal with the reception of the Atharvaveda and specifically the ways in which it has been categorised as a text and a set of cultural practices, in the first case by modern scholars and in the second, by other, often rival, Brahmanical traditions. Whitaker offers a polemical critique of the scholarly application of 'magic' and related concepts when interpreting and classifying the Atharvaveda. He views this hermeneutic practice as a "systemic problem" that is not only inherently disapproving and exclusionary, but is theoretically shallow and unreflective, and he urges that we do away with it. In response to the sort of simplistic binaries (e.g. religion vs magic) criticised by Whitaker, some scholars have, as Spiers shows, marched too hurriedly in the opposite direction and, eager to uproot all such schematic oppositions, they end up eliding all difference. Spiers provides an overview of the ways in which Śrauta and then Smārta Brahmans have in fact attempted to marginalise the Atharvaveda "from the beginning of its history", and she suggests several reasons why they may have been compelled to do so.

Several of the issues raised by Whitaker and Spiers are also pertinent to Malinar's study of ritual practices associated with the Atharvaveda in the *Mahābhārata*. Malinar argues that while there were attempts to marginalise the Atharvaveda and its representative practices, this should not occlude the fact that the fourfold Veda

became canonical and that several of these practices came to be incorporated into the domestic ritual repertoire of the Brahmanical householder. Malinar addresses several narrative episodes in the *Mahābhārata* which can elicit a more nuanced understanding of apparently hostile practices such as *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*, demonstrating that their acceptance (for example in situations of familial, and especially conjugal, tension) depends upon the extrinsic factors of context and motivation.

Amano's contribution is also primarily concerned with the Atharvaveda as it is reflected in another text, in this case the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* (MS). Undertaking a detailed numeric evaluation of the distribution of citations from the Rigveda and the two Atharvaveda Saṁhitās in the mantra portions of the MS, Amano is able to identify changes in the status and accessibility of these earlier works for the MS's authors based on the frequency and accuracy of these citations. With respect to the Atharvaveda Saṁhitās, she proposes that in the earlier phases of the MS's composition there was closer contact with Śaunaka priests, and in the later phases with Paippalāda priests.

Zehnder also deals with citations of the Atharvaveda in a later work. Encouraged by sporadic cases in which Vedic quotations in Indian grammatical literature led to an improvement in the understanding of the Saṁhitās, he undertakes a systematic search for the Vedic quotations found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in the text of the PS. Happily, he succeeds in discovering the source of quite a number of hitherto untraced Vedic quotations in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The final three articles in the volume concern themselves with ritual elements in later Atharvavedic tradition. Bahulkar presents a wide-ranging overview of the prescriptions for domestic rituals as found in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda traditions up until modern times, with a particular focus on the differences in the rites enjoined in each Śākhā for the new and full moon sacrifice (Darśapūrṇamāsa). Considerable divergences between the two Śākhās are described, and the influence of local traditions is noted. Rotaru provides an in-depth investigation into two Atharvanic rites that accompany the building of a house in the *Kauśikasūtra*. She traces the (re-)interpretations these rites have encountered in the commentarial literature and in a late prayoga manual, compares them to house-building rites in other Vedic schools, and argues that only one of these is actually a proper construction rite. This study is grounded in a discussion of the textual divisions employed in the *Kauśikasūtra*, a crucial matter for the interpretation of this text. Sumant offers a rich description of the section on neonatal rites in the *Karmapañjikā*, a domestic ritual manual belonging to the Paippalāda tradition that was composed in Odisha in the 16th century. She shares several interesting observations on the peculiar language and style of this text before presenting the edited text itself together with an English translation.

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Werner Knobl

The *ETÁD–YÁD* Construction in Vedic

Abstract: In this study of relative clauses in old Vedic, Werner Knobl† compares the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction (he explains his orthography in footnote 5), which first occurs in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, with the *ETÁD–yád* construction, which is first attested in prose passages of the Atharvaveda. It is argued that in the former case, the *YÁD* clause almost always has a non-restrictive, appositive function, with the *there*–deictic demonstrative pronoun *ETÁD* functioning more or less independently. In these cases the relative pronoun *YÁD* is flexible changing its gender and number in grammatical agreement with *ETÁD*. By contrast, in the *ETÁd–yád* construction, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD* and has itself lost its variability, it has become fixed (thus "*yád figé*").

The predominantly *there*-deictic demonstrative (> d-)pronoun *ETÁD* is the one that realizes the greatest number of possible references.[1] It may point at something *inside* the text: either in a backward / leftward direction (= *anaphoric* ["upward"] deixis) or in a forward / rightward direction (= *cataphoric* ["downward"] deixis). And it may point at something *outside* the text:[2] in a perpendicular or in a side-

1 Cf. Knobl 2018, 108: "Keines der mehreren D-Pronomina erschöpft sich in einer einzigen Funktion, aber keines umfasst so viele verschiedene Funktionen wie gerade *ETÁD*."

2 This is the deixis proper or deixis in the narrow sense of the word.

Note: I am very grateful to the members of the Paippalāda Project at the University of Zurich—Angelika Malinar, Paul Widmer, Thomas Zehnder, Robert Leach, and Oliver Hellwig—for having invited me to present a paper at the Atharvaveda conference in Zurich, 2019, September 26–28, and to contribute an article to the proceedings of the conference.

With affection and gratitude, I dedicate this contribution to my dear old friends Alexander Lubotsky and Arlo Griffiths, without whom I would not have had the immense pleasure to study the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā for so many years of my scholarly life.

I also pay compliments of admiration to my fellow-students of Vedic—Kyōko Amano, Kristen de Joseph, Duccio Lelli, Marianne Oort, Umberto Selva, and Carmen Sylvia Spiers—for their learned devotion to the commented editions or translations of difficult texts.

I thank especially Carmen for helpful comments on an earlier draft of the present paper. The provisionally final version, submitted in April 2021, was critically reviewed by the editors of the proceedings, Oliver Hellwig (May 23, 2021, and March 31, 2022), Robert Leach (June 07/08/11/14, 2021), and Thomas Zehnder (June 26/27, 2021); I feel very obliged to them for their corrections and suggestions, which led to many changes and, hopefully, improvements.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-002

ward-*slanting* direction.[3] The obliquity is again of two kinds: it may be inclined either to the left, leaning backward, or to the right, leaning forward.

Fan-like, the several functions of *ETÁD* spread out in a semicircle, radiating from a central point, which is their common *there*-deixis. This exceptionally multifunctional d-pronoun typically refers – either *intra*- or *extra*-textually – to something that is located at a *middle* distance, somewhere *between* 'nearby' and 'faraway'.[4] As a rule, neither the *near*-deictic *IDÁM* 'the one *here*' nor the *far*-deictic *ADÁS* 'the one *over there*' could accomplish the characteristic *there*-deictic function of *ETÁD*.[5]

The eight sections of this paper are centered around the *ETÁD–yád* construction, a syntactical scheme that is first attested in a few rare prose passages of the Atharvaveda (AV): Śaunaka-Saṁhitā (ŚS)[6] and Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS).[7] However, in order to bring out the specific character of the *ETÁD–yád* construction, we have to contrast it with the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction that occurs in the earliest Vedic text corpus, the Ṛgveda (ṚV).[8] There, the relative pronoun is not typically *figé* ("*yád*"),[9] as in those later AV prose passages, but flexible ("*YÁD*"), changing its gender and number in grammatical agree-

3 Cf. Knobl 2018, 107: "Hingegen ist die Richtung, in welche die im engeren Sinne deiktischen Pronomina zeigen, eine transversale/rektanguläre oder auch – wie in anderem Zusammenhang noch eigens auszuführen sein wird – diagonale."

For the reason why certain d-pronouns may be said to point in a transversal or rectangular direction, see Knobl 2018, 107 n.2: "Insofern sie nämlich quer und sozusagen im rechten Winkel zum horizontalen Verlauf des Texts auf Außersprachliches hinausweisen."

4 Cf. Knobl 2018, 108: "*ETÁD* ist das D-Pronomen der *mittleren* Distanz *par excellence*. Es vermag, sowohl in eine *relative Nähe* als auch in eine *relative Ferne* zu weisen."

5 When referring to d-pronouns (*sá-*/*tá-*, *eṣá-*/*etá-*, etc.), the neuter singular of their names, if written in capital letters (*TÁD*, *ETÁD*, etc.), is used as a *cover symbol* comprising every possible form of the respective paradigm. In the very special case of the relative pronoun *yá-*, this capitalizing device conveniently serves the purpose of distinguishing *YÁD*, potentially representing all paradigmatic case-forms, from *yád*, which stands for just one. And that distinction is most important for my argument.

6 Six passages of the ŚS are treated in section G.: five prose sentences ([1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, and [5] ŚS 11.3.50) and one metrical text, the distich [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd.

7 In sections D. and E., the two middlemost parts of this paper, three passages of the PS are highlighted: the metrical line at [19] PS 6.9.1d, which displays the presumably oldest "*yád figé*" (D.), and two of the twelve prose sentences at [20] PS 9.21.1–12, all of which exemplify the central *ETÁD–yád* construction in strictly parallel formulations: *ETAD vai . . . yad . . .* (E.).

8 Thirteen ṚV and AV passages (examples [1]–[13]), all but one of which exhibit the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, are translated and discussed in section A., two examples of the *YÁD–ETÁD* construction (exx. [14] ṚV 10.71.9 and [15] ṚV 10.165.4) in section B., and three examples showing the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD* (exx. [16] ṚV 10.10.3ab, [17] ṚV 10.10.11cd, and [18] ṚV 10.10.12) are presented in section C.

Among these eighteen text-passages of the ṚV, no fewer than eight have parallels in the AV (ŚS or PS); they are examples [9]–[12] and [15]–[18].

9 For this *yád*, which may be called *yád figé*, see below, section D. with Excursus (2).

ment with *ETÁD*.[10] Only in one of the thirteen examples, i.e. at [7] ṚV 7.56.4ab *etắni . . . yád . . .*, do the two pronouns, though of the same gender, not agree in number.[11]

1 The *ETÁD–YÁD* Construction in the Ṛgveda

The *ETÁD–YÁD* construction is extremely rare in the Ṛgveda.[12] Only some twenty examples can be found. In almost all of these, the subordinate *YÁD*–clause seems to have a non-restrictive, appositive function.[13] If *ETÁD* were a mere correlative, it would need the relative pronoun *YÁD* as a necessary supplement, so that its exact reference could be understood. But there is no such need or necessity in most of the twenty or so *ETÁD–YÁD* constructions of the ṚV. In a majority of cases, the *deictic* character of *ETÁD* is so strong that it works quite well without the *YÁD*–phrase. Independently, the *there*-deictic pronoun *points at* some either intra- or extra-textual entity.[14] That d-pronoun displays a surplus of *demonstrativity* by virtue of which it transcends any purely correlative function.

Twelve of the following thirteen passages – eight distichs and four stanzas – present the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction that is typical for the Ṛgveda.[15] In most examples of this syntactical scheme, the *YÁD*–phrase contains a verb:[16] [1] *yát* te *cakṛmắ* (b), [2] *yéna . . . nirūháthuḥ* (c), [3] *yát te ghóṣān* (b), [4] *yáṃ . . . vicakrá* (b), [5] *yásya_íśiṣe* (d), [6] *yé . . . átakṣan* (b), *yé . . . tiránta* (c), *yé . . . dī́dhayan* (d), [7] *yád . . .*

10 The twelve *ETÁD–YÁD* constructions of ṚV and AV treated in section A. involve their syntactical reverse, the *YÁD–ETÁD* construction, two instances of which are discussed under [14] and [15] in section B.

11 For a possible solution to the difficult problem of their incongruence, see the comment on example [7] below.

12 This first section of the present article is a considerably enlarged and elaborated version of the opening part of the paper I read at the September 2019 Atharvaveda conference in Zurich.

13 By contrast, in *TÁD–YÁD* or *YÁD–TÁD* constructions, which are far more frequent than the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, it is usual for the *YÁD*–clause to function restrictively. The demonstrative force of *TÁD* is not as strong and independent as that of the emphatic *there*-deictic *ETÁD*; due to its lack of emphasis, *TÁD* stands in need of the relative pronoun's support.

14 The combination of these divergent directions – if it is understood as the quasi-mechanical *resultant* of two concurrent forces – constitutes what I fancy calling *diagonal reference*. It is the most interesting, but also most challenging and difficult-to-describe function the *multi*-functional d-pronoun *ETÁD* may have to offer.

15 Only one passage is an exception, to wit, [10] ṚV 10.10.1ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.1ab), a distich without either *ETÁD* or *YÁD*; it is, however, an indispensable explanatory addition to the distich [9] ṚV 10.10.2ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.2ab), where those two pronouns do occur in a characteristic *ETÁD–YÁD* construction.

16 Or three verbs in example [6] ṚV 7.7.6b–d *yé . . . átakṣan*, *yé . . . tiránta*, *yé . . . dī́dhayan*.

jabhā́ra (b), [8] *yáḥ . . . praminā́ti* (d), [9] *yád . . . bhávāti* (b), [11] *yé cáranti* (b), [13] *yā́ni dadhiṣé* (b). Exceptionally, the relative pronoun is construed with a noun in examples [5] *yás te ánnam* (d) and [12] *yáś $_{ca}$ camasó* (c).[17]

[1] ṚV 1.31.18ab
eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva
śáktī vā yát te cakṛmā́ vidā́ vā /

The sentence of the first verse is complete and can be understood on its own: *eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva* 'Grow! You *shall* grow strong [and stronger],[18] o Fire, through *that* poem *there* (, which we have made *for you*).'

The subordinate *yád*-clause of the second line, 18b *śáktī vā yát te cakṛmā́ vidā́ vā* '*which* [poem] we have made *for you* with skill or with knowledge,'[19] does not *restrict* the meaning of '*that* poem *there*' to one that would be *defined* as being made in a certain way. Rather, the *there*-deictic pronoun *eténa* in 18a refers, by way of final conclusion, to the preceding stanzas (1–17), which are *distinctly* there as the first part of a bipartite whole.[20]

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17 In the first of these exceptional cases, i.e. at [5] ṚV 6.41.3d . . . *yás te ánnam* 'which [soma-drink] is your food', the relative pronoun is not attracted in gender to the nominal predicate, apparently under the predominant influence of the masculine *there*-deictic demonstratives *eṣá* (a) and *etám* (c) – both referring to the soma-drink – in the two preceding main sentences (3ab and 3c).

For the subscript *ca* in example [12] *yáś $_{ca}$ camasó*, see below, footnote 73.

18 The hybrid verb form *vāvṛdh-a-sva*, which is based on the weak stem of the perfect (*vāvṛdh-* ṚV 122x) of the root *vardh*/*vṛdh* 'to grow strong' < PIE **HueRd*^{h} 'groß/stark werden' (*LIV* 228), was defined by Lubotsky (1997: 2.1351b) as an imperative to the subjunctive stem *vāvṛdh-a-* (ṚV 2x: 1.33.1b *vāvṛdhāti* [in the cadence of a *triṣṭubh*, with metrically conditioned "hyper-characterization"] 'shall make increase' and 10.64.4b [in the break of a *jagatī*, under no prosodic constraint] *vāvṛdhate* 'will grow strong').

For the discussion of a similar modal blend, in which the same two moods of the perfect (subjunctive and imperative) are crossbred – namely the nonce formation *pipráy-a-sva* occurring at ṚV 8.11.10c *s_uvā́ṃ cāgne tan$_ú$vam pipráyasva* 'Please! You *shall* please, o Agni, your own bodily self (*tanú-* f. [ṚV 208x])'–, see Knobl 2004: 267–270 = Knobl 2009c: 27–30.

19 In ṚV and AV, both *śákti-* f. 'skill' (ṚV 4x, ŚS 3x [~ *śaktí-* f. ṚV 10x]) and *víd-* f. 'knowledge' (ṚV 1x) are surprisingly rare. Root-compounds with *-víd-* as second member (from *aśva-víd-* [ṚV 2x] through *hotrā-víd-* [ṚV 2x, ŚS 1x]) are, however, very frequently attested. The total number of occurrences in the ṚV amounts to 136 instances – including a few *-vít-tara-* comparatives and *-vít-tama-* superlatives – in 28 different compounds; among them, *$s_u$var-víd-* (ṚV 30x, ŚS 11+*1x) is most frequent. Cf. Scarlata 1999: 480–493.

20 Since the last stanza of this hymn (18), a regular *triṣṭubh*, even though it may not be a later addition, is at least slightly *set off against* the rest of the hymn (1–17) – which is predominantly composed in the *jagatī* meter (only stanzas 8 and 16 are also hendecasyllabic) –, the *there*-deictic *ETÁD* in 18a (*eténa . . . bráhmaṇā* 'through *that* poem *there* [for you]') fittingly reflects the contex-

The *bráhmaṇ-* n. 'poem' (ṚV 255x ~ *brahmáṇ-* m. 'poet' ṚV 51x) happens to be 'made with skill or with knowledge', but the fact of being made skillfully and knowledgeably is as accidental to the *existence* of the poem's first part as is the fact that through it the fire shall grow strong. The existential deixis of *ETÁD* indicating something that *is there* – at some distance, although within the same poetic context – surpasses any specific qualification the *YÁD*-phrase may provide.

Agni is addressed throughout this hymn of eighteen stanzas. The enclitic vocative *agne* 'o Fire' occurs in the first verse of every single stanza – thus creating the song's thematic unity –,[21] while *eténa* in the first verse of the last stanza (18a), being the only occurrence of *ETÁD* in this hymn, introduces a certain differentiating distance. According to the general function of the *there*-deictic pronoun, it may be expected to point at something that is farther away – here, at something halfway removed from the poet reciting stanza 18 – than that which the *here*-deictic *IDÁM* in 16ab refers to: *imắm agne śaráṇim mīmṛ̥ṣo na imám ádhvānaṃ yám ágāma dūrắt* 'O Agni, make *this* our breach (of faith) be forgotten [and forgiven by you], *this* (faithless) way [on] which we have come from faraway.'[22]

It is mainly the implicit *you*-deixis of the *there*-deictic pronoun *ETÁD*[23] that accounts for it being preferred over the *here*-deictic *IDÁM* and *this* d-pronoun's proximal *we*-deixis: '*this* breach' (*imắm . . . śaráṇim*) and '*this* way' (*imám ádhvānam*) are both *ours* (*nas* [16a]), whereas '*that* poem *there*' (*eténa . . . bráhmaṇā*

tual *mid-distance* that unequally divides a divisible unity into two, separating one part of the poem (18) from another (1–17).

See the symbolic extra space between stanzas 17 and 18 in the edition of Geldner's translation (1951: 1.36), and cf. J&B's quite appropriate introductory remark (2014: 1.132): "As often, the final verse (18) is *somewhat extra-hymnic*, in that it sums up the hymn that precedes . . ." (*my* italics).

21 Typically, the enclitic vocative *agne* stands – alone or after another enclitic, the pronoun *nas* – in the so-called Wackernagel position of every first verse: *$t_u$vám agne* . . . in 1a–6a, 10a, 13a–15a (= 10x); *$t_u$váṃ no agne* . . . in 8a, 9a, 12a (= 3x); *$t_u$váṃ tám agne* . . . in 7a (= 1x); *tvắm agne* . . . in 11a (= 1x); *imắm agne* . . . in 16a (= 1x); *manuṣvád agne* . . . in 17a (= 1x); *eténāgne* . . . in 18a (= 1x).

Two orthotone pronouns (*$t_u$váṃ tám*) preceding *agne* before the cæsura in 7a produce an exceptional sequence of words. If the meter had allowed for it, the enclitic *enam* (ṚV 76x) could have been expected to occur in place of *tám* [7b *mártam*]. To be sure, a monosyllabic scansion of the personal pronoun would make the opening of 7a metrically acceptable; that is, if it were read as *tvám enam agne*.

22 Cf. Geldner (1951: 1.36): "Verzeih uns, Agni, diesen Ungehorsam, den Weg, den wir von Ferne gekommen sind!" Notice the accusative of spatial extent, (*imám ádhvānaṃ*) *yám* '(this way) which', being governed directly by a verb of motion, *ágāma* 'we have come', without any intervening preposition.

23 For the occasional *du*-deixis of the *da*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD*, see the seven examples in Knobl 2018: 110–112 [exx. (2) and (4)], 114–115 [ex. (8)], 117 [ex. (11)], 119–121 [exx. (15)–(17)].

. . .) is *for you* (*te* [18b]), o Heavenly Fire.[24] Although *we here* have made the poem, it is destined *for you there*, and now belongs *to you there*.[25]

[2] ṚV 1.182.5
yuvám etáṃ cakrathuḥ síndhuṣu plavám
ātmanvántam pakṣíṇaṃ taugr̥yáya kám /
yéna devatrā́ mánasā nirūháthuḥ
supaptaní petathuḥ kṣódaso maháḥ //

'You two [Aśvins] have made for Tugra's son (Bhujyu)
that raft *there* in the rivers, [a raft] winged and animated,[26]

24 Cf. again Knobl 2018, where 13 contexts are discussed in which *ETÁD* 'the one *there*' clearly contrasts with *IDÁM* 'the one *here*'; see exx. (1)–(9) and exx. (11)–(14). If *ETÁD* meant 'this', it could not be distinguished from *IDÁM* 'this'. And non-distinction of these d-pronouns, in spite of their demonstrably distinct deixis, would prevent us from understanding the precise meaning especially of those text-passages in which they occur side by side, in the same distich or stanza; or else, nearby, as in the Agni-hymn [1] ṚV 1.31, where *eténa* [18a] stands in obvious opposition to *imā́m* [16a] and *imám* [16b].

Whenever there is no close textual contact between *ETÁD* and *IDÁM*, translators run a higher risk of mis-interpreting the *there*-deictic pronoun as *here*-deictic, than if the two demonstratives were contiguous. Their contiguity would be apt to suggest a significant difference in demonstration; and it should then become clear that one of the two d-pronouns points at something *near by*, the other at something *farther away*.

25 Thus, the enclitic pronoun *te* could be thought to have two different case functions: [1] as dative, it would express destination – or, on the stage of a higher level, play the role of the second *kāraka* [act-participant], called *saṃpradāna* and redefined by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhi praiti sa saṃpradānam* [for the syntax of this aphorism, see below, section D.: Excursus (2)] –; [2] as genitive, *te* would imply belonging or connection (*saṃbandha*).

26 Is it possible that *ātmán-* m. 'breath, soul, self' (ṚV 22x) in *ātmanvánt-* (ṚV 3x) refers to the 'body' of the raft; and *pakṣá-* m. 'wing' (ṚV 10x) in *pakṣín-* 'winged; bird' (ṚV 6x), to 'sails'? Cf. J&B 2014: 1.385: "For Tugra's son (Bhujyu) in the rivers you made the boat, with a body [=cockpit?] and wings [=sails?], . . .". In other Saṁhitās (ŚS, VS, MS, KS), in Brāhmaṇas (e.g. ŚB), and in younger Vedic texts, *ātmán-* m. is well attested in the sense of 'body' – and especially in that of 'trunk, torso' as distinct from *áṅga-* 'limb' or *pakṣa-puchá-* 'wings-and-tail' –, but can the meaning 'body' be presupposed already for the ṚV? Yes, at least in a late, Atharvaveda-like *yakṣma-nā́śana*-hymn, at ṚV 10.163.5cd=6cd *yákṣmaṁ sárvasmād ātmánas tám idáṃ ví vr̥hāmi te* "vom ganzen Körper zieh ich dir jetzt die Auszehrung ab" (Geldner 1951: 3.390), *ātmán-* m. does have that very meaning.

by means of which you have extracted [him] with heavenly-bound intention.[27]
Swiftly flying[28] you have flown [with him][29] from the huge surge.'

Neither the *far*-deictic "*jenes* . . . Boot" (Geldner) nor the *near*-deictic "*dieses* Floß" (W&G) does justice to the characteristic *there*-deixis of *ETÁD* in *etáṃ* . . . *plavám* '*that* raft *there* (in the rivers)'. Typically, this d-pronoun locates the *plavá-* m. (ṚV 1x, ŚS 1x) at a *middle* distance, somewhere between *here* on the one hand, and *over*

27 See Geldner's note on 5c: "*devatrā́ mánasā* ungefähr *devadrícā mánasā*" and his translation of the phrase: "mit götterhaftem Sinne" (1951: 1.262). Truer to the meaning of the adverb *devatrā́* (ṚV 23x, ŚS 2+*3x), if taken as a near-synonym of the directional adjective *devadryáñc-*/*devadrík-* (ṚV 3x), is J&B's "with (your?) mind directed toward the gods" (2014: 1.385).

The phrase *devadrícā mánasā* occurs twice in the ṚV, once at 1.93.8b "mit gottgerichtetem Denken" (Geldner 1951: 1.120) and another time at 1.163.12b "mit gottwärts gerichtetem Gedanken" (Geldner 1951: 1.227).

28 It would be closer to the sense of this unique compound *su-paptaní-* (ṚV 1x) – a *bahuvrīhi* (?) in which *su-* functions as an adverb (!) –, if the instrumental *supaptaní* were translated 'with *swiftly* (flying) flight'. The second member, **paptani-* 'flight' (or 'flying'?), is either based on the stem of the third/reduplicated (non-causative) aorist *pa-pt-a-*^{t} (ṚV 10x ~ *pī-pat-a-*^{t} ṚV 1x), or on the weak stem of the older perfect *pa-pt-* (ṚV 5x ~ *pet-* ṚV 3x) of the root *pat*^{i}/*pt*^{i} 'fall, fly' < PIE **peth*$_1$ 'fallen' (*LIV* 477–478) / **peth*$_2$ '(auf)fliegen' (*LIV* 479). Cf. W&D 2.1: 178 § 75 h: *su-papt-aní-* "guter Flug", but W&D 2.2: 208 § 96 d: *su-paptaní-* "rascher Flug" or "rasch fliegend", and Oldenberg 1909: 181 AD loc.: "**paptani* kann Nomen agentis oder actionis sein."

See also Oldenberg's subsequent observation (ibid.): "Instr. des Nomen actionis würde den Ausdruck in die Nähe von *surúcā rucānáḥ* [ṚV 3.15.6c], *suṣamídhā sám īdhire* [ṚV 5.8.7b] u. dgl. rücken." Other examples for this kind of expression are ṚV 7.17.1a *suṣamídhā sámiddhaḥ*, ṚV 10.36.9a *sánema . . . susanítā*, PS 11.14.1d *suruhā rohayantī* (K: *rohantī* [!]), MS 1.1.3: 2.9 *supácā . . . paca*, MS 1.8.8: 127.15–16 *suṣádā sīda . . . suṣádā . . . sādayati*, or MS 4.13.4: 204.3 *suśámi śamīdhvam*.

The etymological construction of a verb with the instrumental of a *su*-compound whose second member is a cognate noun – in the way that here *-paptaní-* stems from the same root as *petathuḥ* – represents a relatively rare kind. For the more frequent type, the construction of a verb with a cognate *su*-compound in the accusative, such as *súbhṛtam bhárati* at ṚV 4.50.7c or *bharat súbhṛtam* at ṚV 9.97.24d, see the scholarly literature referred to by Hoffmann 1992: 834 footnote 11.

29 Or else, if a possibly preferable understanding of the verb-form were to be considered, *petathuḥ* could mean 'you two have *made* [him] *fly*'. Since, in the ṚV, the periphrastic perfect expressing causation is not yet attested, and may not even have existed at that time, non-periphrastic forms of the perfect – as here *petathuḥ* – could also function as causatives. See below, footnote 60, on the causal meaning of the perfect optative *vavṛtyām* 'I would have liked to *make* [the companion] *revert* [to acts of companionship]' at ṚV 10.10.1a, in example [10].

The first and oldest occurrence of the periphrastic perfect in Vedic is *gamayā́ṃ cakāra* at ŚS 18.2.27cd (≈ PS 18.65.10cd): *mṛtyúr yamásyāsīd dūtáḥ prácetā ásūn pitṛ́bhyo gamayā́ṃ cakāra* "death was the kindly messenger of Yama; he made his life-breaths (*ásu*) go to the fathers" (W&L). Thus, if *petathuḥ* had the meaning of a causative, it could be glossed with *pātayā́ṃ cakrathuḥ*, according to later, post-ṛgvedic usage.

there on the other. Were the raft *nearby*, it would be pointed at with *imám*; were it *faraway*, with *amúm*.

The deixis of the article in the expression "*the* boat" (J&B) is too weak to transcend the function of a mere correlative of the relative pronoun *yéna* "with which" (J&B). In the Ṛgveda, the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD* is, if at all, very rarely used in an exclusively correlative function.

As in example [1], so it seems also here that the subordinate *YÁD*-phrase (*yéna* [*plavéna*]) does not restrict or define the meaning of *ETÁD* in the main sentence (*etám . . . plavám*): '*that* raft *there*' – it *is there*, 'in the rivers' (*síndhuṣu*), of unmistakable identity; and the relative clause *yéna . . . nirūháthuḥ* '*by means of which* you have extracted [him]' proves as accidentally descriptive as the fact that the Aśvins happen to have made it for Tugra's son (*taugr̥yā́ya*) or that it is 'winged' (*pakṣíṇ-*) and 'animated' (*ātmanvánt-*).[30]

[3] ṚV 3.33.8ab
etád váco jaritar mā́pi mr̥ṣṭhā
ā́ yát te ghóṣān úttarā yugā́ni /

'Do not forget *that* word *there*, o singer [Viśvāmitra],
which [word] of yours later generations shall listen to.'

Also in this distich, the meaning of *etád vácas* '*that* word (of yours) *there*' does not depend on the following *yád*-phrase, *ā́ yát te ghóṣān úttarā yugā́ni* '*which* [word] of yours later generations shall listen to.' If it did depend on *yád*, the request addressed by the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī to the *r̥ṣi* Viśvāmitra, viz. *etád váco jaritar mā́pi mr̥ṣṭhāḥ* 'Do not forget *that* word (of yours) *there*, o singer', would be restricted to *one* kind of word, namely to the word that later generations will listen to (*ā́ . . . ghóṣān*); and any *other* kind of word, one that is *not* listened to in the future, the poet may as well forget? Surely, that cannot be the meaning.[31]

30 In Hettrich's view (1988: 570), the *ETÁD* of this stanza functions as correlative in a *restrictive* relative construction. It will appear in that function only if the demonstrative force of *ETÁD* is not understood as emphatically *there*-deictic.

31 It is interesting to see that *here*, in *this* distich ([3] ṚV 3.33.8ab), exactly as *there*, in *that* distich ([1] ṚV 1.31.18ab), the enclitic pronoun *te* appears in the subordinate clause; it would be somewhat superfluous if it showed up in the main sentence. The *there*-deictic *ETÁD*, which is addressed to a second person – *there*, in [1], to Agni; *here*, in [3], to the singer –, is so distinctly *you*-deictic that *te* 'of yours', if it were added either to [1] *eténa bráhmaṇā* or to [3] *etád vácas*, would prove pleonastic. (Naturally, this does not mean that redundancy and over-characterization are always and necessarily excluded.)

Since the neuter *yád* can also be taken as a conjunction of purpose, Renou's "en sorte que" and J&B's "so that" are certainly justified.[32] In this alternative case, the future hearing of the poet's word would seem to depend on its not being forgotten by the poet, a situation very different from the one we have been discussing.

[4] ṚV 4.35.4ab
kimmáyaḥ svic camasá eṣá āsa
yáṃ kā́vi̯yena catúro vicakrá /

'What was *that* cup (of yours) *there* made of?
[*That* cup,] *which* you have transformed into four
by means of [your] poetic power.'[33]

When they were addressed in these words, the heavenly craftsmen knew exactly what cup was meant, to wit, that unique *miracle* cup of theirs; and there was no need for them to be told about its artful transformation ("trans-*four*-mation") into *four* cups – one for each of the three Ṛbhus and one for Tvaṣṭar –, so that they would understand the intended reference to it.[34]

The *YÁD*–phrase, *yáṃ* [*camasáṃ*] *kā́vi̯yena catúro vicakrá*, is only descriptive, not defining or distinguishing.[35] The interrogative sentence *kimmáyaḥ svic camasá eṣá āsa* does not necessarily presuppose a plurality of cups from which the quad-

32 Cf. Renou (*EVP* XVII 76): "Cette parole-ci, ô chantre, ne l'oublie pas, *en sorte que* les générations ultérieures puissent l'entendre de toi!" or J&B (2014: 1.514): "This speech, singer – do not forget it – *so that* later generations will hear it from you." In both of these (otherwise not inappropriate) translations, the typical *there*-deixis of the d-pronoun *etád* is inadequately rendered as *here*-deixis: "*Cette* parole-*ci*" (Renou), "*This* speech" (J&B), as if the poet had used *idám* instead.

33 Intonation distinguishes the abstract noun *kā́vya-* n. 'poem, poetry, poetic power' (ṚV 41x, ŚS [3+*2=]5x) from the less frequent (substantivized) adjective and patronymic *kāvyá-* (ṚV 7x, ŚS 2x). Both of these words are ultimately derived from the same *kaví-* m. 'seer, poet' (ṚV 240x), although with two different *ya*-suffixes. Pāṇini's *taddhita*-suffix ***ñya-ṅ***, introduced at Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.1.171 *vṝddha-it-kosala-ajādāñ ñyaṅ*, would only provide for the formation of *kā́vya-*: either from the *vṝddha*-stem *kāvyá-* or directly from the *i*-stem *kaví-*.

34 Prior to stanza 4, the Ṛbhus' quadruplication of their miracle cup was already mentioned two times: once in verse 2d *ékaṃ vicakrá camasáṃ caturdhā́* and again in verse 3a *vi̯ akṛ̣ṇota camasáṃ caturdhā́*. It is, therefore, all the more superfluous to repeat the mention of that artistic exploit yet another time, in the relative clause of verse 4b *yáṃ kā́vi̯yena catúro vicakrá*. Here, the only new information is *kā́vi̯yena*, but this particular circumstance does not change the appositional character of the whole phrase; *kā́vi̯yena* was, furthermore, anticipated in verse 2c by two instrumentals of a *near*-synonymous intent: *sukṛ̣tyáyā . . . su̯vapasyáyā* "mit Geschicklichkeit und Kunstfertigkeit" (Geldner 1951: 1.466); thus, the information received is not *that* new.

35 According to Hettrich (1988: 570 n.145), "ist der RS (=Relativ-Satz) nicht eindeutig als restriktiv oder appositiv bestimmbar." In my view, it is possible to determine – und zwar "eindeutig" – that the relative sentence *yám . . . catúro vicakrá* '[*that* cup (of yours) *there*,] *which* you have transformed into four' has an appositive (descriptive) function, and not a restrictive one.

ruplicated one would have been singled out as uniquely miraculous, all the others being untransformed.[36]

[5] ṚV 6.41.3
eṣá drapsó vr̥ṣabhó viśvárūpa
índrāya vr̥ṣṇe sám akāri sómaḥ /
etám piba hariva sthātar ugra
yásyéśiṣe pradívi yás te ánnam //

'*That* drop *there*, [*that*] all-colored bull,
[*that*] soma[-drink] has been perfected for Indra the bull;[37]
drink *that* [soma], o lord of bay horses, o mighty charioteer,[38]
[*that* soma-drink] *of which* you are master,
and *which* is your food, from of old.'[39]

The statements made in the two subordinate clauses of *pāda* 3d – i.e. *yásya_íśiṣe* and *yás te ánnam* – are so obviously true of each-and-every soma-drink that they could not possibly be thought to define one drink in particular and distinguish it from all the others.

36 Here, as in examples [1] and [3], the *there*-deixis of *ETÁD* is again also *you*-deictic.

37 Do *vr̥ṣaṇ-* m. referring to Indra as 'bull' and *vr̥ṣabhá-* m. qualifying the soma-drop as 'bull' have distinctive values? Or are these two nouns mere synonyms, chosen only for the sake of stylistic variation?.

38 A metrical line of 11 syllables with just one *udātta* is quite rare. For the discussion of a *pāda* without *any* high-pitch tone, the unparalleled octosyllabic verse ṚV 1.2.8b *r̥tāvr̥dhāv r̥taspr̥śā*, with two vocatives embedded in a *gāyatrī*-stanza (8a–c) that is addressed to Mitra-and-Varuṇa, see Lelli forthc.

39 The in-between position of *pradívi* (ṚV 8x) is ambiguous: syntactically, it ought to belong with the preceding *yásya_íśiṣe*, because the following *yás te* starts a new sentence; but metrically, it should be taken with the latter, because the cæsura occurring before the adverb (= locative of *pradív-* [ṚV 30x]) cuts it off from the former.

This is one of those numerous cases where meter and syntax are in conflict. For another such example, see below, the double-faced *Janus*-character of *deváḥ* in the verse [8] ṚV 7.63.3c *eṣá me deváḥ savitā́ cachanda* '*That* Heavenly one *there* (= the rising Sun) appears [and appeals] to me as Heavenly Savitar.'

The effect ambiguous words like *pradívi* (in example [5]) and *deváḥ* (in example [8]) may have on the reader or listener can be compared with that of a well-known rhetorical scheme profusely used in Sanskrit literature: the device called either *kākākṣi-golaka-nyāya-* **or** *dehalī-dīpaka-nyāya-*. For the evocative meaning of these two "popular maxims" and their technical application in commentaries on texts of a mainly philosophical or poetological nature, see Jacob 1907: 18 and 30.

[6] ṚV 7.7.6
eté dyumnébhir víśvam átiranta
mántraṃ yé váraṃ nárᵢyā átakṣan /
prá yé víśas tiránta śróṣamāṇā
á yé me asyá dʹídhayann ṛtásya //

'*Those* (men) *there*, with their heavenly splendors, surpass(ed)[40] everything:
the manly [singers of praise] *who* shaped a choice poetic thought,
[or the generous patrons] *who* shall further the obedient clans,
and *who* shall be mindful of this truth of mine.'

It is very likely that the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* of the main sentence in *pāda* 6a – *eté dyumnébhir víśvam á tiranta* (*átiranta*) – directly *points at* the 'singers of praise' (*stotár-* m. [ṚV 105x]) *and* at the 'generous patrons' (*maghávan-*/*maghávant-* [ṚV 370x]), both of which groups are explicitly mentioned in the last stanza of this Agni-hymn, viz. in the verse 7.7.7c *íṣaṁ stoṭʹbhyo maghávadbhya ānaḍ* ("You [o Agni] have obtained refreshment for the singers of praise and for our generous (patrons)" [J&B 2014: 2.892]); and they are collectively referred to as 'men' (*nár-*/*nʺ́-* m. ṚV 452x) in the compound *nʺ́-ṣádana-* n. (ṚV 6x) of the distich 7.7.5ab *ásādi vʺ́tó váhnir ājaganvā́n agnír brahmā́ nʺ́ṣádane vidhartā́* "Having come here, the chosen conveyor (of oblations) has been seated at the seat of men – Agni, the ritual formulator and distributor" (J&B 2014: 2.892).

The three subordinate clauses in verses 7.7.6 *b*, *c*, *d* – all of which contain the same relative pronoun *yé*[41] – could, therefore, refer to one of the two groups: either

40 The *pada-pāṭha* reads *á* / *atiranta*, but the possibly contracted *átiranta* of the original recitation (and of the *devanāgarī*-text written in *scriptio continua*) could also be interpreted as *á tiranta*. The imperfect *átakṣan* in 6b speaks in favor of the former reading, the apparent injunctive *tiránta* in 6c seems to support the latter. However, according to Hoffmann (1967: 258 n.296), *tiránta* in 6c may have to be considered a subjunctive, because of *dʹídhayan* in 6d, which represents the subjunctive of a present that has developed from a present perfect. Geldner (1951: 2.187) opted for the imperfect *atiranta* ("Diese *haben* an Glanz alles *übertroffen*"), J&B (2014: 2.892) for *tiranta* understood as injunctive ("These *surpass* everything through their heavenly brilliance").

41 Interestingly, *YÁD* often comes in second place of a subordinate clause; and here, in ṚV 7.7.6, *yé* occupies that very position even three times, in the verses 6b, 6c, 6d: *mántraṃ yé . . .*, *prá yé . . .*, *á yé . . .*; the repetition of the relative pronoun may have been intended to emphasize the *climactic* intensification of meaning: not only is a temporal progress made, from the past (imperfect *átakṣan* [6b]) to the future (subjunctive *tiránta* [6c] and subjunctive *dʹídhayan* [6d]), but also a change of person, from the singers of praise [6b] to the generously rewarding patrons [6c and 6d]: "die [Dichter], welche mannhaft das Dichterwort passend geformt haben [6b], [die Patrone,] die die gehorsamen Clane vorwärts bringen mögen [6c], die dieser meiner rechten (Rede) gedenken mögen [6d]" (Geldner 1951: 2.187); see also J&B's somewhat different translation of the same three verses in the following two footnotes.

to the singers (in *b*)[42] or to the patrons (in *c* and *d*);[43] however, neither of these two references is necessary in order to understand that the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* '*those*' points at '*those* men *there*', who are seated together 'at the seat of men' (*nṛ̥ṣádane*), which seat – or else, session ("Männersitzung" [Geldner]) – was already mentioned in the previous stanza, at 7.7.5b.[44]

[7] ṚV 7.56.4
etā́ni dhī́ro niṇyā́ ciketa
pṛ́śnir yád ū́dho mahí jabhā́ra //

'*Those* mysteries the deeply thinking man understands,[45]
which [mystery] Great Pṛ́śni has borne in [Her] udder,[46]
[that is, Her sons, the Maruts, who were born from it].'[47]

The *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of this *dvipadā virāj* is affected by a discrepancy – or lack of grammatical agreement – between the two pronouns *etā́ni* and *yád*. They are of the same gender, but their number is different. Consequently, they cannot refer to the same nucleus (*Bezugswort*).[48] How then could the numerical difference be accounted for?

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42 Cf. J&B 2014: 2.892): "the manly ones *who* fashioned the solemn utterance and its desirable reward," [6b].

43 Cf. J&B 2014: 2.892): "*who*, heeding them, extend the clans [6c] and *who* will reflect upon this, my truth [6d]."

44 Regarding ṚV 7.7.6, Hettrich (1988: 570 n.145) thinks that the correlative function of *ETÁD* in this relative construction is again "nicht eindeutig". I would, however, maintain that it is just that, namely *eindeutig* and unequivocally pointing at *those* men *there*, independently of the three subordinate clauses enclosing the same relative pronoun *yé*, all of which are merely *descriptive*.

45 For the "presentic" usage of the indicative of the perfect *ci-két-^{a}*/*ci-kit-^{é}* (ṚV 125x) of the root *cet*/*cit* < PIE **k^{u}eiṭ*/*k^{u}it* 'bemerken, erkennen' (*LIV* 382–383), see Kümmel 2000: 174–177 s.v. *cet* 'bemerken, erkennen, verstehen'.

46 For the neuter *ū́dhas*, exceptionally understood as a locative at ṚV 7.56.4b, see Geldner's translation (1951: 2.231), quoted below, in footnote 52, and his *Anmerkung* to verse 4b. In the three other places where the case form *ū́dhas* occurs in the ṚV – at 1.146.2d *rehántiy ū́dho aruṣā́so asya*, 4.1.19c *śúciy ū́dho atṛ̥ṇan ná gávām*, and 8.31.9c *sám ū́dho romaśā́ṁ hato* –, it naturally functions as an object-accusative governed by transitive verbs: *rehánti* "(they [the flames]) lick", *atṛ̥ṇat* "(he [Agni]) drilled", and *sám . . . hatas* "(the two [husband-and-wife]) slam together" (J&B), respectively.

47 Pṛ́śni, the Maruts' Mother, is conceived of as a Cow. She has *borne* (*jabhā́ra*/*jabhre*) an udder and her sons, who were *borne* in it; but also, if only as an implicit consequence, she has *borne* (*jajā́na*/*jajñe*) her sons, who were *born* from it.

48 Nor could *yád*, if it were accusative and meant 'which', form one phrase with *ū́dhas* 'udder' ([secondary *s*-stem] *ū́dhas*- n. ṚV 5x, ŚS 7x ~ [primary *r*-/*n*-heteroclitic] *ū́dhar*-/*ū́dhan*- n. ṚV 45x, ŚS *1x [!]). Syntactically, a hypothetic relative clause 'which udder great Pṛ́śni has borne', although meaningful in itself, cannot be brought into harmony with 'those mysteries' (*etā́ni . . . niṇyā́ . . .*) of the main sentence in verse *a*.

Is it due to a venial sloppiness on the part of the poet? Or has it perhaps a deeper significance, one *intended* by the poet, and meant to be understood[49] by us, in a way that would suit the intuitive thinker (*dhī́ra-* m.) of verse 4a?

He, 'the deeply thinking man',[50] is said to understand *those* – apparently *many* – mysteries, only one of which is mentioned in the *yád*-phrase (4b). Clearly, this particular mystery cannot *define* the more general nature of those; it is apt to exemplify or, at best, symbolically represent them, and thus to fulfill a partially descriptive function, but it could not *restrict* them to its own limited particularity.[51] The complete understanding of those mysteries by the insightful *dhī́ra-* reaches well beyond that single specimen mentioned in the second decasyllabic half of the stanza; however typical *any* example may be, it is only one of many.

The discrepancy between the plural *etā́ni* and the singular *yád* – a numerical divergence which led to the (possibly superfluous) problem just raised and tentatively solved – could easily be avoided, if *yád* were declared a conjunction. In that alternative case, our translation of the distich 4ab may run like this: '*Those* mysteries the deeply thinking man understands, (one of which [mysteries] is) *that* great Pṛ́śni has borne an udder.'[52]

However, this fact can scarcely be called a mystery, because for a cow – and Great Pṛ́śni *is* a cow, if not The Cow *par excellence* –, it is the most natural thing on earth to bear an udder.

[8] ṚV 7.63.3cd
eṣá me deváḥ savitā́ cachanda
yáḥ samānā́m ná praminā́ti dhā́ma //

49 Or rather, a hidden meaning meant to be "under-understood" (*sous-entendu*).

50 The well-attested word *dhī́ra-* (ṚV 55x) is either a substantive meaning 'the wise one' – that is, if it were internally derived from an original but unattested **dhīrá-* 'wise' showing the typical intonation of a *rá*-adjective built to a root in the low-grade –, or it is based on the frequent root-noun *dhī́-* f. 'insight, wisdom' (ṚV 273x [!]), in which case we would again have to do primarily with an adjective ('wise'), secondarily with a substantive ('the wise one'). For the two possibilities separately considered, see W&D 2.2: 849–858, § 684 and § 685.

51 In order to be restrictive, the *one* symbol or example would have to coincide in meaning with '*those* [*many*] mysteries', but that is excluded insofar as its singular differs in number from their plurality. Cf. *Look at *those* animals *there*, (*one of*) *which* has a hunch!.

52 Cf. Geldner 1951: 2.231: "*Diese* Geheimnisse kennt der Weise, *daß* die große Pṛśni (sie [die Marut]) im Euter getragen hat" and J&B 2014: 2.949: "*These* are the secrets the insightful one perceives: *what* great Pṛśni bore as her udder" (*my* italics). While Geldner takes *yád* as the conjunction "*daß*", J&B take it as the relative pronoun in the sense of "*what*". Their translation does not seem to solve the problem raised above, concerning the difference in number between the plural *etā́ni* "*these*" and the singular *yád* "*what*".

'*That* Heavenly one *there* (= the rising Sun)[53]
appears [and appeals] to me as Heavenly Savitar,
who does not infringe (upon) the common agreement
(the solemn covenant) [of the Ādityas].'

The relative clause *yáḥ samānáṃ ná praminắti dhắma* may refer to *eṣá* '*that* [(Heavenly) Sun] *there*' or to *deváḥ savitắ* 'Heavenly Savitar'. Since one appears [to me, the poet] as the other, it doesn't really matter which of the two is described in this *YÁD*-phrase; ultimately, they are both concerned: Sūrya – who is explicitly mentioned in the verses 1b (*sū́r¡yas*), 2b (*sū́r¡yasya*), and 4c (*sū́r¡yeṇa*) of this hymn[54] – as well as Savitar, whose emergence in 3c is foreshadowed in the compound *pra-savītár-* (ṚV 2x), attribute of Sūrya,[55] in 2a *úd ᵤv eti prasavītắ jánānām* 'And up He moves, (the Sun) promoter of the peoples.'[56]

Whether it is the one or the other, they are both heavenly (*devá-* m.) and would of course abide by their own law (*dhắman-* n. [ṚV 96x]), the common agreement of the Ādityas.[57] It is, therefore, not necessary to mention this fact in order to understand the exact *there*-deictic reference of *eṣá* to '*that* [Sun] *there*' in the East, to Him who rises bright and radiant 'from the lap of the Dawns' (cf. 3ab *vibhrā́jamāna uṣásām upásthād . . . úd eti . . .*), in all His oriental splendor.

53 Cf. the first half of this stanza, 3ab *vibhrā́jamāna uṣásām upásthād rebháir úd et¡y anumadyámānaḥ* "Aus dem Schoße der Uṣas *geht er* strahlend *auf*, von den Sängern bejubelt" (Geldner 1951: 2.239).

54 Rhetorically speaking, these three case-forms of the noun *sū́rya-* m. (nominative, genitive, and instrumental, respectively) exemplify the figure of speech that is called *polyptoton*.

55 In the other place where this agent noun occurs, *prasavītár-* m. qualifies Savitar, namely at 4.53.6 *bṛhátsumnaḥ prasavītắ nivéśaṇo jágata sthātúr ubháyasya yó vaśī́ | sá no deváḥ savitắ śárma yachatᵤv asmé kṣáyāya trivárūtham áṁhasaḥ* "Possessing lofty benevolence, the one who impels forth and causes to settle down, who exerts his will over both the moving world and the stationary, let him, god Savitar, hold out to us shelter providing threefold protection against distress for us and for our dwelling place" (J&B 2014: 1.638).

56 The adjective *deváḥ* 'heavenly', which stands between *eṣá* 'the one there' and *savitắ* 'the inciter, impeller, instigator', qualifies both Sūrya and Savitar. For another case of metrical and syntactic ambiguity, see above, the double-faced adverb *pradívi* at [5] ṚV 6.41.3d *yásyéśiṣe pradívi yás te ánnam* '[That Soma] of which you are master, and which is your food, from of old.'

57 In later Sanskrit, Sūrya came to be known as *The* Āditya, but already in the Ṛgveda, we find Him being called *ādityá-* 'Son of Aditi', if only occasionally, at ṚV 1.191.9a/c or 8.101.11ab, for instance.

Savitar, on the other hand, is not infrequently named together with other Ādityas: Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Aṁśa, and, most especially, with Bhaga the god '(hereditary) Share'. For "Sūrya the Āditya par excellence", see Knobl forthc. 2.

[9] ṚV 10.10.2ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.2ab ≈ PS 18.57.2ab)
*ná te sákhā sakhi̯áṃ vaṣṭi̯ *y etát*
sálakṣmā yád víṣurūpā bhávāti /

'Your companion does not want *that* companionship (of yours) *there, which* (?) . . . '[58]

Yamī knows *that* companionship *there* (*etát sakhi̯yám*) all too well, because she herself suggested it, if only in vain,[59] to her twin brother Yama at the very beginning of their heated dialogue:

[10] ṚV 10.10.1ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.1ab ≈ PS 18.57.1ab)
ó cit sákhāyaṁ sakhi̯yấ vavṝtyāṃ
tiráḥ purú cid arṇaváṃ jaganvấn /

'*And yet*, I would have liked
to make the companion revert to [acts of] companionship,[60]
(*even though*) he had gone across the sea, over so many ([sea] miles [?]).'[61]

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58 For two different translations of the second verse – one by Geldner, the other by J&B –, see below, footnote 67. It is not easy to coordinate *etád* with *yád*, unless the latter is taken as a conjunction; cf. Geldner's "daß" or J&B's "in that". Since *sálakṣmā* and *víṣurūpā* are both feminine in gender, they cannot agree with either of the two neuter pronouns.

59 The *vanity* of her suggestion is implied in the specific character of the perfect optative as a *modus irrealis*, or hypothetical mood, for which see the following footnote.

60 On the intriguing optative of the perfect, which occurs *five* times in this hymn, ṚV 10.10 (1a, 3d, 7c, 9b, 12a), and ought to be understood as a *hypothetical mood*, see Knobl 2007a: 121–122 n.51 = Knobl 2009c: 61–62 n.51, where all the *four* perfect optatives used by Yamī are quoted and translated in their respective context: [1] 1a *ā́ . . . vavṝtyām*, [2] 3d . . . *ā́ viviśyās*, [3] 7c . . . *riricyām*, and [4] 9b . . . *ún mimīyāt*. The *fifth* optative of the perfect, *sám papṝcyām*, occurs in the emphatic words pronounced by Yama at [5] 12a *ná vā́ u te tani̯vā́ tani̯vaṁ sám papṝcyām* 'On no account would I have commingled [my] body with your body.' A detailed discussion of this heavily hypermetrical *triṣṭubh* (!) of no fewer than fourteen syllables (= T^{14}) as a nice example of *intentional irregularity* can be found in Knobl 2007a: 131–135 = Knobl 2009c: 71–75.

For a more comprehensive treatment of the perfect optative as a *modus irrealis*, see Knobl forthc. 4.

For the occasional *causative* function of the perfect, as here of the optative *ā́ . . . vavṝtyām* 'I would have liked to *make* [the companion] *revert* [to acts of companionship]', see above, example [2] ṚV 1.182.5, with footnote 29, on *petathuḥ* 'you two *have made* [him] *fly*.'

61 In this translation of the phrase *purú cid arṇavám*, the adjective *purú* is understood as a plural (=*purū́ṇi* [*yójanāni*?]) independent of *arṇavám*. For the alternative of taking *purú* (= *purú_u* ?) as a singular qualifying *arṇavám*, see below, footnote 65.

And for *purú-* 'much, many' in combination with *yójana-* n. 'mile' (ṚV 18x), see ṚV 2.16.3d *yád āśúbhiḥ pátasi yójanā purú* "when with your swift (horses) you fly through many leagues" (J&B 2014: 1.423).

The following three remarks on different aspects of *jaganvấn* are intended to explain why I take the perfect participle in a [a] *finite*, [b] *concessive*, and [c] *pluperfective* sense, and why I render it as "(*even though*) he had gone . . . ". (The excursus ends, by way of foregone conclusion, with "it is *in vain*.").

Excursus (1) on *jaganvấn*

[a] Here, the perfect participle *jaganvấn* may be thought to function as a finite verb. This unusual usage is provided for by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.2.84 *bhūte* / 105 *chandasi liṭ* / 106 *liṭaḥ* ***k****ānaj vā* / 107 ***k****vas****u****ś ca*.[62] If the participle did not mean 'he has gone', we would have to assume that the nominative *jaganvấn* replaces an expected accusative **jaganvấṁsam* qualifying *sákhāyam* as 'having gone'.[63] But who will insist on making this assumption, after a better solution has been offered?

[b] The *concessive* meaning of the participle, as here of *jaganvấn* ('[*even though*] he had gone'), is one of many possible connotations a participle, whether present or perfect, may implicitly convey, including even causal and final ones.[64] In addition to that, the implied concessiveness of *jaganvấn* is strongly supported and further emphasized by the adversative particle *u* in verse *a*, which verse clearly parses *ấ_**u** cit . . .* , and possibly by another *u* in verse *b*, if that verse were analyzed as *tiráḥ purú*/*purū́_**u** cid . . .*[65] The resulting parallelism of the

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62 Those are rules valid for Sacred Vedic literature (*chándas-* n.); a few perfect participles functioning as finite verbs in the *spoken* Vedic language (*bhāṣāyām*) – six, to be exact – are enumerated by Pāṇini at Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.2.108–109: [1] *upasedivān* (√*sad*/**sd* 'sit'), [2] *anūṣivān* (√*vas*/*uṣ* 'stay [overnight]'), [3] *upaśuśruvān* (√*śrav*/*śru* 'hear, listen to'); [4] *upeyivān* (√*ay*/*i* 'go, move'), [5] *anāśvān* (√*aś*^{i} 'eat, consume'), and [6] *anūcānas* (√*vac*/*uc* 'speak').

Cf. Delbrück 1888: 394, who refers to just one possible case in point, i.e. *dadānás* at ṚV 5.2.3c *dadānó asmā amṛ́taṃ vipṛ́kvat* ("Ich gebe ihm [dem Agni?] das befreiende Lebenselixir" [Geldner 1951: 2.4] ~ "Da ich ihm [Indra?] gegeben habe den Unsterblichkeitstrank, den unvermischten" [Kümmel 2000: 239] ~ "as I gave to him my immortal (soma) without impurity" [J&B 2014: 2.663]).

See also Hoffmann 1975: 158–159 (= *KZ* 78 [1963]: 94–95) on the perfect participle *anuvidvấn* "vollständig kennt" at ŚS 12.2.38cd = 12.2.52cd (≈ PS 17.47.9cd ≈ 17.48.9cd), MS 1.6.2: 88.5, KS 7.14: 77.13, and ŚBM 1.5.1.6, as well as Thieme 1971: 1.619 (= *KZ* 78 [1963]: 95).

63 Apocope of a syllable, especially at the end of a verse, does happen sometimes.

64 For a detailed discussion of 26 Vedic present participles *of purpose*, all of which have a meaning that I would call "*final*" (as in *causa finalis*), and thus are expressive of *intentionality*, see Knobl 2004/2005.

65 If the neuter *purú*/*purū́* were to be read as the singular *purú* – not as the plural *purū́* –, it could qualify *arṇavám*. A meaning such as 'much sea' ("viel Meer") sounds not unlikely; rather

two metrical lines with two times ***u*** *cid* would seem to speak in favor of this analysis. And since the phrase particle *u* expresses opposition, it has a natural tendency to come in pairs. Minimally, with weak contrastive value, . . . *u* . . . *u* means ‘ . . . on the one hand, . . . on the other’.[66]

[c] The pluperfect ‘he *had* gone’ seems logically necessary, because the action of Yama’s former *going* expressed in the perfect participle *jaganvā́n* naturally antecedes that of Yamī’s unfulfillable *wishing* expressed in the perfect optative *ā́ . . . vavr̥tyām*. Even though this is a hypothetical mood (‘I would have liked to make [the companion] revert [to acts of companionship]’), it still refers to the past, if only to a possibility in the past, to one that now has passed beyond possible realization. At the present dramatic moment, the action of effectively *making* her companion Yama *revert* to acts of companionship cannot be realized any more by Yamī. However fervent her desire to make him come back may be, it is *in vain*.

Since Yamī knows the kind of companionship that Yama refers to with the *there*-deictic d-pronoun, she will of course be aware of its incestuous character, and therefore does not need the description of *etát sakh¡yám* given in the following *yád*-phrase: *sálakṣmā yád víṣurūpā bhávāti*.[67]

(“vielmehr”), considering semantics and etymology of *purú-/pūrví-* “voll” und “viel” (‘much’ and ‘many’), plenitude or multitude would fit the ocean admirably well.

66 My translation, “*And yet*, . . ., (*even though*) . . .”, places a decidedly greater emphasis on the opposition that sets the main sentence off against the subordinate clause, than if I said ‘on the one hand – on the other’.

67 Cf. the following two translations: “*daß* Blutsverwandtes (wie) Fremdartiges werde” (Geldner 1951: 3.134) and “*in that* she [=sexual partner] will have the same “marks” [=family characteristics] (though) dissimilar form [=gender]” (J&B 2014: 3.1382).

Here, both *lákṣmaṇ-* n. ‘mark, sign’ (ŚS 4x) in *sá-lakṣmaṇ-* (ṚV 2x) and *rūpá-* n. ‘color, form’ (ṚV 51x) in *víṣu-rūpa-* (ṚV 10x) seem to have a very special meaning. Apparently, they are based on the habit of a cattle-raising clan or people to “earmark” – *akṣ* (*akṣ-ṇo-*^{ti}); cf. the verbal adjective *aṣṭá-* (ṚV 2x) in *nír-aṣṭa-* “verschnittene (Stiere)” [Geldner] at 1.33.6c and in *aṣṭa-karṇī́-* f. “(cows) with cut-branded ears” [J&B] at 10.62.7c – or to “brand” their animals. The marking – even though, primarily, it will be a sign of ownership – would also help prevent incest among the cattle; and avoidance of inbreeding is essential to a healthy and prolific livestock.

Taking up a provisional attempt that I had made in my Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b), I would again try to translate ṚV 10.10.2ab in a somewhat periphrastic way: ‘Nicht will dein Partner *die* [Art von] Partnerschaft *da* mit dir, [eine Partnerschaft,] *bei der* die mit demselben Kennzeichen [wie ihr Partner] (*sá-lakṣmaṇ-* f.) zu einer würde, deren Farbe [von der des Partners] abwiche (*víṣu-rūpā-* f.) [und mit der die geschlechtliche Vereinigung folglich erlaubt wäre].’ As a matter of fact, that change – from ‘one with the same marks’ to ‘one with different colors’ – is purely hypothetical; if it were possible, there would be no incest.

[11] ṚV 10.10.8ab (≈ ŚS 18.1.9ab ≈ PS 18.57.9ab)
ná tiṣṭhanti ná ní miṣanti˛y eté
devā́nāṁ spáśa ihá yé cáranti |

'They do not stand still, they do not close their eyes,
those (men) *there*, *who* circulate *here* as spies of the gods.'

This is one of the 27 examples I have discussed in an as-yet-unpublished article on "*ETÁD* as subject in sentence-final position" (Knobl forthc. 3). To be sure, in this particular case we could perhaps consider that *eté* '*those* . . . *there*', though standing at the end of the first line, may be taken together with *devā́nāṁ spáśaḥ* 'spies of the gods' of the second, and that it starts a new sentence; but this is not what I would seriously suggest.[68]

There is a very distinct opposition between the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *eté* '*those* [spies]' and the *here*-deictic clause *ihá yé cáranti* 'who circulate here'.[69] It is difficult to conceive that *this* fact should be necessary in order to understand the exact reference of '*those* [spies]', who are already characterized as being on the move (*ná tiṣṭhanti*) and keeping their eyes open (*ná ní miṣanti*). Rather, *this* is additional information calculated to strike fear into Yamī's heart.[70]

68 It is not at all clear to me whether J&B take *eté* as (explicative, epexegetic) subject of the first two sentences in verse *a*, *ná tiṣṭhanti ná ní miṣanti*, or as belonging (in enjambment) with the phrase at the beginning of verse *b*, *devā́nāṁ spáśaḥ*. See their translation (2014: 3.1383): "*They* do not stand still; *they* do not blink – *the* spies of the gods who roam about here" (*my* italics). With reasonable dubitation, one may ask: Is it the double "*they*" that renders *eté*, or the article in "*the* spies"? In either case, the *there*-deixis of the d-pronoun *ETÁD* has remained unexpressed.

69 The anapæst of *ihá yé* represents the metrical foot that is most frequently met with in the break of a trimetric verse. This position would also allow for a metrically and semantically equivalent *yá imé* (=*yé_imé*). A comparable, if reverse, *YÁD–ETÁD* construction can be found at ṚV 10.71.9 *imé yé . . . tá eté . . .*, for which stanza see below, example [14].

70 In my partly published Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b), I wrote: "Diese warnenden Worte des Yama, mit denen er der Zwillingsschwester ihre obsessiven Inzestgedanken auszureden versucht, sind wie mit drohender Gebärde gesprochen. Denn dadurch, dass die Rede wechselt vom *da*-deiktischen *eté* – das *die* göttlichen Späher *da* noch in einigermaßen sicherem Abstand zu halten geeignet ist – zum *hier*-deiktischen *ihá* in dem Sätzchen *ihá yé cáranti* 'welche *hier* patrouillieren', rücken die spähenden Götterspione dem in Versuchung schwebenden Geschwisterpaar auf einmal beängstigend auf den Leib. Nicht, dass sich Yamī durch die von himmlischer Seite ihnen drohende Gefahr etwa beeindrucken ließe. Vielmehr bemüht sie sich weiter nach Kräften, den ungeniert geliebten Zwillingsbruder zu verführen."

[12] ṚV 10.16.8 (≈ ŚS 18.3.53 ≈ PS 18.74.7)
imám agne camasám mā́ ví jihvaraḥ
priyó devā́nām utá som$_{i}$*yā́nām* /
eṣá yás $_{ca}$ *camasó devapā́nas*
tásmin devā́ amṛ́tā mādayante //

Lass, o Agni, *den* Becher *hier* [an der Bahre des Toten] nicht hin und her schwanken,[71]
(den Becher,) der den Göttern und somawürdigen [Vätern] lieb ist.[72]
Und (andererseits) *der* Becher *da*, welcher den Göttern zum Trinken dient,[73] –
an dem berauschen sich die unsterblichen Götter. (Knobl 2018: 114)

Naturally, *the* drinking vessel *there* (*eṣá . . . camasás*) is not only different, but also *at some distance* farther away from *the* drinking vessel *here* (*imám . . . camasám*). And the syntax suggests that in this particular context, the *there*-deictic pronoun *ETÁD* enjoys an even greater independence than in any of the other contexts discussed in the present section; because, all by themselves, the two relative/correlative pronouns *yás . . . tásmin* – the first of which follows immediately after *eṣá* – achieve a

71 The third/reduplicated aorist *ji-hvar-a-*^{t} (ṚV 1x) corresponds to the present causative *hvār-aya-*^{ti} / *hvāl-aya-*^{ti}, which seems to be attested only two times in Brāhmaṇa prose. Of this rare causative, [1] the present participle *ava-hvārayant-* occurs at JB 1.79: 5–6 *tam* [=*droṇakalaśam*] *avahvārayan dakṣiṇā nirūhet*, and [2] the verbal adjective *sáṁ-hvārita-* is found at ŚBM 1.2.5.16 (≈ ŚBK 2.2.3.15) *sā́ vái paścā́d várīyasī syāt* / *mádhye sáṁhvāritā púnaḥ purástād urvī́ evám iva hí yóṣāṃ praśáṁsanti pṛthúśroṇir vímṛṣṭāntarāṁsā mádhye saṃgrāhyà̀* . . . "It (the altar [*védi-* f.!]) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: 'broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist)'. . ." (Eggeling). For the gerundive *saṃgrāhyà-*, allegedly meaning "contracted" (!) according to Eggeling, see, however, B&R 7.541 s.v., Bedeutung 1: "zu umfassen, zu umfangen", with reference to our ŚB passage. That 'praiseworthy' (*praśáṁsyā*) woman's waist would prove so excessively slender that it could be clasped or grasped ("embraced") all around with two open hands at once.

72 This translation ("der . . . lieb ist") seems to presuppose an original relative clause; and in fact, I am tempted to read *priyó yó* as the first part of a subordinate sentence in which the second *yó* would have been lost by haplology. However, in contradistinction to the subscript *ca* in verse *c* – which is *metrically* necessary and may as well be pronounced (see the following footnote) –, the expected relative pronoun *yás* in verse *b* is *syntactically* necessary, although metrically redundant, and should only be thought, *not* pronounced. For another possible case of *mental suppletion*, see Knobl forthc. 5.

73 For the subscript *ca* before *camasó*, which I added in order to restore the metrical pattern of a regular *triṣṭubh*, see Knobl 2018: 114 n.31. The haplological loss of a syllable (*ca camasó* → *camasó*), leading to a catalectic verse, may be supposed to have happened already in the original, whether it was intended by the poet or not. N&H's suggestion, metrical note on ṚV 10.16.8c (1994: 542), to the effect that this *triṣṭubh* line of *ten* syllables (T^{10}) has to be read with an exceptional cæsura after three (!), is but a *Notbehelf* and *Verlegenheitslösung*, only provisionally acceptable – as long as no better solution has been found.

complete *YÁD–TÁD* construction of their own. The poet seems to use the pronoun *eṣá* almost as a *there*-deictic exclamation or interjection,[74] by means of which he would just point at the second vessel, saying: 'and *there! that* beaker, *which* . . . ', instead of 'and *that* beaker *there*, *which* is the drinking vessel of the gods (*deva-pắna-*)'.[75]

> [13] ṚV 10.50.6ab
> *etắ víśvā sávanā tūtumắ kr̥ṣe*
> *svayáṁ sūno sahaso yắni dadhiṣé* /
>
> All *those* soma-pressings you [o Agni] have made (*kr̥ṣe*) powerful (*tūtumắ*),
> *which* (soma-pressings) you, o Son of Strength, have made yours.

While in this translation,[76] *tūtumắ* is understood as an adjective qualifying 'all those soma-pressings' (*etắ víśvā sávanā*) as 'powerful',[77] and *kr̥ṣe* as a verb form ('you have made'),[78] in J&B's alternative rendering, which is based on a contracted *tūtumắkr̥ṣe*, the first word, taken as *tūtumắ*, is considered a verb form ("We have made . . . powerful")[79] and the remaining *ắkr̥ṣe* as a dative-infinitive ("to draw (you) here").[80]

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74 In a manner similar to French *voilà!*.

75 As is sometimes the case, compounds may be made up of words that are not yet attested individually. Thus, *pắna-* does not occur before the AV (ŚS 1x), while *deva-pắna-* is attested earlier, and also more frequently (ṚV 5x, ŚS 2x).

76 Cf. Geldner 1951: 3.211: "All diese Somaopfer hast du wirkungsvoll gemacht."

77 The adjective *tūtumá-* occurs only twice in the ṚV, at 10.50.5d and 6a, in almost identical verses; see Lubotsky 1997: 1.600b. To be sure, tradition reads the last two words of 5d and 6a as . . . *tūtumắ kr̥ṣe*; cf. the oldest interpretation of the *saṁhitā-pāṭha-*, that is, Śākalya's *pada-pāṭha-*: *tūtumắ* / *kr̥ṣe* //. We would be free, however, to contract the two words into *tūtumắkr̥ṣe*, if this contraction led to a meaningful re-analysis. The only alternative that seems to offer itself is the one J&B have chosen, i.e. to read *tūtumắ_ắkr̥ṣe*. For my criticism of this reading, see below.

78 It would appear that Geldner was the first to identify *kr̥ṣé* (ṚV 2x) and *kr̥ṣe* (ṚV 3x) as a perfect without reduplication; see his note on ṚV 8.3.20d "*kr̥ṣé* = *cakr̥ṣé*, Perf. ohne Redupl.". Cf. Lubotsky 1997: 1.444a, where *kr̥ṣé* is hesitantly qualified as "nonce form[ation] (?)". The regularly reduplicated 2nd person singular of the middle – *cakr̥ṣé* (ṚV 6x) or *cakr̥ṣe* (ṚV 4x) – is just a little more frequent.

79 According to Lubotsky 1997: 1.600b, the perfect of *tav*^{i}/*tū* < PIE **teu̯h*$_2$/*tuh*$_2$ 'schwellen, stark werden' (*LIV* 639–640) is attested only once in the indicative (*tūtāva*) and thrice in the injunctive (*tūtos* 1x, *tūtot* 2x), unless these three forms belong to the third aorist, which seems, however, unlikely. See Whitney 1889: 312 § 868a, who first enumerates all the (12) very parallel verb forms that were considered reduplicated aorists: *tū-to-*^{t}, *du-dro-*^{t}, *dū-dho-*^{t}, *nū-no-*^{t}, *pi-pre-*^{t}, *pu-po-*^{t}, *mī-me-*^{t}, *yū-yo-*^{t}, *śi-śre-*^{t}, *si-ṣe-*^{t}, *su-ṣo-*^{t}, *su-sro-*^{t}, and then goes on to conclude the paragraph by saying: "Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect system." No doubt, they should.

80 Cf. J&B 2014: 3.1458: "We have made all these soma-pressings powerful, to draw (you) here."

However, the regular intonation of **ā-kr̥ṣ-*, if that compound existed at all,[81] would have to be **ā-kŕ̥ṣ-*, not †*ā́-kr̥ṣ-*. See the many examples of root-compounds with a preposition as first member that occur in the R̥gveda, all of which carry the tone on the root-syllable.[82]

Here, I find it difficult to decide whether the subordinate clause *svayáṁ . . . yáni dadhiṣé* is limitative or not.[83] If Agni has made those soma-pressings strong and effective, does this not mean that he must have adopted and incorporated them first? Or could it be that he has made them his own only sometimes, and that therefore the *YÁD*–phrase would restrict the strengthening effect of Agni to a limited number of cases? Formulated thus, the two alternatives sound unequally convincing. And after some hesitation, I am inclined to consider it more likely that adoption or incorporation of the soma-pressings by Agni is a necessary condition for his action, and that the subordinate clause is merely descriptive, not restrictive.

2 The *YÁD–ETÁD* Construction in the R̥gveda

This is the inverted version of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, and it occurs even less frequently than the one just discussed, which is already very rare.[84] Here too, the *YÁD*–phrase contains a verb or two: [14] *yé . . . cáranti* (a), [15] *yád . . . vádati* (a), *yát . . . kr̥ṇóti* (b); and, as in examples [5] *yás te ánnam* (d) and [12] *yáś ca camasó* (c) of section A., we also find a noun – or rather, two – together with the relative pronoun in one and the same subordinate clause: [14] *yé . . .* (a) *brāhmaṇā́so . . . sutékarāsaḥ* (b).

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81 The root *karṣ*/*kr̥ṣ* 'draw, drag, plow' (class I present *kárṣ-a-*^{ti} [ṚV 4x, ŚS 2x] / class VI present *kr̥ṣ-á-*^{ti} [ṚV 4x, ŚS 2x]) < PIE **k*^{u}*els* 'Furchen ziehen, einfurchen' (*LIV* 388–389) does not seem to form *any* root-compound in Vedic. Nor is the root-noun *kŕ̥ṣ-* attested.

82 Suffice it to mention just four of the more frequent among the many dative-infinitives that occur in the ṚV: *abhi-cákṣ-e* (3x), *vi-cákṣ-e* (6x), *ā-dhr̥ṣ-e* (7x), *ā-rábh-e* (4x). For the intonation of root-compounds in general, see Scarlata 1999.

83 Cf. the following two translations: "welche du . . . selbst dir angeeignet hast" (Geldner 1951: 3.211) and "which you have (now) taken into your own self" (J&B 2014: 3.1458).

84 I am grateful to George Dunkel for having asked about this inversion of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, for which no example had been given in the paper that I presented at the 2019 Atharvaveda conference in Zurich. My brief impromptu reply to his question will have to be refined in the present section, where two exemplary ṚV stanzas are discussed, together with their AV parallels. In the course of my discussion, I will quote a few German passages that were formulated earlier on, in partly published (Knobl 2018), partly unpublished (Knobl 2007b) texts.

This section of the paper is offered to professor Dunkel, as a token of respect and admiration.

[14] ṚV 10.71.9
imé yé nárvāṅ ná paráś cáranti
ná brāhmaṇáso ná sutékarāsaḥ /
tá eté vā́cam abhipádya pāpáyā
sirís tántraṃ tanvate áprajajñayaḥ //

Die, welche *hier* sich nicht herwärts und nicht hinwärts bewegen,
die keine [echten] Dichter sind[85] und nicht handelnd Anteil am Soma haben,[86]
die fallen *da* auf üble Art und Weise über die Rede her und ziehen – so unwissend
wie unwirksam[87] – 'Spinnfäden' (*sirís*) als ihre Gewebekette auf. (Knobl 2018)[88]

85 The subordinate clause *yé . . . ná brāhmaṇásas* '[these here,] who are no (true) poet-priests' may be compared with the negative compound *á-brāhmaṇa-* m. "non-Brahman" (W&L), which first occurs in the AV (ŚS 5.17.8b; 11.1.32b; 12.4.43d, and 12.4.44c = 46c). In Vedic, this compound simply means 'one who is not a poet-priest'; it does not yet seem to be attested in the sense of 'bad/unworthy *brāhmaṇá-*'. According to W&D 1957: II 1.79 § 31d, *a-brāhmaṇa-* meaning "der kein rechter Brahmane ist" ("mit Verneinung der prägnant gefaßten Bedeutung des Hinterglieds" [!]) only occurs in classical Sanskrit. See, however, the early Vedic *á-dhenu-* f. 'milk-cow not yielding milk' (ṚV 1.117.20a, 10.71.5c; ŚS 6.59.1c ≈ PS 19.14.10c), and cf. German *Undichter* 'unechter Dichter, (Dichterling, Poetaster)', *Unmensch* 'unmenschlicher Mensch', or *Unwetter* '(extrem) schlechtes Wetter'.
86 If the negative phrase *ná sutékarāsaḥ* really referred to certain, inadequate poet-priests as the ones "who do not perform in the soma-pressing" (J&B) or "die nicht bei dem Soma mitwirken" (Geldner), would this not mean that the unique compound *suté-kara-* (ṚV 1x) is considered an agent noun? However, if it were that, a regular **sute-kārá-* should be expected instead; cf. *-kārá-* m. (*-kārī́-* f.) as second member in some 20 comparable oxytone compounds occurring in the Saṁhitās: [1] *brahma-kārá-* (ṚV 6.29.4c), [2] *medhā-kārá-* (ṚV 10.91.8a), [3] *yut-kārá-* (ṚV 10.103.2b); [4] *ailaba-kārá-* (ŚS 11.2.30a ≈ PS 16.106.10a); [5] *iṣu-kārá-* (VSM 30.7), [6] *jyā-kārá-* (VSM 30.7), [7] *dhanuṣ-kārá-* (VSM 30.7), [8] *maṇi-kārá-* (VSM 30.7), [9] *ratha-kārá-* (VSM 30.6), [10] *surā-kārá-* (VSM 30.11), [11] *hiraṇya-kārá-* (VSM 30.17), *etc*. For another *-kārá-* compound the first member of which stands in a case-form, see [12] *bhakṣam-kārá-* (MS 4.7.3: 96.14).

The actual accentuation of the first member suggests that *suté-kara-* is a bahuvrīhi; the form of the second, that we may have to do with *kará-* 'hand' (ṚV 2x [1.116.13a and 10.67.6b], ŚS 1x [12.2.2b]). The compound could, therefore, rather refer to one 'who *has a hand* in the soma-pressing'. For the meaning, cf. the root-compound *sute-gṛ́bh-* (ṚV 1x [5.44.5a]) "in den Soma greifend (um zu schöpfen)" (B&R 7.1055): *suté* [*karéṇa* = *hástena*] *gṛbhṇāti*/*gṛhṇāti* [*gráham* (!)]. In this compound, neither the direct object (*gráha-* m. 'scoop' [ṚV 1x, ŚS 3x]), nor the organ or instrument of scooping (*kará-* m. 'hand' [ṚV 2x, ŚS 1x] or *camasá-* m. 'ladle' [ṚV 23x, ŚS 8+*3x]) are explicitly mentioned; they are, however, necessarily implied in the action, tacitly taking part in it as the *kāraka-* (act-participant) *karmaṇ-* and *karaṇa-* respectively, the locative *suté-* (literally: 'in the [pressing process of the] pressed [soma-drink]') collaborating as the *adhi-karaṇa-*.
87 For the two different meanings of the adjective *á-pra-jajñi-*: either 'ignorant', if it is based on the verbal compound *pra-jñā*, or 'unproductive', if it belongs with *pra-jan*^{i}, see Knobl 2018: 117 n.42.
88 For this translation and the suggested meaning 'Spinnfaden' of *sirí-*/*sirī́-* f. (ṚV 1x), see Knobl 2018: 117–118, example (12).

Even though the two d-pronouns *imé* and *eté*, by virtue of their marked demonstrative divergence, stand in clear opposition to one another, *imé yé* and *tá eté* are, none the less, correferential, insofar as they separately point at the same group of persons: first, at *these*, who are *here*, and then, at *those*, who are *there*; but both of them – *these* as well as *those* – are the identical unpoetic poets or unpriestly priests.[89]

[15] ṚV 10.165.4 (≈ PS 19.27.11; 4ab ≈ ŚS 6.29.1bc, 4d = ŚS 6.28.3d)
yád úlūko vádati moghám etád
yát kapótaḥ padám agnáu kr̥ṇóti /
yásya dūtáḥ práhita eṣá etát
tásmai yamā́ya námo astu mr̥tyáve //

Was *der* Uhu (*da*) tönt, nichtig ist *das* (*da*);[90]
welche Fußspur *der* Tauber (*da*) [in der Asche] am Feuer macht,
[nichtig ist auch *die* (*da*)].
Ehre soll sein dem Yama, dem Tode,
als wessen Bote ausgesandt *der da das da* [tut]. (Knobl 2007b)[91]

"Das maskuline *eṣás* '*der da*' in Vers c meint ebenso den Uhu (*úlūka-* m.) in *a* wie den Tauber (*kapóta-* m.) in *b*. Und das danebenstehende Neutrum *etád* '*das da*' bezieht sich sowohl auf *yád . . . vádati* 'was er (*der* Uhu [*da*]) tönt' als auch auf *yát . . . padám . . . kr̥ṇóti* 'welche Fußspur er (*der* Tauber [*da*]) macht.'[92]

89 "*Diese* (= die *Undichter* und *Unpriester*) werden zwar zunächst, ganz neutral und objektiv, als '*die hier*' angesprochen, da sie offenbar an demselben Ort versammelt sind wie all die anderen zum dichterischen Wettstreit angetretenen Brahmanen. Aber dann *distanziert sich* der Dichter dieser Strophe mit '*die da*' von ihnen, weil sie eben doch nicht richtig dazugehören, jedenfalls nicht zu ihm und seinesgleichen. Aufgrund ihres inkompetenten und also auch unkollegialen Verhaltens haben sie sich seine *da*-deiktische *Abweisung* zugezogen. Das D-Pronomen *ETÁD* ist also hier auch *distanzierend-despektierlich* gebraucht." (Knobl 2018: 118, comment on example [12], slightly modified).

90 The main sentence *moghám etád* in 4a, with the *there*-deictic pronoun as subject in *final* position – for which see Knobl forthc. 3, where some thirty examples of *ETÁD* placed at the end of a verse or sentence are discussed – and with an adverb as *fronted* predicate, could also mean '*let* that *be* in vain', if the imperative *astu* of verse 4d were anticipated. Cf. Geldner (1951: 3.392): "das *soll* eitel *sein*", but J&B (2014: 3.1646): "that *comes* to nothing" (*my* italics). Actually, the indicative may be felt to have a greater impact than the imperative.

91 This translation and the following remarks are taken from the unpublished part of my Freiburg paper (Knobl 2007b). Cf. the rendering of that somewhat complicated stanza into English (Knobl 2003: 5 = Knobl 2009c: 143): "What sound the owl makes, *that* be in vain; and what footprint the dove makes [in the ashes] at the fireside, [*that*, too, be in vain]. Obeisance be to him – as whose envoy *that* [owl] (*that* [dove]), which has been sent out, [makes] *that* [sound] (*that* [footprint]) – to Yama, to Death!".

92 Unfortunately, the German vocabulary does not seem to allow for using a *neuter noun* as a translation word of Vedic *padá-* n. 'footfall, footprint, footstep, footpath' (ṚV 109x). While the two

Es sieht nun zwar zunächst so aus, als erschöpfe sich *etád* des ersten Satzes – *yád úlūko vádati moghám etád* 'Was der Uhu tönt, nichtig ist *das*' – in seiner korrelativen Funktion. Aber der stärker *da*-deiktische Gebrauch von *eṣás* und *etád* in Vers *c* macht es wahrscheinlich, dass auch schon *etád* in Vers *a* so aufzufassen ist und eine Übersetzung 'Was *der* Uhu (*da*) tönt, nichtig ist *das* (*da*)' ihre Berechtigung hat.

Von dem dreimaligen *ETÁD* in dieser Strophe lässt sich abschließend noch folgendes sagen: Mit der *distanzierenden* Funktion des *da*-deiktischen Pronomens[93] soll offenbar eine *apotropäische* Wirkung erzielt werden. Zugleich mit der vom Wunsch beseelten Behauptung, dass Schrei des Uhus und Schritt des Taubers vergeblich geschrien und geschritten seien, rückt allein schon der Gebrauch des Pronomens der mittleren Distanz sie als *das da* in eine gewisse, weit weniger gefährliche Ferne, ja wird die Bedrohung durch die beiden Unglücksvögel und Todesboten womöglich ganz von uns abgewendet." (Knobl 2007b)

It is on account of a remarkable surplus of meaning – brought about by the special *there*-deictic character, which so conspicuously distinguishes *ETÁD* – that this pronoun transcends the purely correlative function. Although, referentially, *ETÁD* partly depends on the *YÁD*–phrase, and therefore is, to a certain extent, defined and limited by it, the greater demonstrative force of the *there*-deictic pronoun guarantees a partial *independence* of the triple *ETÁD* from the three subordinate clauses.[94]

In this rare and precious example, it is not only the more emphatic *there*-deixis that makes the difference, but also the added *disparaging* connotation of *ETÁD*.[95]

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inauspicious bird-names "*der* Uhu" and "*der* Tauber" – masculine nouns that happen to be available in the language – are congeneric with Vedic *úlūka-* m. 'owl' (ṚV 1x) and *kapóta-* m. 'dove' (ṚV 6x) respectively, '*die* Fußspur' (or, '*die* Fußstapfe') is as generically different from *padá-* n. as '*der* Fußabdruck' would be. I wish we could make the neuter '*das* Füßchen' mean 'footprint'. If that were possible, I should feel free to render verse 4b *yát kapótaḥ padám agnáu karóti* in a more *padá*-fitting way: 'welches "Füßchen" *der* Tauber (*da*) [in der Asche] am Feuer macht, [nichtig ist auch *das* (*da*)].'

93 This particular *distancing* – and, as a result, *derogatory* – function of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun is a quite natural consequence of its pointing at a certain *distance*. In a separate section of Knobl 2007b, two dozen examples taken from the ṚV are quoted in proof of a *depreciatory* connotation that *ETÁD* occasionally has. Cf. also Knobl 2018: 108 with n.6.

94 By contrast, in the *YÁD–TÁD* construction of the second distich, ṚV 10.165.4cd *yásya dūtáḥ . . . tásmai yamā́ya . . .* '*whose* messenger . . ., *to that* Yama . . .', *TÁD* is entirely dependent on *YÁD*. Obeisance must be made to Yama(=Death), insofar as the two sinister birds, the owl and the dove, are His ominous messengers. The poet's respect or reverence is conditioned by *their* threatening appearance, the owl's hooting and the dove's footing.

95 For a more or less reviling / debasing / degrading / denigrating shade of meaning the *there*-deictic d-pronoun may sometimes convey, see above, footnote 93, and the references given there.

3 *Split* or *Double* Reference of *ETÁD* in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda

Before discussing, in the next section (D.), the *ETÁD–yád* construction first occurring in the Atharvaveda – a construction that is significantly different from the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of both ṚV and AV–, I will first take up two couplets and one stanza of the Yama-and-Yamī dialog, ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.2ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab), ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd), and ŚS 18.1.14 (≈ PS 18.58.3ab, 4cd), where the d-pronoun *etád* functions in a twofold way, both as *that* and as *this*, anaphorically as well as cataphorically, at one and the same time.[96]

In the *ultimately* vain attempt to seduce her twin half-brother Yama,[97] lovesick and languishing Yamī resorts to the gods, early on in the dialogue-hymn ṚV 10.10, with the apparent intention to claim the gods'– moral or immoral? – support for her seductive efforts.

Yama formulates his blunt refusal of her amorous advances in verse 2a *ná te sákhā sakhᵢyáṃ vaṣṭᵢy etát* 'Your companion does not want *that* [immoral] companionship (of yours) *there*.'[98] Briskly reacting to that denial, Yamī has recourse, in the following stanza, to the will of a higher authority, to one that could be expected to carry greater conviction than her own desire. This is what she says in that distich:

> [16] ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.3ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab)
> *uśánti ghā té amṛ́tāsa etád*
> *ékasya cit tyajásam mártᵢyasya* |
>
> 'The immortals do want [just] *that* – namely *this* –:
> an heir of the one-and-only mortal [on earth].'[99]

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96 One part of the present section is based on a footnote in my mind-reading article (Knobl 2007a: 116 n.32 = Knobl 2009c: 56 n.32); another part, on one of the three as-yet-unpublished papers I presented at the 14th World Sanskrit Conference in Kyoto (Knobl 2009a).

97 When I say "*ultimately* vain", I do not mean to contradict the fact that from the very beginning of this hymn, i.e. already in the first verse of the first stanza, at 10.10.1a, the *futility* of Yamī's wishful trying is implied in the optative of the perfect *ā́ . . . vavṛ́tyām* 'I would have liked [however (*u*)] to make [my companion] revert [to acts of companionship]', if that optative is properly understood as a *hypothetical mood*; see above, footnote 60.

98 For a discussion of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction in the distich ṚV 10.10.2ab, see above, example [10].

99 And she means to say in this indirect way: 'Procreative love is precisely the sort of companionship that I, Yamī, would have desired to enjoy with you, Yama.' The 'heir' (*tyajás-* m. [ṚV 1x], which is internally derived from *tyájas-* n. 'the leaving behind, dereliction, abandonment' [ṚV 9x]), mentioned in 3b, refers to the same male descendent that was strangely called *pitúr nápāt-* 'grandson of the father' in 1c.

To be sure, we may interpret the demonstrative force of *etád* as functioning in two different directions: as *that* it refers back to what preceded (to the left [←] or above [↑]), as *this* it points forward at what will follow (to the right [→] or below [↓]).[100] Finally, however, both *this* and *that* indicate one and the same person, the male descendent wanted by the immortals as 'an heir of the one-and-only mortal [on earth].'

The pronoun *etád* appears to display a two-directional – *split* or *double* – and, therefore, diverging reference also in the words that Yamī aims at Yama in this second distich:

> [17] ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd)
> *kā́mamūtā bahu̯v etád rapāmi*
> *tanu̯vā́ me tanu̯vaṁ sám pipṛgdhi* //
>
> 'Moved by desire, I keep babbling *that* – namely *this* –:
> "Do commingle [your] body with my body!".'[101]

In functioning as *that*, *etád* refers (anaphorically [↑] or leftward [←]) back to what was meant by the same *etád* in verse 2a *ná te sákhā sakhi̯yáṃ vaṣṭi̯y etát* 'Your companion [o Yamī] does not want *that* [immoral, incestuous] companionship (of yours) *there*.'[102]

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100 It is very convenient that in English we are allowed to distinguish between *that* and *this* in a two-directional way: *that* pointing backward or leftward, *this* pointing forward or rightward; cf. The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: "To be, or not to be: *that* is the question" (III 1) on the one hand, and, on the other, "*This* above all: to thine owne selfe be true" (I 3).

101 Literally, *bahú . . . rapāmi* means 'I babble much', the adverb 'much' in the iterative sense of 'many times over, again and again'. The frequentative meaning, as it may also be called, could have been expressed by the intensive **rārapīmi* as well; cf. *rārapīti* at ṚV 6.3.6b *śocíṣā rāˇrapīti mitrámahāḥ* 'He (Agni) chatters-and-prattles with his flame', in a verse displaying a mid-word cæsura of a very rare kind, of one that is represented by only five intensive formations – three finite verb forms ([1] the indicative *rāˇrapīti*, [2] the injunctive *daviˇdyot*, and [3] the subjunctive *parˇpharat*), [4] a participle (*márˇmṛjatas*), and [5] a substantivized adjective (*cárˇcaram*) –; for a detailed discussion of these forms, see Knobl 2021: 175ff.

For the neuter singular *bahú* (ṚV 7x, ŚS 13+*1x) functioning as an *adverb* only once in the Ṛgveda, see Knobl 2007a: 71 n.77 = Knobl 2009c: 131 n.77. For a few examples of adverbial *bahú* in the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā – at PS 3.37.9d *atho tvā rodayān bahu* "et ensuite ils te feront beaucoup pleurer" and PS 7.13.14b = 15.19.12b *ichantīḥ prayutaṃ bahu* "eagerly seeking out the unsuspecting person" –, see Spiers 2020: 545–546 and Griffiths 2009: 396. Delbrück 1888: 185–186 mentions a single occurrence of the adverb in Vedic prose, i.e. at ŚBM 4.1.5.14 *bahú manuṣyèṣu sáṁsṛṣṭam acāriṣṭam* 'You two [Aśvins] moved *much* about [as divine physicians] among men, in promiscuous contact [with them].'

102 Shall we render *te* in ṚV 10.10.2a two times: once as '*your* [companion]' and once as '[*that* companionship] *of yours* [*there*]'? According to what I have said above, in footnote 32, with regard to the *you*-deixis sometimes inherent to the *there*-deixis of *ETÁD* – namely that *te* in [1] ṚV 1.31.18ab

In functioning as *this*, *etád* refers (cataphorically [↓] or rightward [→]) to the following urgent request explicitly stating, for clarity's sake, the contents of *that*: 'Do commingle [your] body with my body!'

[18] ŚS 18.1.14 (≈ PS 18.58.3ab/4cd; ab ≈ ṚV 10.10.12ab)
ná vā́ u te tanúṃ tanvà sáṃ paprcyāṃ
pāpám āhur yáḥ svásāraṃ nigácchāt /
ásaṃyad etán mánaso hṛ́dó me
bhrā́tā svásuḥ śáyane yác cháyīya //

'Not at all would I have mixed [my] body with your body;[103]
evil they call [him] who would come down on [his] sister.[104]
This – namely *that* – [would be] discordant (*ásaṃyat*) to my mind and heart,
that I as [your] brother should be lying there (*śáyīya*) in [my] sister's lair (*śáyane*).'[105]

Because of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction in the second distich (14cd), this stanza could have been quoted in section A. It has, however, its proper place here, in section C.; not only does stanza [18] belong to the same hymn as the distichs [16] and [17] – that is, to the Yama-and-Yamī dialog –, but also is the (*two-directional*) function of *etád* in 14c yet another good example of the "*split* or *double* reference" this d-pronoun sometimes displays.

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and [3] ṚV 3.33.8ab, if it were added to the pronoun, would be superfluous –, we should take *te* in ṚV 10.10.2a primarily with *sákhā 'your* companion', and only secondarily with *sakh$_i$yám . . . etát* '*that* companionship (*of yours*) *there*'.

103 For the optative of the perfect as a *hypothetical mood* (or, *modus irrealis*), see above, footnotes 60 and 97.

104 The distich ŚS 18.1.14ab – showing the secondary accusative *tanúm* (for *tan$_{ú}$vam*) in *a* – is to be compared with the more original couplet ṚV 10.10.12ab (≈ PS 18.58.3ab) *ná vā́ u te tan$_{ú}$vā́ tan$_{ú}$vaṁ sám paprcyāṃ pāpám āhur yáḥ svásāraṃ nigáchāt* "No, I would never commingle my body with your body. Evil they call [him] who should come down on his sister" (Knobl 2007a: 131 = Knobl 2009c: 71; ibid.: 131–135 = 71–75, the drastically hypermetrical *triṣṭubh* [T^{14}] (!) of *pāda a* is interpreted as an irregularity likely to be intended by the poet, who may have ventured it for the sake of creating a *surplus of meaning*).

The subsequent two verses, ŚS 18.1.14cd, have no parallel in the Ṛgveda.

105 Or else, 'if I . . . were to be lying there', because we could understand the optative *śáyīya* as a potential mood. For the *there-deictic* (!), *de-particular* (!) – and not only "stative" – Vedic root *śay*/*śi* 'to be lying *there*' (ṚV 51x, ŚS 29x) < PIE *k̂eḭ*/*k̂i* '[*da*]liegen' (cf. *LIV* 320), see Knobl 2009b.

ŚS 18.1.14d *śáyane . . . śáyīya* '[that] I should be lying there in a [sister's] lair' – the intransitive verb being construed with a cognate noun in the *locative* – is an etymological construction of a rather rare kind. For a similar example, see above, in the comment on [6]: ṚV 7.7.5ab *ásādi . . . nṛ́sádane* "[Agni] has been seated at the seat of men" (J&B 2014: 2.892). As here, at ṚV 7.7.5ab, 'seated' and 'seat' are related through a common origin, so there, at ŚS 18.1.14d, 'lying' and 'lair' (German "Lager"). More frequent is the construction of a transitive verb with a cognate *accusative*, such as *tántraṃ tanvate* at ṚV 10.71.9d, for which see above, example [14].

In order better to understand what happens in the three ṚV or AV passages quoted above, at [16] 10.10.3ab, [17] 10.10.11cd, and [18] ŚS 18.1.14, we may perhaps compare the fifth and last stanza of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's poem "Selige Sehnsucht" in his West=Östlicher Divan, VIII. Buch: Suleika, in which stanza *das* ('*that*') and *dieses* ('*this*') co-occur and clearly refer – the first, implicitly; the second, explicitly – to one and the same arcane truth ("Sagt es niemand, nur den Weisen, Weil die Menge gleich verhöhnet," [1ab]), the mysterious insight that ecstatic life lusts to die-in-flames ("Das Lebend'ge will ich preisen, Das nach Flammentod sich sehnet." [1cd]). Now, *that* stanza runs like *this*:

> Und solang Du *das* nicht hast,
> *Dieses*: Stirb und werde!
> Bist Du nur ein trüber Gast
> Auf der dunklen Erde.

4 The *ETÁD–yád* Construction in the Atharvaveda

As pointed out above, the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of ṚV and AV is very rare. Vedic Prose, on the other hand, is replete with sentences of the *ETÁD–YÁD* variety, of which two subtypes need to be distinguished. One preserves the kind of construction that we know already from ṚV and AV, in which *ETÁD* and *YÁD* refer to the same nucleus, agreeing with it in gender and number,[106] unless *YÁD* takes the form of the neuter singular *yád* and works as conjunction.[107]

In the other subtype, *ETÁD* and *YÁD* are likewise co-referential, but now *YÁD* has altogether lost its variability. That inflexible neutral form, different in character from the conjunction *yád*, may be called *yád figé*.[108]

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106 The following are a few examples of the first subtype: KS 8.12: 95.16 *ayajñó hí_eṣá yó_anagnír* 'Without sacrifice is he who is without fire', KS 11.8: 154.7–8 *ná_eṣá jīvó ná mr̥tó yá āmayāvī́* 'Neither alive nor dead is he who is diseased', KS 11.8: 154.8–9 *váruṇagr̥hīta eṣá yá āmayāvī́* 'Seized by Varuṇa is he who is diseased', TS 6.4.9.1–2 *ápūto hí_eṣó_amedhyó yó bhiṣák* 'For impure is he, unfit for sacrifice, who is a physician'.

107 This may be the case in ṚV 3.33.8ab *etád váco . . . ā́ yát te ghóṣān . . .*; see above, example [3], where *yád* was taken as a conjunction of purpose in the sense of "en sorte que" by Renou and "so that" by J&B. Cf. also above, (1) the discussion on example [7] ṚV 7.56.4 *etā́ni . . . niṇyā́ . . . yád ū́dhas . . .*, with footnote 48, and (2) the discussion on example [9] ṚV 10.10.2ab *sakʰi̯yám . . . etát . . . yád . . .*, with footnote 58.

108 *ETÁD–yád* constructions of this second type are extremely well attested in Vedic Prose: In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa alone, more than a hundred examples – 118, to be exact – are reported to

The first attestations of that *yád*, which I fancied styling *figé*, can be found in several prose passages of the Śaunaka-Saṁhitā; see below, samples [1]–[6] in section G.

Surprisingly, that inflexible *yád* also occurs – although in the absence of an expected concomitant *ETÁD* – in a metrical text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā.

[19] PS 6.9.1
vr̥ṣāyam aṁśur vr̥ṣabhāya gr̥hyate
vr̥ṣāyam ugro $_{gr̥hyate}$ *nr̥cakṣase* /
divyo naryo acikradan
mahan nāma r̥ṣabhasya yat kakut //

The Bull here, the [soma plant's] stalk, [its draught] is drawn for the Bull (Indra).
The Bull here, the awesome one, [is drawn] for the manly-eyed one.[109]
The heavenly one, the manly one has just uttered a roar.
Great is the name of the Bull, namely *HUNCH*.

In our *yád figé* context, we are mainly concerned with the last line of this stanza.[110] It was translated by Griffiths (2009: 110) in a way that seems to overly simplify the surprising construction for the sake of a straightforward meaning: "The withers of the bull are called Great."[111]

occur; see Verpoorten 1977. And it is safe to say that the total number of *ETÁD–yád* occurrences in Vedic prose adds up to well over one thousand.

109 The incomplete parallelism of verses *a* and *b* seems to call for metrical and syntactic completion. While *a* is a perfect Jagatī, *b* falls short of a dodecasyllabic verse by no fewer than *three* syllables; however, on account of its normal, pentasyllabic opening (*vr̥ṣāyam ugro*) and, more importantly, a very regular iambic cadence (*nr̥cakṣase*), *b* could still pass for a Jagatī, if only for a drastically catalectic one (J[9]). The addition of a subscript *gr̥hyate* in line *b* – at the place where the *break* should be – would restore both meter and syntax to normalcy.

This is a well-known syntactic phenomenon, that in two parallel sentences, the finite verb appears only in the first, and is *elliptically* left out in the second: verb *deletion* as one kind of *gapping*. For a different kind, see Selva (2019: 87–88), who suggests understanding the two-term enumeration at PS 17.13.5a *kimāsutāṃ *nagnahvi̯yam* in the sense of "The demoness who makes the liquor go bad, the one who is a [bad] ferment", assuming a loss by *ellipsis* of another **kim* before the second word, in combination with which it would become, if it were restored, the first member of a new compound, **kiṃnagnahvyam* 'bad ferment', parallel to *kimāsutām*.

110 Metrically speaking, *pāda d* may be defined as a typically catalectic Jagatī (J[11]), with 4+7 (instead of 4+8 or 5+7) syllables. As Griffiths (2009: 111) has already pointed out, the cæsura (after four syllables) suggests that we follow the Kashmirian codex reading *r̥ṣabhasya*, and not the Orissan manuscripts, which read *rṣabhasya*.

111 If this is the meaning that was intended by the poet, why did he not simply say *r̥ṣabhasya mahat*$_i$*y ucyate kakut*, for instance, and thus produce a very regular Jagatī into the bargain? Why would he take the trouble to introduce that mysterious *yad figé*, if it had no function of its own?.

Ever since I first discussed, almost two decades ago, the pre-print edition of his Leiden proefschrift with Arlo Griffiths, it has unchangingly been my intuitive feeling – or shall I say, my *hunch*[112] – that *mahan nāma ṛ̥ṣabhasya yat kakut* must have a different meaning, one that is closer to a very specific construction, known to us only from Vedic prose, but likely to have been more or less consciously present in the author's mind. Or rather, a construction that may have preexisted in the *spoken* Vedic language, and which the author could have used – if he had wanted to sound *prosaic* or *colloquial*.

The neuter pronoun *yad*, which proves to be *figé* because of its non-agreement with the feminine *kakud-*,[113] should not be neglected. By virtue of that *yad*, the syntactically incomplete line *has* [once for all] *cried out* (*acikradat*)[114] – to the pointed ears of an acutely listening mind –, with the exacting intensity of a *roaring* bull, for syntactical completion. A second pronoun, even though it is obviously missing, seems to be implied and, without any difficulty, could be supplied, if only mentally: the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETAD* in one – or even two – of its several divergent functions.[115]

If we wished to reformulate this typically catalectic Jagatī (J[11]) – a verse defective by just one syllable – in the manner of a regular Brāhmaṇa-prose *ETÁD–yád* construction, we would have the choice between two slightly different types:

[a] *mahad vai nāma_etad ṛ̥ṣabhasya yat kakut,*
[b] *etad vai mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut*.[116]

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112 A *hunch* in the sense of 'premonition', and a premonition because I intuitively felt that this unique – *unattracted* – relative pronoun *yad* occurring in a metrical text of the Atharvaveda *adumbrates*, in the very absence of the expected correlative *ETAD*, the frequent *ETÁD–yád* construction of Vedic Prose.

113 With *kakúd-* f. 'hump, hunch' (ṚV 1x, ŚS 6x), cf. the synonymous and etymologically more genuine *kakúbh-* f. 'id.' (ṚV 6x, ŚS 1x); see Mayrhofer 1992–1996: 1.287 s.v. *kakúbh-* 'Spitze, Gipfel'.

114 Originally, the present tense of the Vedic root *krand*/*krad* 'roar' is attested in three forms: [1] as the thematic root-present *kránd-a-*^{ti} (ṚV 18x, ŚS 12x), [2] as the intensive *káni-krand-*^{ti} (ṚV 37x, ŚS 1x), and [3] as the later, secondary intensive *kani-krad-yá-*^{te} (e.g. ŚB 6.4.4.7 *kanikradyámāna-*). In the ṚgVeda, the "type IV" intensive (for which see Schaefer 1994: 55ff. and 109–110) proves more than twice as frequent as the class I present (for which see Gotō 1987: 116). For the two reduplicated aorist formations – *ca-krad-a-*^{t} and *ci-krad-a-*^{t}, different in form, but scarcely different in meaning, both being predominantly non-causative –, see Jamison 1983: 110–111. The very form *ácikradat*/*acikradat* occurs (5+12=)17 times in the ṚV, (1+1=)2 times in the ŚS.

115 For the uniquely multifunctional nature of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *ETÁD*, see above, the introductory part of this paper.

116 Examples for both of these perfectly possible formulations can be found by the hundreds in Vedic prose. For type [a], where the predicate of the main sentence is fronted, cf., e.g., MS 1.6.3: 89.8–9 *asuryò vā́ etā́ yád óṣadhayaḥ* 'Dæmonesses are *these* – i.e. *those* Herbs.' For type [b], cf., e.g., MS 1.6.6: 95.12 *eṣá hí rudrá yád agníḥ* 'For *this* – namely *that* Agni – is Rudra.' Of the two types,

Excursus (2) on the Non-Attraction of *yad*

We may wonder why, in sentences of this kind, the relative pronoun *yad* does not agree in gender and number with the noun or nouns to which it syntactically belongs. Why does it not change, in our specific case, to **yā*, since *kakud-* is feminine in gender?

Curiously, it *did* change in the parallel mantra variant at TB 2.4.7.1, where we read *bṛhán nắma* / *vṛṣabhásya yắ kakút* 'high is the name (*this* name, [**etán*] *nắma*) of the bull, (namely *that* name, [**etán*] *nắma*), which is "hunch".'[117] And that change was brought about by grammatical attraction of the logical subject, an original **yád* – which anaphorically points back at the neuter *nắma* –, to the following feminine predicate *kakúd-*, resulting in the relative pronoun *yắ*.

While wondering why the expected attraction of the pronoun *yad* to the noun *kakud* does not occur in the PS variant, we might remember similar cases of non-attraction: the famous Upaniṣadic formula *tat tvam asi*, for example, in ChU 6 (occurring 9 times: at 6.8.7, 6.9.4, 6.10.3, 6.11.3, 6.12.3, 6.13.3, 6.14.3, 6.15.3, and 6.16.3); or Pāṇini's definition, for instance, of the neuter *saṃpradāna-*, the second *kāraka-* in a series of six or seven act-participants,[118] at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhi praiti sa saṃpradānam*.[119]

As a first step towards the proper understanding of the surprising non-attraction in these as in some other cases, we would be justified in saying that the main condition for the pronoun's attraction is not fulfilled: by rights, it should be subject, and the noun (or nouns) predicate.

The absence of attraction indicates, on the other hand, that neither *yad* at PS 6.9.1d *yat kakut*, nor *tad* at ChU 6.8.7–6.16.3 *tat tvam asi*, nor *sa* at Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī

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[a] may prove more frequent, but it is [b] that the twelve *ETAD–yad* constructions of PS 9.21.1–12 exclusively follow; see the next section (E.).

117 Here, the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD* is only implicit; one and the same *nắma* is tacitly referred to by the pronoun: once cataphorically with *this* ([**etád*]^{1}) and once anaphorically with *that* ([**etád*]^{2}).

118 Seven, if the *hetu-* m. 'cause; causer' (*causator*) or 'causal agent' – who is defined at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.55 *tat-prayojako hetuś ca* as the 'instigator' (*prayojaka-*) of 'that' (*tad-*), that is, of the otherwise 'independent' (*svatantra-*) 'agent' (*kartar-*); cf. the definition of the agent as 'the independent one' at Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ kartā* – is counted in, not only as a second agent but as an agent of the second degree.

119 For a syntactical analysis of this *sūtra*, see Knobl forthc. 1; and for a critical discussion of the *kāraka*-section in Pāṇini's grammar (Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.23–55) as an example of *hierarchically* ordered, *climactic* enumeration – ascending from the remotest act-participant, the so-called *apādāna-* n. (24), to the *kartar-* m. (54) and the *hetu-* m. (55) at the top, the two *kāraka*-s that are closest to the verbal action itself: the central *kriyā-* f. reigning supreme –, see Knobl 2010.

1.4.32 *sa saṃpradānam* could be subjects of their respective sentences, because, if they were, they would be attracted;[120] which means, they must be predicates.

Are we, however, justified in assuming that the *ETÁD–yád* construction, so distinctive a feature of Vedic prose, underlies already the metrical sentence found at PS 6.9.1d *mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut* ? And that the d-pronoun **etad*, which could be supplied quite naturally, was only left out for, say, metrical reasons?[121]

In other words: Did this construction already exist at the *time* of the PS? Not only did it exist at that time, it is also attested in the very *text* of the PS, and many times over, at that.[122]

5 The *ETÁD–yád* Constructions at PS 9.21.1–12

A sequence of even *twelve* consecutive *ETÁD–yád* constructions occurs at [20] PS 9.21.1–12. The kind of correspondence, or relation of *partial* identity,[123] that is repeatedly established there – between an ever-increasing number of sacrificial rice-dishes on the one hand, and certain apparently comparable entities of the same number on the other – may prove purely numerical.[124]

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120 Naturally, by such an (*hypothetical*) attraction, [1] PS *yad* would change to **yā*, [2] ChU *tad* to **sa*, and [3] Aṣṭādhyāyī *sa* to **tad*, under the influence of [1] the feminine *kakud-*, [2] the *implicit* masculine gender of the personal pronoun *tvam* – which is addressed to Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, son and disciple of Uddālaka Āruṇi –, and [3] the neuter *saṃpradānam*, respectively.

121 Actually, the addition of *etad* would not only complete the syntax of an expected *ETÁD–yád* construction; it would also mend the meter (which is, as it stands, defective by one syllable [J[11]]) and restore it to a normal (dodecasyllabic) *jagatī* – with a *cæsura* after 5 syllables, an *anapæst* in the break, and a typically *iambic* cadence –, if we were to read **mahan nāmaitad ṛṣabhasya yat kakut.*

In this supposedly complete version, the absence of the sentence particle *vái*, which is regularly present in *ETÁD–yád* constructions, would, however, make for another, if only minor, kind of syntactical deficiency.

122 For the six examples of the *ETAD–yad* construction in the Śaunaka-Saṁhitā – [1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, [5] ŚS 11.3.50, and [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd –, see below, section G.

123 For this correspondence or relation of *partial* identity, see below, footnote 140, where the "identification" that is allegedly at work between the subject *ETÁD* and the predicate ("S=P") in the main sentence of an *ETÁD–yád* construction comes under critical scrutiny.

124 It could appear futile to search for a deeper significance of this numeric relation, although certain scholars may claim that there is something magical, or even mystical, about it; as if we had to do with cabalistic numbers!.

In the following, I will discuss only two of those twelve *ETÁD–yád* constructions – namely the third and the fifth[125] – and oppose, where it seems necessary, my interpretation to that of Kim 2014.[126]

After the first two *ETÁD–yád* constructions in their respective sections, *eṣa vā ekarṣir yad agniḥ* [1], *etau vai prāṇāpānau yan mātariśvā cāgniś ca* [2], the next runs like this: *etāni vai trīṇi trikadrukāṇi yad ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṁṣi brāhmaṇam* [3].

In one of my Kyōto papers (Knobl 2009a), I wrote the following comment on the third *ETÁD–yád* construction: "Although *three* trikadrukas are mentioned, together with a cake offered on *three* plates,[127] we find a full set of no fewer than *four* Vedic text categories, or literary genres, being enumerated in the final phrase: [1] the stanzas of the Ṛgveda (*ṛ́cas*), [2] the songs of the Sāmaveda (*sā́māni*), [3] the sacrificial formulæ (*yájūṁṣi*) of the Yajurveda, and – surprisingly – also [4] the magic spell (*brā́hmaṇam*) of the *brahmáṇ-*, the poet-priest and magician of the *Fourth* Veda!

Being a Paippalādin, the author of this passage can be excused for thinking of his own brand of knowledge, and for feeling, with a fine sense of loyalty to his ancestors, that the Atharvavedic *bráhmaṇ-* n. 'incantation'[128] should not be left out in the cold. Eager to do justice to the very specific contribution to Vedic literature by his *own* school of thought, he makes bold to add a *fourth* member to the already complete set of three, blissfully oblivious of the numerical logic of his text."

Here, Kim has offered a different solution to the problem. He takes the fourth term, the neuter singular *brā́hmaṇam* – understood in the sense of 'that which

125 See Knobl 2009a, where also a few other *ETAD–yad* constructions of this duodecimal sequence – especially the seventh, ninth, tenth, and twelfth – are discussed at some length.

126 Kim's translations of the twelve *ETAD–yad* constructions in PS 9.21.1–12 all follow the same pattern. As a typical example may serve the very first construction, *eṣa vā ekarṣir yad agniḥ*, which he renders "Dieser, fürwahr, einzige Ṛṣi [ist] nämlich Agni" (Kim 2014: 372). According to what is developed in other parts of the present paper, concerning the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD*, I would suggest the following alternative: '*This* – namely *that* Agni – "is" the one-and-only Ṛṣi.' For the two-directional deixis, see, especially, sections C. and G.

The compound *ekarṣí-/ekaṛṣí-* occurs three times in the ŚS (at 8.9.25 and 26; and at 10.7.14), but Agni is not intended in any of these three text-places.

127 This wording has to be corrected in the light of Kim's clarification, to the effect that the offering in section 3, a *tri-śarāva-* [*odana-*] means a rice-dish *measuring* three śarāva. For *śárāva-* m./n. 'plate' and 'measure' (TS, TB, ŚB, etc.), see B&R 7.96–97: (1) 'flache Schüssel, Teller' and (2) 'Maß für Korn'.

128 The proparoxytone neuter *brā́hmaṇa-* (ṚV 2x, ŚS 13x), which is likely to be derived from the masculine *brahmáṇ-*, has nearly the same meaning as the neuter *bráhmaṇ-* 'poetic formulation, magic spell', from which *brahmáṇ-* is (internally) derived in its turn. See the simultaneous occurrence of the two neuters, especially at ŚS 11.5.5c (≈ PS 16.153.4c) *tásmāj jātáṃ brā́hmaṇaṃ bráhma jyeṣṭhám* 'From him (= the *brahmacārín-* 'Vedic student') was born the *brā́hmaṇa-* [n.], (which is) the oldest *bráhmaṇ-* [n.].'

belongs to the *bráhmaṇ-* n.'– as a kind of common denominator covering the three text categories enumerated before.[129]

In section 5, on the other hand, where a rice-dish measuring *five* plates is prescribed as a direct object of oblation, and a *five*-headed (*pañca-mūrdhan-*) Vaiśvānara is mysteriously referred to,[130] the enumeration of a corresponding number of elements in the final *yad*-phrase seems to be defective. *For*, according to a first, superficial count, Heaven and Earth, Mātariśvan and Agni, do not amount to more than a square *four*.

This is Kim's (emended [*]) edition and translation of PS 9.21.5:

yo vai pañcaśarāvaṃ nirvaped
vaiśvānaram eva pañcamūrdhānam anu nir vapet /
eṣa vai vaiśvānaraḥ pañcamūrdhā
*yad dyauś ca pṛthivī ca mātariśvā ca_agniś ca_*
**ajasrā* [sic] **ca_ātapan* / . . . [5]

Wer fürwahr den fünf Śarāva messenden [Reisbrei] austeilen sollte,[131]
der soll [ihn] nur gemäß dem fünfköpfigen Vaiśvānara austeilen.
Dieser, fürwahr, [fünfköpfige][132] Vaiśvānara [ist] nämlich
Himmel, Erde, Mātariśvan, Agni und [Sūrya],
der durch Glut die unvergänglichen [Lichter] ausstrahlt. (Kim 2014: 378)

129 Cf. his translation: "Diese, fürwahr, drei Trikadruka-Gefäße [sind] nämlich das, was zum Bráhman gehört: die Ṛg-Verse, die Sāman-Melodien [und] die Yajus-Sprüche." (Kim 2014: 375). For the unjustified – and unjustifiable – inversion of subject and predicate in this as in many other so-called identifications, see below, footnotes 140, 160, and 162: in footnote 160, I express my criticism of Whitney's conflicting note on his own translation of ŚS 9.6.37, which renders the literal meaning of the original quite adequately; in footnote 162, I take exception to Renou's rendering of the same prose passage, *eṣá vā́ átithir yác chrótriyas* ("l'hôte [n'est autre qu'] un spécialiste de la *śruti*"), a sentence that should be understood in the exact reverse sense; namely, in the sense of a regular P–S construction (with fronted predicate): 'le spécialiste de la *śruti* "(n'est autre qu')" un hôte.'

130 The *bahuvrīhi*-compound *pañca-mūrdhan-* does not seem to be attested anywhere else in Vedic. Closest in meaning to it is *pañca-mukha-*, which compound occurs at Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad 2.9 *somo rājā_asi vicakṣaṇaḥ pañcamukho_asi prajāpatiḥ* '[O Full Moon] You are wide-visioned King Soma. You are five-mouthed Prajāpati.' The adjective *vi-cakṣaṇá-* 'wide-visioned' (ṚV 31x) is, from the oldest texts onward, a characteristic epithet of King Soma; it typically occurs in the Ninth Song-Cycle of the Ṛgveda (18x against 13x in other Books, 1: 4x, 2: 1x, 3: 1x, 4: 3x, 8: 1x, and 10: 3x).

131 The optative *nirvapet* of the subordinate clause may have come about by mere *mood attraction* to the prescriptive optative *nir vapet* in the main sentence; it could simply have the meaning of an indicative: 'austeilt' instead of "austeilen sollte" (Kim). However, the subordinate optative *nirvapet* could also be taken as a *potential* mood, in which case "sollte" ('should') would be justified as expressive of possibility.

132 The adjective *pañcamūrdhan-* qualifying *vaiśvānara-* as 'five-headed' has remained untranslated.

Kim, who could not make head or tail of the two – practically identical – manuscript readings *cādaśāvātapan* (JM etc.) / *cādasāvātapan* (RM), emends a perfectly readable sequence of syllables to **cājasrā *cātapan*, and argues at some length – and quite unconvincingly – in favor of this audacious but altogether superfluous emendation. His argument runs as follows: "Da hier ein fünftes Wort sinngemäß (Himmel, Erde, Mātariśvan, Agni sind vier) zu erwarten ist, ist eine Emendation mit *ca-* notwendig. Demnach ist zuerst zu *cādasā *cātapan* (*ca-ātapan*) zu segmentieren; . . . Dem ersten Glied *cādaśā* bzw. *cādasā* in Or . . . liegt sicher eine Korruption zugrunde." (Kim 2014: 379)[133]

To be sure, in this set of supposedly five cosmic or mythological realities, we need a fifth member after the first four. These four realities form two *natural pairs* typically belonging together: 'Heaven-and-Earth' and 'Mātariśvan-and-Agni'.[134] Each of the two pairs is coupled by two times *ca*.[135] A fifth *ca* seems to be missing. However, *ca* is not the only possible connective particle; it could be *u* or *uta*, or *atha* or *atho* (= *atha_u*), or – *āt*. In fact, *āt* may prove the very particle[136] that was expected as a necessary complement. And, lo and behold, it *is* actually *there* – if we read the well-attested sequence of syllables, i.e. *cādasāvātapan*, in four distinct words, as *ca_ād asāv ātapan*.[137]

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133 The only corruption that I am able to detect is the "emendation" itself. Far from being an improvement on the text, this daring conjecture, which produces – quite unnecessarily – several new problems, results in what may be called a *Verschlimmbesserung*.

134 The close (mythological) connection between Agni and Mātariśvan – apart from the fact that A. was stolen by M. – is illustrated at ṚV 1.71.4a *máthīd yád īṃ víbhṛto mātaríśvā* ("Als der *verteilte* Mātariśvan ihn [den Agni] raubte" [Knobl 2022: 153]) by the rhetorical transfer of the verbal adjective *ví-bhṛta-* from Agni to Mātariśvan. As a matter of fact, only Fire is distributed.

For the translation and discussion of *one* adjectival and *three* pronominal examples of *hypallage*, see Knobl 2022: 150–154 [Section C. with "Exkurs 9"].

135 In section 8, even four pairs are enumerated, and each pair is again coupled by two times *ca*, to wit, [1] Heaven-and-Earth (*dyauś ca pṛthivī ca*), [2] Water-and-Herbs (*āpaś ca_oṣadhayaś ca*), [3] Wind-and-Space (*vāyuś ca_antarikṣaṃ ca*), [4] Sun-and-Moon (*sūryaś ca candramāś ca*).

It is safe to say that *coupling* words expressive of *natural* – and often naturally opposed – *pairs* **is** the proper and most characteristic function of the *copulative* particle *ca*, even if enumeration of several members that are not pairs by means of *ca* should prove more frequent; this might most easily happen in texts where enumeration runs wild, without any consideration for conceptual dualities.

136 Originally, *ā́t* is the adverbialized ablative singular of the *there*-deictic d-pronoun *á-*, as in *á-tra* 'there' (ṚV 120x) or *á-tas* 'from there' (ṚV 61x), etc. Literally, *ā́t* may mean [1] '*from* that' (spatial); [2] '*after* that' (temporal); [3] '*because of* that' (causal), respectively.

137 For *ā́t* after one (A B *ca* –) or two (A *ca* B *ca* –) syndetic *ca* particles, or after an equivalent asyndeton (A B –), cf. ṚV 7.66.11ab *ví yé dadhúḥ śarádam mā́sam ā́d áhar yajñám aktúṃ ca_ā́d ṛ́cam*, ṚV 8.91.5cd *śíras tatásya_urvárām ā́d idám ma úpodáre*, ṚV 10.86.13ab (= ŚS 20.126.13ab) *vṛ́ṣākapāyi révati súputra ā́d u súsnuṣe*, ŚS 3.21.10a–c *yé párvatāḥ sómapṛṣṭhā ā́pa uttānaśívarīḥ / vā́taḥ par-*

As my translation of the fifth *ETAD–yad* construction in PS 9.21.5, re-edited as

eṣa vai vaiśvānaraḥ pañcamūrdhā
yad dyauś ca pr̥thivī ca mātariśvā ca_agniś ca__ād asāv ātapan,

I would, therefore, suggest the following:

'*These* – namely *those* [five realities:] Heaven-and-Earth, Mātariśvan-and-Agni, and ('after that') the one burning [at . . .] (*ā-tap*)[138] up there (= Sūrya)[139] – "are" [= represent / correspond to] the five-headed Vaiśvānara.'

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jánya ā́d agnís, ŚS 4.3.3a–c *akṣyàu ca te múkhaṃ ca te* $^{+}$*v*$_{i}$*yāghra jambhayāmasi* / *ā́t sárvān vimṡatíṃ nakhā́n*, ŚS 4.9.8b *takmā́ balā́sa ā́d áhiḥ*, ŚS 4.20.1c (≈ PS 8.6.1c) *dívam* (PS *dyām*) *antárikṣam ā́d bhū́mim*, ŚS 7.70.2a *yātudhā́nā nírr̥tir ā́d u rákṣas*, ŚS 11.9.8c *pátiṃ bhrā́taram ā́t s*$_{u}$*vā́n*, ŚS 13.2.41c (≈ PS 18.24.10c) *dívaṁ samudrám ā́d bhū́mim*, PS 16.104.9d *gāvo aśvāḥ puruṣā ād ajāvayaḥ*, etc. etc. Notice, most especially, *ā́t* immediately following *ca* at ṚV 7.66.11b *yajñám aktúṃ ca_ā́d ŕ̥cam*. This sequence (. . . *ca_ā́d* . . .) is exactly the same as at PS 9.21.5 *mātariśvā ca_agniś ca_ād asāv ātapan*.

It seems typical for *ā́t* to stand in third or fifth position of an enumeration, after two or four terms that are paired – either syndetically (with *ca*) or asyndetically (without *ca*) – into one or two couples that are closely related, such as Heaven-and-Earth or Sun-and-Moon.

138 By virtue of the directive *ā́*, the verbal compound *ā́-tap* should regularly be construed with an accusative of the direct object. To be sure, the (seemingly) intransitive – or rather, *elliptical* – construction of *ā́-tap* is well attested; see, for instance, ŚS 8.6.12ab (≈ PS 16.80.3ab) *yé sū́ryaṃ ná títikṣanta ātápantam amúm diváḥ* '[They (= the *mákaka*-dæmons),] who cannot endure the Sun up there burning (down) [*at them*] from heaven', ŚS 12.1.20a (≈ PS 17.3.1a) *agnír divá ā́ tapati*$_{i}$*y* 'Agni [as Sun the celestial Fire] burns (down) from heaven [*at the earth*]', ŚS 12.3.50c (≈ PS 17.54.10c) *yā́vanto devā́ divi*$_{i}$*y ātápanti* 'as many gods as burn in heaven [*at* . . . ?]', PS 5.6.2a *ātapan kṣayati* **nīcā* 'He (the Sun) rules, burning downward (from heaven) [*at the earth*]'.

Kim (2014: 379) advocates a different understanding; he thinks that the intransitive construction of *ā́-tap* is original, and that the accusative, if it does co-occur, as *ghr̥tam* at PS 5.6.1c=10c *te_asmai sarve ghr̥tam ā tapanti*$_{i}$*y* "they all heat (the) ghee for him (the patron)" (Lubotsky 2002: 37 and 43), is a "Richtungsakkusativ" and as such would not transitivize the verb. But what difference is there between 'to direct heat at' and 'to heat directly', if the heating action affects the object with equal intensity? After all, Sun is the agent!.

139 The *far*-deictic d-pronoun *ADÁS* (ṚV 52x) meaning 'the one *over there*' can also be taken in the sense of [1] 'the one *up there*' (*là-haut*) or [2] 'the one *down there*' (*là-bas*). To the Sun rising or risen, we may refer with the first; to the Sun sinking or sunk, with the second.

For *asáu* m./f. (ṚV 7x) pointing at the Sun *up there*, see, for instance, ṚV 1.191.9a *úd apaptat asáu sū́ryaḥ* or 10.159.1a *úd asáu sū́r*$_{i}$*yo agād*. These two verses indicate the Sun (*up there*) as having just risen (from behind the horizon); the first (or root) aorist *agād* and the third (or reduplicated) aorist *apaptat* both refer to an event of the *recent* past, making a *definite* statement about it.

6 Earlier Attempts at Understanding the *ETÁD-yád* Construction

In the history of Vedic scholarship, those who translated – or commented upon – examples of the *ETÁD–yád* construction came more or less close to a proper understanding of the *yád figé*, provided they accepted its existence and unique character at all.

[1] Of *ETÁD–yád* constructions without verb, Delbrück (1888: 566) says: "Das Ganze hat den Sinn einer Identificirung,[140] wobei das bei *yád* stehende Substantivum die Anknüpfung bietet und hervorgehoben wird . . . Als Musterbeispiel mag dienen: [AB 1.3.10] . . . *yonir vā eṣā dīkṣitasya yad dīkṣitanimitam* . . .[141] Das ist der Schooss des Geweihten, was die Hütte des Geweihten ist . . .[142] Die Belege für diesen Typus sind zahllos, z. B.: [AB 1.8.5] *paśavo vā ete yad āpaḥ* Wasser ist dem Vieh gleich zu achten . . . "[143] [MS 1.4.10: 58.1] *devátānāṃ vắ etád āyátanaṃ yád āhavanīyaḥ* der āhavanīya ist der Stützpunkt der Götter."[144] Then, while mentioning also two *ETÁD–yád* constructions *with* verb,[145] Delbrück (1888: 567) concludes: "Endlich kann *yád* so sehr den Charakter einer

140 "Identification" is certainly not the *mot juste*. The unspoken *copula* joining subject and predicate – rather than silently meaning "is" or "are" – has the less equalizing sense of 'represent(s)', 'correspond(s) to', 'can be compared with'. No identity in the full sense of the word is meant, none that would go beyond a certain resemblance; and even a minimal similitude may be reason enough to *relate* the two sentence parts: the pronominal subject *ETÁD*, which is *defined* by the *yád*-phrase, on the one hand, and the predicative noun(s) on the other. Their relation of a no-more-than-just-*partial* identity is like that of the two parts in a nominal phrase.

Only if we could start from the assumption that in predication subject (S) and predicate (P) are *identified* – which, in fact, they never are; rather, their relation follows the abstract formula S≠P –, would the word order be indifferent; *S=P would then, and only then, be equal to *P=S. But this is *far from* being the case.

141 Here, *dīkṣitanimitam* happens to be of the same gender and number as *yad*, but this is a mere coincidence; the accidental equality does not mean that the pronoun is attracted to the noun. The subsequent two examples (AB 1.8.5 *paśavo vā ete yad āpaḥ* and MS 1.4.10: 58.1 *devátānāṃ vắ etád āyátanaṃ yád āhavanīyaḥ*) make it clear that also in Delbrück's "Musterbeispiel" AB 1.3.10, none other than the *yad figé* is concerned.

142 According to my understanding, it would be closer to the syntax of this construction, and the twofold reference of *ETÁD* would be taken into due account, if the sentence were translated as follows: '*This* – namely *that* hut of the *dīkṣita* – "is" the womb of the *dīkṣita*.'

143 Here, my own translation would run like this: '*These* – namely *those* waters – "are" cattle.'

144 Again, I would prefer a different version: '*This* – namely *that āhavanīya*-fire – "is" the gods' foothold.'

145 The finite verbs in Delbrück's two examples – *daḍṛśur* at ŚB 1.1.1.17 and *bhavati* at ŚS 3.3.4.20 – accompany *ETÁD* in the main sentence. If it were the subordinate clause that contains

flectirten Relativform einbüssen, dass es lediglich als Anfügungswort innerhalb des Satzes wirkt (etwa durch nämlich zu übersetzen) . . . z. B.: [ŚB 1.1.1.17] *táto devấ etấṃ vájraṃ dadṛśur yád apáḥ* da erfanden die Götter *jenen* vajra, nämlich das Wasser . . .[146] [ŚB 3.3.4.20] *átra_ubháyair ártho bhavati yád deváiś ca brāhmaṇáiś ca* der beiden bedarf man dabei, nämlich der Götter und der Brahmanen . . . [ŚB 1.2.1.22] *mahyà íti ha vấ etấsām ékaṃ nấma yád gávām* "die grossen", das ist *ein* Name derselben, nämlich der Kühe."[147]

[2] The following observation made by Renou (1955 [=*EVP* I]: 85 §13b) is, no doubt, important: "Le tour *eṣá vấ áparimito yajñó yád ajá páñcaudanaḥ* [ŚS 9.5.21] « Le bouc (offert) sur cinq portions de riz (représente un type de) sacrifice illimité » (analogue *ibid*., 31–36 [et ŚS 9.6.23]) est l'une des phraséologies de prédilection des Br[āhmaṇas], avec rejet du sujet encadré par la conjonction *yád*."[148]

Renou goes on to say (ibid.): "On en chercherait en vain des traces dans les *mantra*." If I am right in taking the unattracted *yad* at PS 6.9.1d *mahan nāma ṛṣabhasya yat kakut* as at least *une trace* of the *ETÁD–yád* construction in a Vedic *metrical* text, then *my* research was not *en vain*.

In what follows next (ibid.), Renou seems to have missed something, when he states: "En revanche, le pronom relatif dans le même encadrement, type *eṣá vấ átithir yá chrótriyaḥ* [ŚS 9.6.37] 'l'hôte (n'est autre qu') un spécialiste de la *śruti*',[149] commence à paraître dans le RV. et se développe dans l'AV. poétique : seul la corrélation *eṣá(ḥ) . . . yáḥ* souligne qu'on a décidément affaire à de la prose."

Since ŚS 9.6.37 is a typical example of the *ETÁD–yád* construction, *yá chrótriyaḥ* (i.e. *yác chrótriyaḥ*) being the *sandhi*-result of *yát_śrótriyaḥ*,[150] we cannot say that this relative pronoun – viz. the *yád figé* – begins to appear in

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the verb, as in almost all twelve examples of the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction quoted in section A., we would have no reason whatsoever to speak of an *ETÁD–yád* construction.

146 Or rather: 'Then the gods "saw" *these* – namely *those* waters – as a *vájra*.' (*dadṛśur* 'sie erschauten'!).

147 This is my alternative: '"Great" (*mahí-* f.) is [just] *one* name of *these* – namely of *those* cows.'

148 The *yád figé* in the *ETÁD–yád* construction happens to have the same form as "la conjonction *yád*", but this does not mean that the *yád* actually *is* a conjunction; we should prefer to consider it a relative pronoun.

149 For my translation of this sentence, '*This* – i.e. *that* "hearer" of the *śrúti-* (*śrótriya-*) – "is" a guest', see below, in the semi-final section (G.) of the present paper. And for the non-identifying "is", see above, footnote 140.

150 For the external *sandhi*-combination of the two consonants [t] and [ś], in which the dental is assimilated to the palatal ("assibilation"), and the sibilant is subsequently converted to ch; but, especially, for the scribal spelling convention ⟨cch⟩ → ⟨ch⟩, see Whitney 1889: 68 §203: "The manuscripts generally write **ch**, instead of **cch**, as result of the combination of **t** and **ç** (= [ś])."

the ṚV. What we meet with in the oldest text is only the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction, where the *YÁD* regularly varies in accord with the gender and number of *ETÁD* by what is called grammatical agreement.[151] If I were to improve on Renou, I would, therefore, venture to reformulate his last statement, changing it but minimally into: 'seul la corrélation *ETÁD . . . yád* [!] souligne qu'on a décidément affaire à de la prose.'

[3] Hettrich (1988: 570) enumerates the following Ṛgvedic stanzas or distichs as *restrictive* relative constructions with the d-pronoun *eṣá-/etá-* [= *ETÁD*] as correlative: 1.182.5, 8.1.32, 10.10.8[ab], 10.28.12ab, 10.48.6, 10.50.6[ab], 10.71.9, 10.165.4. And he concludes: "Bis auf eine Stelle [7.7.6][152] kommt also *eṣá-/etá-* als Korrelativum restriktiver RKK [= Relativ-Konstruktionen] nur in jüngeren Partien des RV vor. Dies deutet darauf hin, daß das Pronomen diese Funktion erst sekundär übernommen hat."

If I understand the author correctly, this would mean that in older parts of the Ṛgveda, the d-pronoun *ETÁD* has preserved its *primary* function as a correlative of *non-restrictive* – that is, descriptive or appositive – relative constructions. Although I disagree with regard to 1.182.5, 10.10.8, 10.50.6, 10.71.9, and 10.165.4 (?), which for me are more or less clear examples of a non-restrictive relative construction,[153] the descriptive function of *YÁD* in the *ETÁD–YÁD* constructions of the ṚV is certainly more original.

[4] Two younger scholars – both authors of commented editions and translations of important Vedic texts (MS and PS) – have also remarked on the constructions discussed above. Kyōko Amano (2009: 106–111 § 2.4.5), speaking of the pronominal sequence "*eṣá-/etá- . . . yá-*", states: "Bei der Relativkonstruktion mit vorangehendem *eṣá-/etá-* liegt das demonstrativ-anamnestische Pronomen in scheinbar kataphorischer Verwendung vor." The several MS examples quoted and translated by Amano make it abundantly clear that the *ETÁD–yád* construction and the *yád figé* are concerned. However, in the *yád-figé* constructions, the d-pronoun *ETÁD* is not only anaphoric ("anamnestisch"), but also cataphoric – und zwar *wirklich*, not just seemingly ("scheinbar").

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151 See the twelve examples of this extremely rare construction discussed above, in the first section (A.) of the present paper: [1] *eténa . . . yád . .*., [2] *etám . . . yéna . . .*, [3] *etád . . . yád . . .*, [4] *eṣás . . . yám . . .*, [5] *etám . . . yásya . . . yás . . .*, [6] *eté . . . yé . . . yé . . . yé . . .*, [8] *eṣá . . . yás . . .*, [9] *etád . . . yád . . .*, [10] *eté . . . yé . . .*, [11] *eṣá . . . yás . . .*, [12] *etắ . . . yắni . . .*; only in [7] *etắni . . . yád . . .*, the two pronouns do not agree in number.

152 Cf. Hettrich 1988: 570 Anm. 145: "7,7,6; die Korrelativfunktion ist aber nicht eindeutig; in 4,35,4 ist der RS [= Relativ-Satz] nicht eindeutig als restriktiv oder appositiv bestimmbar."

153 See above, in the first section of this paper, my discussion of examples [2], [10], [12], [13], and [14].

Umberto Selva, on the other hand, opts for the opposite view. He emphasizes the *cataphoric* function (or *this*-reference) of the d-pronoun *ETÁD* in the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction: "it [that is, the *ETÁD*] refers forward to the content of the *yád* phrase." And he adds: "In translating, I generally follow the following "formula" (which I owe to the teaching of Werner Knobl): [*eṣá-* (*vái*) A, *yád* B] "This (*eṣá-*), namely (*yád*) B, is A" (Selva 2019: 224).[154] However, in Selva's (one-sided) presentation of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction, the anaphoric function (or *that*-reference) of *ETÁD* is sorely lacking.

Only if we combine the two partial views – *this* advocated by Selva and *that* vindicated by Amano[155] –, will it be possible for us to see the whole picture in its ambiguous but complementary beauty.

7 The Semi-Final Part

In this last-but-one section of the present paper, I am going to confront my own translations of half a dozen ŚS passages – five are composed in prose (examples [1]–[5]), one in the *triṣṭubh* meter (example [6]) – with those of Whitney (W&L) or Renou. These six AV sentences hark back to section C., where the *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD* was introduced with two ṚV distichs and their AV parallels (examples [16] and [17]), and one AV stanza, half of which corresponds to yet another ṚV distich (example [18]).

Here (in G.), as well as there (in C.), one and the same multi-functional d-pronoun *ETÁD* points in two different directions: [1] at something that follows in the *yád*-phrase (cataphoric '*this*') and, simultaneously, [2] at something that precedes

154 Having become, *malgré moi*, the source of a misunderstanding, I regret that my teaching, at Leiden and in other academic places, had – a few years ago – not yet acquired the clarity that is needed in order to understand and to *make* understand the complexity of the *ETÁD*–*yád* construction with proper precision and accuracy. If now I were to formulate a "formula", it would have to be something like: "*This* (S_1 = cataphoric *ETÁD* [→] or [↓]) – namely (*yád*) *that* (S_2 = anaphoric *ETÁD* [←] or [↑]) – corresponds to P." (Here, both S_1 [*this*] and S_2 [*that*] stand for one and the same thing; they are the *one* subject of the *same* predication.)

155 Amano herself uses the *here*-deictic *this* ("das" or "dieses") in her translations of *ETÁD*, which she calls "demonstrativ-anamnestisches Pronomen" (see above), but I feel free to change her *here*-deictic *this* into my own *there*-deictic *that*, because *ETÁD* '*that . . . there*' may point, in one of its multiple functions, at the same (*mid-distance*) target as Amano's *this* referring to something 'well-known' (*prá-siddha-*) or 'mentally present' (**buddhi-ṣṭhá-*), to something that is 'das Bekannte, Bewusste, Betreffende' for her; for others, this is the so-called *topical* reference of *ETÁD*.

in the context (anaphoric '*that*').[156] This two-directional function of *ETÁD* helps to understand the specific character of the *ETÁD–yád* construction in the following six ŚS passages – two of which ([1] and [6]) have parallels in the PS – and in any other context where the *yád figé* should make its appearance.

[1] ŚS 9.5.21 (≈ PS 16.99.8)
eṣá vā́ áparimito yajñó yád ajá páñcaudanaḥ //
"this verily is an unlimited offering,
namely (*yát*) the goat with five rice-dishes." (W&L)
"Le bouc (offert) sur cinq portions de riz
(représente un type de) sacrifice illimité." (Renou 1955: 85 §13b)
'*This* – namely *that* five-rice-dish (*páñcaudana-*) goat –
represents an unlimited sacrifice.'

[2] ŚS 9.5.31b
eṣá vái náidāgho nā́ma rtúr yád ajáḥ páñcaudanaḥ /
"that verily is the season 'torrid' by name,
namely (*yát*) the goat with five rice-dishes." (W&L)
'*This* – namely *that* five-rice-dish (*páñcaudana-*) goat –
corresponds to the season called "hot" (*náidāgha-*) (=summer).'[157]

[3] ŚS 9.6.23
eté vái priyā́ś ca_ápriyāś ca rtvíjaḥ
svargáṃ lokáṃ gamayanti yád átithayaḥ //
"These same guests, both loved (*priyá*) and unloved,
[as] priests (*ṛtvíj*), make [one] go to the heavenly world." (W&L)
'*These* – i.e. *those* guests –, [as] priests that are liked (*priyá-*) or disliked (*á-priya-*),[158]
make [us] go to the heavenly world.'

[4] ŚS 9.6.37
eṣá vā́ átithir yác chrótriyas
tásmāt pū́rvo ná_aśnīyāt //
"He verily is a guest, namely (*yát*) one versed in sacred learning (*çrótriya*);

156 For a more detailed exposition of this d-pronoun's two-directional deixis, see above, section C., and below, footnote 164.

157 Ved. *náidāgha-* 'hot; æstival' (ŚS 2x) is derived from Ved. *nidāghá-* m. 'heat; summer' (JB, ŚB, KātyŚS, KauśS). This is yet another example of a derivative being attested earlier than the word it is based upon.

158 The two antonymic adjectives *priyá-* and *á-priya-* qualifying the priests as *either* 'dear' *or* 'not dear' [to us, that is,] are used predicatively. They indicate an alternative ("liked . . . *or* disliked . . .", meaning 'whether they are liked or not [doesn't really matter]'); the two qualities cannot simultaneously apply to the priests (cf. "both loved . . . *and* unloved" [W&L]), unless in a distributive sense (*vīpsāyām*): to some they may be *priyá-*, to some others *á-priya-*; or to the same person(s) alternately 'dear' *and* 'not dear', but at different times and in different situations.

before him one should not partake." (W&L)[159]
"l'hôte (n'est autre qu') un spécialiste de la *śruti*." (Renou 1955: 85 §13b[160]
'*This* – i.e. *that* "hearer" of the *śrúti-* (*śrótriya-*)[161] – "is" a guest.[162]
Therefore, one should not eat *before* him (= before *that* "hearer" [who "is" a guest]).'[163]

[5] ŚS 11.3.50
etád vái bradhnásya viṣṭápaṃ yád odanáḥ /
"This – namely, the rice-dish –[164]

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159 "The meaning intended ought to be that a guest is the equivalent of such a sage; but the literal meaning is as translated" (W&L). I do not agree; if *tásmāt* means 'therefore' as well as '[earlier] than him' – for which see below, footnote 163 –, then the *logical* consequence introduced by *tásmāt* depends on the fact that the *śrótriya-* "is the equivalent" of a guest – *not* vice versa –, and that *therefore* one has to treat him as such, by granting him precedence at the table; because an invited guest enjoying the hospitality of a host is allowed to eat first, the *śrótriya-* only by equivalence with him.

For several passages in the Atharvaveda alluding to the same privilege a guest must be allowed to enjoy in his host's house, at ŚS 9.6.32,33,38 and PS 16.113.10,12, cf. Spiers 2020: 403.

160 Syntactically, this translation is inadequate. The *śrótriya-* being subject, « un spécialiste de la *śruti* » should have come first in Renou's translation.

161 The *-ya-* or *-iya-* adjective *śrótriya-* (ŚS 3x: 9.6.37, 10.2.20, 10.2.21) is derived from *śrótra-* n. 'ear, hearing' (ṚV 2x: 10.85.11c *śrótraṃ te cakré āstām*, 10.90.14c *padbhyám bhúmir díśaḥ śrótrāt*; ŚS 23x). The noun *śrúti-* f. (ŚS 1x: 11.7.20), which is based on the same root *śrav*/*śru* 'to hear, to listen to', indicates, by its retracted accent, that the meaning has changed from that of a *nomen actionis* (**śrutí-* f. 'the abstract *act* of hearing') to that of a *nomen rei actae*. Thus, *śrúti-* refers to the concrete *result* of hearing, which is the oral and auricular tradition as laid down in Sacred Lore (or, Holy "Writ").

162 The silent *copula* "is" may be understood in the sense of 'means', 'stands for', 'represents', 'typifies', 'symbolizes', 'corresponds to', 'is comparable to', or the like. Even the make-shift expression "is the equivalent of" (W&L) does not amount to 'is identical with' or 'is none other than' ("n'est autre que" [Renou]). If "is" were to be used at all costs, then a *non*-equalizing "is *in a sense*" would at least help to avoid any (false, complete) identification in the strict sense of the word.

On the relation of *partial* identity or, abstractly speaking, *non*-identity (S≠P) between the subject *ETÁD* and its predicate, see above, footnote 140.

163 In this ambiguous sentence, *tásmāt* can be taken both [1] as a consecutive adverb meaning 'therefore' and [2] as an ablative construed with the adjective *pū́rvas* 'former' functioning as a *quasi*-preposition in the sense of 'before, earlier than'.

164 Among all the translations that I have consulted, this formulation comes closest to my own idea of how the *ETÁD–yád* construction of Vedic prose works, and how it ought to be understood, that is, as one with a *split* or *double* reference of *ETÁD*. The *there*-deictic d-pronoun points simultaneously in two different directions, at divergent targets that are more-or-less *mid-distantly* removed; it refers both forward (→) or downward (↓) [=cataphorical deixis] and backward (←) or upward (↑) [=anaphorical deixis]: as *this*, to what follows shortly after, in the *yád*-phrase; as *that*, to what precedes at some distance, inside or outside the text.

By the smallest of changes, Whitney's translation of ŚS 11.3.50 *etád . . . yád odanáḥ* ("*This* – namely, *the* rice-dish – ") can be transformed into mine ('*This* – namely *that* rice-dish –').

is indeed the summit (*viṣṭápa*) of the ruddy one (*bradhná*).” (W&L)[165]
‘*This* – namely *that* rice-dish – symbolizes the (arched) surface of the sun.’[166]

[6] ŚS 18.1.14cd (≈ PS 18.58.4cd)
ásaṃyad etán mánaso hṛ́dó me
bhrā́tā svásuḥ śáyane yác cháyīya //
“*That* is not consonant (?*asaṃyát* [sic!]) with my mind [and] heart,
that I, a brother, should lie in a sister’s bed (*śáyana*).” (W&L)
‘*This* – namely *that* – [would be] discordant (*ásaṃyat*) to my mind and heart,
that I as [your] brother should be lying there (*śáyīya*) in [my] sister’s lair (*śáyane*).’[167]

8 The End Result *en raccourci*

In the *ETÁD–YÁD* construction of ṚV and AV (see examples [1]–[13] in section A.), the *YÁD*–phrase has the status of an *apposition*; it only serves the purpose of *describing* – at least, to a certain extent – the contents of *ETÁD* ‘*that* . . . *there*’, the d-pronoun functioning more or less independently, on account of its distinctive *there*-deictic character.

The *there*-deictic pronoun ‘*that*’ of “*that* rice-dish” is more emphatic, or has a greater demonstrative force, than the article ‘*the*’ of “*the* rice-dish”. And yes, emphasis is needed.

165 The nouns *viṣṭáp-* f. and *viṣṭápa-* n. ‘(arched) surface’ (ṚV 12x: *viṣṭápam* [5x], *viṣṭápas* [1x], *viṣṭápā* [1x], *viṣṭápi* [5x]; ŚS 6x: *viṣṭápam* [2x], *viṣṭápi* [4x]) can be explained as *decasuative* derivations based on either the nom.sg. (**viṣṭáp*) or the loc.pl. (**viṣṭápsu*) of an original but unattested feminine **vi-ṣṭábh-*. Cf. the noun *viṣṭambhá-* m. ‘prop’ (ṚV 5x; the five occurrences, all of which refer to Soma, are found in Song-Cycle Nine, and always in combination with *divás* [: ‘prop of heaven’]) or the verbal compound *ví-stambh*^{i} ‘to prop apart’ (ṚV 6x; in all six text-places, the verb is construed with cosmic realities as objects of the verbal action “auseinander stemmen”: four times ‘the two world-halves’ [*ródasī*], once ‘these six spaces’ [*ṣáḷ imā́ rájāṁsi*], and once ‘the ends of the earth’ [*jmó ántān*]); cf. Knobl 2022: 131 n.14.

For a discussion of the heterogeneous case-forms of *viṣṭáp-* f. / *viṣṭápa-* n., especially of the neuter nom. pl. *viṣṭápā* at ṚV 8.91.5 *imā́ni tríṇi viṣṭápā* . . . ‘*Die* drei Oberflächen *hier* . . . (: *das* Haupt [*da*] von Papa, *das* Saatfeld [*dort*] [von uns], und *das hier* unten an meinem Bauch)’ in the Indra-Apālā Hymn, see Knobl 2022: 130–132 (A. Ellipse, example (1), and “Exkurs 1” with notes 11–17).

166 We are perhaps allowed to imagine that the sacrificial rice-dish is *shining* with a golden cover or coating (“icing”/“frosting”) of hot and melting clarified butter (*ghṛ́tá-* n. ‘ghee’ [ṚV 123x]); and that thus the dish has yet another characteristic in common with the sun – apart from its heat, the round shape, and the arched surface – , so that we would have one more good reason to see it as an *image* and *symbol* of the sun.

167 Or else, ‘*if* I . . . were to be lying there’. For [1] the optative *śáyīya* as a potential mood, [2] the *there*-deictic Vedic root *śay*/*śi* ‘to be lying *there*’, and [3] the etymological construction *śáyane* . . . *śáyīya*, see above, footnote 105.

In the *ETÁD–yád* construction of Vedic prose, which is first attested in the Atharvaveda – implicitly at [19] PS 6.9.1 (see section D.), explicitly at [20] PS 9.21.1–12 (see section E.) and at [1] ŚS 9.5.21, [2] ŚS 9.5.31b, [3] ŚS 9.6.23, [4] ŚS 9.6.37, [5] ŚS 11.3.50, or [6] ŚS 18.1.14cd (see section G.) –, *yád* restricts and defines *ETÁD*.

It is characteristic of the *ETÁD–yád* construction that the d-pronoun points at what follows in the *yád*-phrase (*this*-reference) and, simultaneously, at what precedes in the context (*that*-reference); this "*split* or *double* reference" of *ETÁD* is introduced in section C., with three examples taken from ṚV and AV: [16] ṚV 10.10.3ab (= ŚS 18.1.3ab ≈ PS 18.57.3ab), [17] ṚV 10.10.11cd (= ŚS 18.1.12cd ≈ PS 18.58.2cd), and [18] ŚS 18.1.14cd (≈ PS 18.58.4cd).

The *yád*-phrase always contains a noun, the *YÁD*–phrase only exceptionally, to wit, in the two relative clauses at [5] ṚV 6.41.3d *yás te ánnam* and at [12] ṚV 10.16.8c (≈ ŚS 18.3.53c) *yáś* $_{ca}$ *camasó* of section A.

Abbreviations

B&R	Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolf Roth. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 Bände. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1855–1875
Eggeling	*The Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa According to the Text of the Mâdhyandina School*. Translated by Julius Eggeling. Part I. Books 1 and 2. (*The Sacred Books of the East*. Volume XII). Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1882
EVP	Louis Renou. *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*. Tomes I–XVII. (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°). Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–1969
Geldner	Karl Friedrich Geldner. *Der Rig-Veda*, *aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*. I–III. (= Harvard Oriental Series 33–35). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 1951. (Reprint in one volume: Harvard Oriental Series 63, Harvard University Press 2003)
J&B	*The Rigveda*. *The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. Translated by Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton. I–III. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014
LIV	*Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. *Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001
N&H	*Rig Veda*. *A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Edited by Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland. (Harvard Oriental Series: Volume 50). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994
W&D	Jacob Wackernagel und Albert Debrunner. *Altindische Grammatik*. Band II 1: *Einleitung zur Wortlehre*, *Nominalkomposition*, 2. unveränderte Auflage, und Band II 2: *Die Nominalsuffixe*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957 und 1954
W&G	Michael Witzel und Toshifumi Gotō. *Rig-Veda*, *das heilige Wissen*. Erster und Zweiter Liederkreis. Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag, 2007

W&L *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā*. Translated with a critical and exegetical commentary by William Dwight Whitney, revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman. 2 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1905

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Paul Widmer and Oliver Hellwig

Discontinuous Linearization of Vedic Nominal Expressions

Abstract: This paper explores the linearization of syntactic structures in Vedic Sanskrit. Recent research indicates that word order variation is influenced by cognitive factors, grammar, and language history, and ancient languages like Vedic Sanskrit provide valuable insights into these dynamics. Leveraging the recent availability of comprehensive linguistic resources, this study presents a corpus-based survey of Vedic word order variation in nominal expressions, examining noun-modifier pairs across different Vedic texts. The goals are to survey continuity in linearization and to compare the Atharvaveda to other Vedic texts using statistical tests of significance.

Introduction

The strict linearization of syntactic structure imposed by communication modalities in human language has attracted much interest in many linguistic disciplines, theoretical, psycholinguistic, and diachronic, among others. Recent research generally agrees that variation in word order is shaped and constrained by interacting and competing principles of cognition, communication, grammar, and language history (Tomlin 1986; Dunn et al. 2011; Culbertson, Smolensky, and Legendre 2012; Napoli and Sutton-Spence 2014; Maurits and Griffiths 2014; Levshina 2019; Sauppe et al. 2021). In addition to experimental data, this line of research relies on various kinds of observational data: thorough descriptions of inventories in grammars or, more importantly, patterns of usage and frequency found in corpora. Ancient languages, in particular those as well attested as Vedic Sanskrit, are relevant for understanding the diachronic behavior of linearization because when assessing the dynamics of change, they enhance the estimates by providing calibration points. At the same time they open a window into sociocultural environments that differ drastically from modern ones. This enables us to control, e.g., for effects of general literacy.

Until recently, large scale empirical research on Vedic word order variation was limited by data availability and general replicability. For example, the thorough studies of Delbrück (1878), Schäufele (1990), and Reinöhl (2020) are largely based on samples from a single text, and the data is not available for follow-up investigations. Fortunately, the recent progress made in building linguistic resources with computer-assisted procedures has dramatically changed the field. In this article, we

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-003

capitalize on these recent advancements and present a corpus-based exploratory survey of Vedic word order variation in nominal expressions, in particular word pairs consisting of a modified noun and a modifier noun or adjective from all Vedic strata.

Descriptions of Sanskrit and Vedic syntax generally acknowledge that Vedic exhibits a high degree of free ordering both of constituents and elements within constituents (Hock 2013; Viti 2015; Luraghi 2010). While most scholars follow linguistic traditions that start from a basic order of hierarchically organized structures (Delbrück 1888; Speyer 1896; Schäufele 1990, etc.), others adopt the idea of flat structures that lack linear order at all (Gillon and Shaer 2005; Gillon 2006). Departing from Pāṇinian methodology ("state a majority rule and find casuistic explanations for each deviation"), another recently championed strand of research focuses on diversity and distribution and tries to identify functional and structural correlates (e.g. Delbrück 1888; Louagie and Reinöhl 2021; Reinöhl 2020). Given the theoretical interest in configurationality as a structural correlate of communication channel restrictions, we focus on variation with respect to linear continuity and discontinuity in complex nominal expressions, i.e. noun–modifier pairs.

Surprisingly little is known about the distribution of Vedic word order variants, while the factors that are assumed to drive variation have attracted much more attention. For example, it is generally assumed that metrical texts exhibit more variation than prose texts (Brereton and Jamison 2020), and earlier stages of the language more than later ones (Delbrück 1888; Viti 2015). Moreover, it is well known that not all types of relation between modified and modifier behave alike, and that the length of a modifier constrains the placement relative to the modified and the clause (Delbrück 1888; Reinöhl 2020; Jing, Widmer, and Bickel 2021). Another important factor is information structure (Delbrück 1888). Based on a sample of ca. 1,000 clauses from the prose parts of the Vedic Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā and qualitative descriptions of three Australian languages, Reinöhl (2020) proposes that in most, if not all languages (including Vedic Sanskrit) a particular continuous order with functionally determined slots is the default. Deviations from such "functional templates" in continuous nominal expressions are assumed to be associated with needs related to information structure or with modifier heaviness. For discontinuity of nominal expressions Reinöhl discerns three patterns: the placement of an element at or near the left edge of the clause, Wackernagel positioning of pronominals, and, only in Vedic, discontinuity caused by conjunctions. Moreover, it is suggested that discontinuity is associated with information structure.

Research on word order in complex nominal expressions has reached similar results for other ancient languages, although the results found for ancient written languages such as Latin and post-Homeric Greek may not be fully applicable for Vedic which was transmitted orally. For example, information structure is con-

sidered a major source for word order variation in nominal expressions in Latin (Spevak 2014) and Ancient Greek (Devine and Stephens 2000). While we fully acknowledge the relevance of information structure with concepts such as prominence, focus or topic, it is also true that this approach comes at a high cost – namely, it is extremely difficult to operationalize these concepts because of our limited understanding of ancient cultures, grammars, and narrative conventions. Scholars tend not to agree on the definition of these concepts and their application, and judgements of information structure often run the risk of circularity. Moreover, it is crucial to control for genre, register, and style because variation patterns are notoriously associated with content and textual conventions (Biber 2012; Szmrecsanyi 2019). Therefore, in order to get a sound grasp of the full range of variation and other potential confounding factors, such as heaviness of modifiers mentioned by Reinöhl (2020: 85–86), a large amount of data from as many genres and registers as possible is needed. This stands in contrast with restrictions of time and resources. Annotating larger portions of text with information structure requires an enormous amount of philological scrutiny and time. This is why in this paper, we complement previous qualitative work that focused on semantics but used a small number of data points with an investigation that considers some formal criteria driving word order variation on as many data points as possible.

The goals of this article are, first, to give, for the first time in Vedic studies, a broad survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions on an empirical basis, and second, to compare the Atharvaveda to other metrical Vedic texts. To do so, we extract 8,789 complex nominal expressions from a corpus of dependency-annotated Vedic texts covering various textual and chronological layers. On these observations we carry out standard frequentist statistical tests of significance to get an impression of the interactions between continuity and two properties of the modifier (word class and length), the placement of the modifier relative to the modified noun, and the textual layer.

In the next section we describe data and methods. The subsequent section reports our results for a sample from the Vedic corpus over its entire temporal span and for the oldest layer of metrical texts. The final section summarizes the paper.

Data and Methods

The data for this contribution are extracted from the Vedic Treebank (VTB), a database of Vedic sentences which are syntactically annotated according to the Universal Dependency (UD) standard (Nivre et al. 2016). With about 17,300 sentences with 130,000 word tokens, the version of the VTB used for this paper is significantly

larger than the versions described in Hellwig et al. (2020) and Biagetti et al. (2021). The improved coverage of the Vedic corpus is due to the availability of a syntactic parser of Vedic Sanskrit which has been developed in the research project CHRON-BMM[1] and which significantly accelerates the process of data acquisition (Hellwig, Nehrdich, and Sellmer, n.d.).

Using the syntactic annotations provided by the VTB, it is easy to find the complex nominal expressions required for this study. We select all nominal expressions that are modified either by another nominal expression or an adjectival phrase. Continuity is determined by inspecting whether any elements that do not belong to the complex nominal expression are inserted between the modified noun and the modifier. One such case is displayed in Figure 1. In addition, we consider the following variables which are suspected to interact with continuity:

Modifier Type

We make a binary distinction between adjectives (labeled amod), which agree with the modified noun in gender, number, and case, and nominal modifiers (nmod), which usually take the genitive case.

Position

The placement of the modifiers relative to the modified noun: modifiers either precede (left) or follow the modified noun (right).

Length

The length of the modifier in orthographic units separated by a space, i.e. the modifier including all elements which syntactically depend on it. We collapse all lengths greater than four, which results in four binned integers in the interval [1–4].

1 Project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, FKZ 01UG2121; see https://chronbmm.phil.hhu.de/.

Layer

In order to correlate changes in linearization with the historical structure of the Vedic corpus, we record the diachronic layer of each observation according to a system derived from (Kümmel 2000: 5f.) and (Witzel 1989):

1. Early Vedic [= 1-RV]: RV 2–7, 9
2. Old Vedic [= 2-MA]: RV 1, 8, 10 and the metrical portions of the Atharvaveda- and Yajurveda-Saṁhitās ('Mantra language')
3. Middle Vedic [= 3-PO]: the prose portions of the Saṁhitās, and the older parts of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads
4. Young Vedic [= 4-PL]: the younger parts of the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads
5. Late Vedic [= 5-SU]: the Sūtra texts of the Vedāṅgas

Compartments 2–5 of Table 1 show that these variables occur with sufficient frequency in our sample which facilitates the application of standard statistical tests of significance.

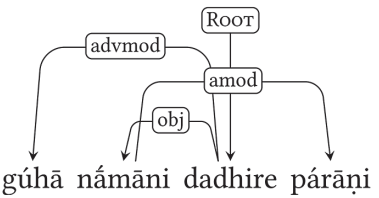

Figure 1: RV 10.5.2d ("They have placed in hiding the highest names", Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 1374) as an example for discontinuous placement: The verb *dadhire* is inserted between the noun *nā́māni* and its modifier *párāṇi*.

We assess possible differences in the distributions using standard frequentist statistical tests of significance for count data (see e.g. Agresti 2007). Hellwig, Scarlata, and Widmer (2021) describe the application of relevant methods in the context of Vedic studies, and the reader may refer to this publication for a more detailed, practical introduction to the statistical tests applied here.

Table 1: Distribution of the considered variables in the data sample used in this study.

Linearization	continuous				
	6316	2473			
Modifier type	amod	nmod			
	2953	5836			
Position	left	right			
	7037	1752			
Length	1	2	3	≥ 4	
	6199	1582	567	441	
Layer	1-RV	2-MA	3-PO	4-PL	5-SU
	980	2693	1052	2100	1964

Results and Discussion

General Observations

Before focusing on the Atharvaveda and the other oldest metrical texts, we explore which patterns emerge when we consider the entire timespan of the Vedic literature. As described in the preceding section, the collected data relate the (dis-)continuous placement of nominal expressions to their syntactic labels, their relative positions, their lengths, and the diachronic layer of the containing texts. We start the evaluation by exploring the relationships between each of these four possible explanatory variables and (dis-)continuous linearization in the whole data set, and consider increasingly complex interactions as our evaluation proceeds.

Table 2: Results of G-tests for the basic interactions between continuous and discontinuous linearization and four influence variables considered in this paper; see also the graphical display in Figure 2.

Infl. Factor	Statistics	DF	p-value
Label	$G = 44.691$	1	0.001
Position	$G = 390.772$	1	0.001
Length	$G = 6946.096$	3	0.001
Layer	$G = 428.548$	4	0.001

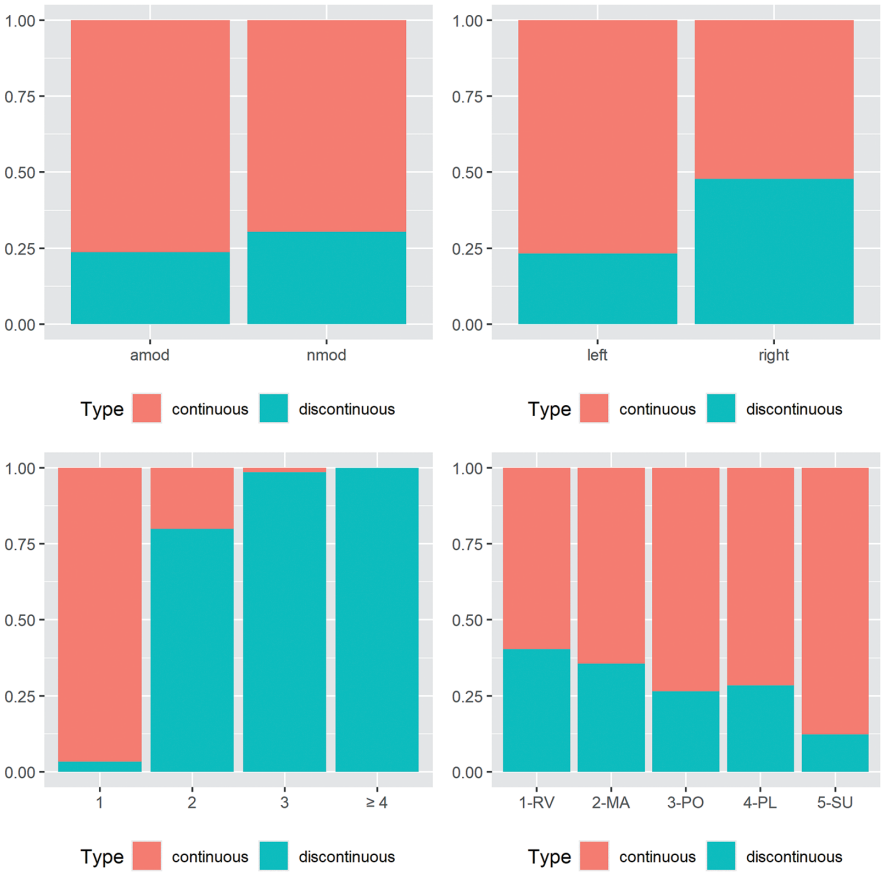

Figure 2: Basic interactions with continuous and discontinuous complex nominal expressions; top left: interaction with the label; top right: with position; bottom left: with the length of the dependent; bottom right: with the chronological layer. Test results are reported in Table 2.

Figure 2 graphically displays these interactions, and the test results of the underlying count data are reported in Table 2. Overall, we observe statistically highly significant differences for all explanatory features. The weakest, but still highly significant effect concerns the modifier type (Figure 2, top left). This effect fits the intuition via the interaction with modifier length: nominal expressions tend to be more complex, which favors discontinuity. We also observe strong effects for the relative positions (Figure 2, top right). Nominal expressions with the modifiers placed to the right of the modified are significantly more often discontinuous than those with modifiers placed to the left. The strongest statistical effect is observed for the lengths of the modifier: Figure 2 (bottom left) shows that continuous linearization is largely restricted to modifiers that consist of

only one word. Notably, the diachronic layers also interact with (dis-)continuous linearization to a highly significant degree as the number of continuous placements increases nearly monotonically over the period considered here (Figure 2, bottom right). While a Cochran-Armitage test shows that this trend is also statistically highly significant (Z = 18.431, dim: 5, $p < 0.001$), this result does not necessarily point to systematic changes in discontinuity patterns. When we plot the diachronic distribution of the lengths of the dependents (see Figure 3), our data display a diachronic trend towards using shorter dependents over the Vedic period, which is again statistically highly significant.[2]

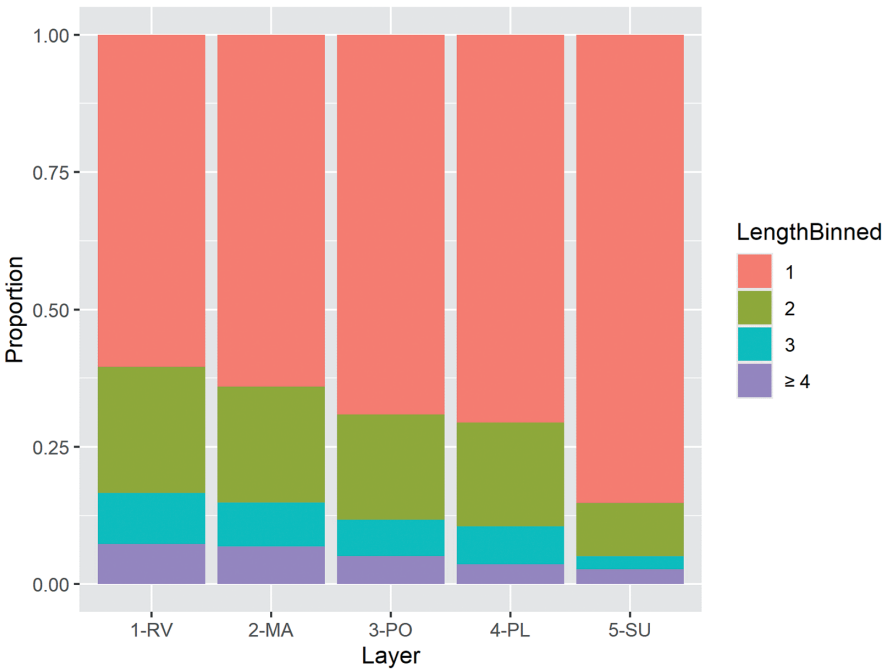

Figure 3: Lengths of the modifiers, grouped by diachronic layers. The bottom-right subplot in Figure 2 can largely be explained as a combination of the trend shown in this plot and the distribution in the bottom-left subplot in Figure 2.

At first view, the trend observed in Figure 2 (bottom right) results from an interaction of (at least) two elements: Later Vedic texts prefer shorter modifiers (Figure 3), and modi-

2 For this Cochran-Armitage test, we distribute the lengths of the dependents into two classes '1' and '>1' and assess the distribution of this dichotomized variable over the five diachronic layers. The test yields a highly significant result of Z = –16.332, dim: 5, p = 0.001.

fiers of length 1 are in general found in continuous linearization (Figure 2, bottom left). Surprisingly, however, such an interpretation is not fully endorsed by a CMH test that uses the lengths of the dependents as the control variable when assessing differences in (dis-)continuous linearization in the diachronic layers of the Vedic corpus.[3] Even if we control for the length of the modifiers, the test yields a highly significant result of M^2 = 108.56, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$ and thus points to substantial differences in how (dis-)continuous linearization is distributed over the diachronic layers. Cochran-Armitage tests of the three 5×2 sub-tables of the $5 \times 2 \times 3$ tensor (five diachronic layers × (dis-)continuous linearization × length classes 1–3; also see Footnote 3) show significant monotonic trends for dependents of length 1 and 2 (results in Table 3). This result indicates that over the Vedic period, there are significant changes in the linearization of complex nominal expressions with modifiers of the length 1 and 2, but not with longer ones.

Table 3: Results of Cochran-Armitage tests for dependents of fixed length (column one). The tests show significant monotonic trends only for modifiers of length one and two.

Length	*Z*	DF	p
1	4.553	5	< 0.001
2	7.477	5	< 0.001
3	0.074	5	0.941

As the tests that include an additional control variable have revealed relevant temporal interactions, we repeat this kind of evaluation for the data plotted in Figure 2 (top right) and Figure 2 (bottom left) by expanding the 5×2 diachronic table into $5 \times 2 \times 2$ tensors for the two types (amod, nmod) and the two relative positions. While the CMH tests of these two tensors yield highly significant results,[4] the plot of the proportions in Figure 4 displays relevant diachronic trends only for modifiers placed to the left of the modified. While the proportions of discontinuous nominal expressions decrease quite monotonically with both modifier types placed to the left of the modified, no such trend is discernible for modifiers of any modifier type to the right of the modified. We leave the examination of these complex interactions for future work applying more refined methodology.

3 We do not consider the length class ≥ 4, as there are no such cases with continuous linearization in our data.

4 Modifier type: M^2 = 406.12, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$; position: M^2 = 254.78, DF: 4, $p < 0.001$.

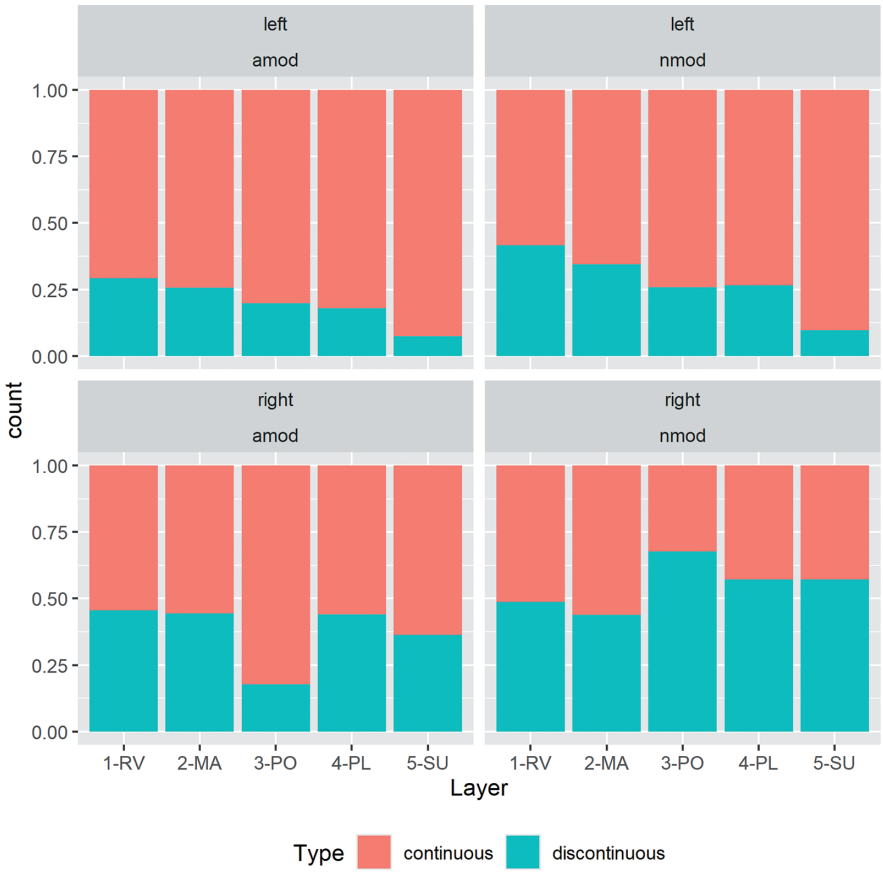

Figure 4: Diachronic trends in continuous and discontinuous complex nominal expressions, split by modifier type and position of the modifier relative to the modified. While complex nominal expressions with modifiers placed to the left of the modified show an increasing preference for continuous linearization (top row), those with the modifier to the right of the modified do not (bottom row).

(Dis-)continuity in the Old Metrical Texts

Given the topic of these proceedings, we now restrain the evaluation to the oldest metrical texts and test if the metrical parts of the AV differ from RV 2–7, 9 and the Mantra level material of other Saṁhitās with regard to (dis-)continuous linearization. This evaluation offers the additional advantage that we do not need to account for interactions with register type as all texts considered in this section are metrical. Table 4 reports the results of tests that compare counts of (dis-)continuous nominal expressions in all three substrata.

Table 4: Differences between the three old layers with regard to the use of (dis-)continuous linearization.

Control	Statistics	DF	p
	$G = 12.028$	2	0.002
Label	$M^2 = 14.900$	2	< 0.001
Position	$M^2 = 9.724$	2	0.008
Length	$M^2 = 7.191$	2	0.027

As the result of the G-test in its first row shows, the distribution in the overall 3×2 table (three strata, continuous vs. discontinuous) points to significant differences between the strata. The picture changes when additional control variables are considered using CMH tests (rows 2ff. in Table 4). While the differences get even more pronounced when modifier types are distinguished ('label'), modifier position and length increase the p-values of the tests and thus make systematic differences between the three strata less probable; the increase is most pronounced for length.

Table 5 offers a refined pairwise evaluation of the same data.

Table 5: Pairwise comparison of the three old layers. The first row of each compartment gives the result of a G-test of the full table, and the subsequent rows give the results for CMH tests with the respective control variable in the third column (M^2). See the graphical representations in Figure 5.

Group 1	Group 2	Control	Statistics	DF	p
RV	AV		$G = 12.024$	1	< 0.001
		Label	$M^2 = 15.650$	1	< 0.001
		Position	$M^2 = 9.357$	1	0.002
		Length	$M^2 = 6.447$	1	0.011
RV	Mantra		$G = 3.247$	1	0.072
		Label	$M^2 = 3.524$	1	0.061
		Position	$M^2 = 2.482$	1	0.115
		Length	$M^2 = 1.109$	1	0.292
AV	Mantra		$G = 5.089$	1	0.024
		Label	$M^2 = 6.213$	1	0.013
		Position	$M^2 = 3.968$	1	0.046
		Length	$M^2 = 3.596$	1	0.058

Figure 5: Interactions with (dis-)continuous linearization in texts from the Rigveda and the Mantra period. Test results in Table 4 and Table 5.

It contrasts the three pairs RV-AV, RV-Mantra and AV-Mantra using the same methodology applied to generate Table 4. The refined evaluation confirms the general trends observed in Table 4. While the pairwise differences tend to disappear when position and length are considered, we do observe (highly) significant differences when controlling for the modifier type. This observation gets support from the visual inspection of the proportions of continuous and discontinuous nominal

expressions in Figure 5: across layers they are largely indistinguishable when splitting by position (middle) and length (bottom), but are rather pronounced, especially between RV and AV, when controlling for modifier type (top). From among the three early groups, the AV has the lowest proportion of discontinuous nominal expressions but shows a similarly clear differentiation between adjectives and nouns as does the RV proper. This differentiation between modifier types is virtually non-existent for the Mantra texts.

Conclusions

In this exploratory survey of continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions, we found evidence that in the history of Vedic as represented by five commonly assumed diachronic strata, discontinuity decreases monotonically. Modifier type as well as relative position of modifier and modified interact significantly with the overall decreasing amount of discontinuity. Modifier length contributes significantly as well, but only for modifiers consisting of less than three words.

Applying the same methods to the two earliest, metrical layers of our corpus, i.e. Early Vedic (RV books 2–7, 9) and Old Vedic (RV books 1, 8, 10, metrical portions of the Atharvaveda- and Yajurveda-Saṁhitās) we observe slightly different patterns of interaction. Contrasting Early Vedic with two subsamples of Old Vedic, we find that overall, there are significant differences between the three groups. However, only the modifier type contributes significantly to the difference, modifier position less so, and modifier length is not particularly remarkable. The pairwise comparison of strata discloses a more nuanced picture: Overall, the differences between the AV and the other two strata stand out as being highly significant when compared to Old Vedic and still interesting when compared to Early Vedic. In both comparisons, the modifier type contributes most and the position to a lesser extent.

These findings suggest that with respect to continuity in the linearization of complex nominal expressions, differences cannot be explained by chronological stratification alone. In its difference to the oldest Rigvedic layer, the Atharvaveda clearly diverges from other Old Vedic texts. With all due caution, we interpret this as evidence for differences in content and narrative conventions, which encompasses, of course, differences in syntactic and informational structuring of the text. Future research on such syntactic phenomena will certainly take semantic and other additional syntactic predictors into account – e.g. type of element causing discontinuity, mutual interaction of multiple modifiers – but it should also integrate the lexical and semantic structure of passages under consideration.

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Alexander Lubotsky

Remarks on the Chronology of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā

Abstract: The Paippalāda Saṃhitā, which can be viewed as a manual for the purohita, is chronologically heterogeneous: we find old mantras next to prose passages which look young, and archaic verb forms next to grammatical innovations. It seems likely that the bulk of its hymns have acquired their final shape at approximately the same time as Book X of the RV, but the text as a whole was presumably canonized only later, at the time of the Gṛhyasūtras.

1 The Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) as a Manual for the *purohita*

1.1 Recent studies of the PS have shown that this text can be viewed as a collection of mantras which a king's domestic priest must remember in order to perform all the necessary rituals at the court. Selva (2019: 214ff) has presented the major arguments for this viewpoint and ample references, so that I can be brief.

The Paippalāda Brahmins openly claimed to be best equipped for the office of the king's *purohita* or *guru*. As stated in the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa (2.4.1–5), *paippalādaṃ guruṃ kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam* '[The king] should appoint a Paippalāda as his domestic priest for the increase of might, kingship, and health'. Book 10 of the PS contains a stock of hymns for the royal inauguration, and many hymns in other Books are also related to kingship in one or other fashion, see the list in Lelli (2020: 27–28). It is significant that most of these hymns are absent from the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā (ŚS).

There is one more aspect in which the PS is more "royal-oriented" than the ŚS. As is stressed by Witzel (1997: 278), the PS often uses (hyper-)correct forms, presumably in order to become more acceptable for the nobility (see further below, fn. 11).

Furthermore, there are Atharvaveda (AV) hymns (both in the PS and the ŚS) which at first sight have nothing to do with kingship, but which turn out to be intimately related to the royal rituals. For instance, it is very probable that a hymn to the waters refers to the waters of the royal consecration (Tucker 2014), that a hymn to an amulet is directly related to royal power (Whitaker 2004), that the wedding hymn describes a royal wedding (as Kristen de Joseph argued at the Zürich conference), and that the funeral hymn describes a royal funeral (Roland Pooth, this volume).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-004

Staying at court had not only advantages. The Atharvaveda Brahmins needed charms to protect themselves and their property from kings who would take away Brahmins' cows (ŚS 5.18–19 = PS 9.17–18) or would abduct Brahmins' wives (ŚS 5.17 = PS 9.15; for PS 8.15 see below, section 6).

Of course, all this does not mean that every single PS hymn is necessarily related to kingship. There are plenty of hymns which had to be remembered and recited during various domestic rituals: healing of all sorts, protection of cattle and crops, rituals concerning conception and birth, love charms, etc.

1.2 It has often been observed in the scholarly literature that the Atharvaveda is chronologically heterogeneous: we find old mantras next to prose passages which look young,[1] and archaic verb forms next to grammatical innovations. This heterogeneity squares well with the proposed function of the text: being a king's domestic priest requires constant adaptation to the new techniques, new rituals, and, most importantly, to the ever-changing preferences of the sovereigns. No doubt, competition was fierce, and innovation must have been vital.

Presumably, one of the competing groups were the Ṛgvedins. It is well known that Book X is the final addition to the codified Ṛgveda (RV) and that it shares not only many linguistic peculiarities with the AV, but also the subject-matter of a considerable number of hymns, for instance, life-cycle rituals such as the funeral and the wedding, healing spells and curses, and so forth (see, e.g., the introduction to Book X by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1367). The question as to why these AV-like hymns were added to the collection has rarely been asked, but it seems reasonable to assume that the Ṛgvedins, too, wanted to be employed not only in the solemn Soma rituals, and so they borrowed some charms from the AV, which allowed them to perform the domestic rituals.

2 Language of the AV: Archaisms and Innovations

The language of most hymns of the AV is less archaic than that of the Family books of the RV (being similar to that of RV X), but this does not necessarily mean that all AV hymns are late compositions. Some of the charms, at least in their subject-matter, could be of great antiquity, cf. ŚS 4.12 = PS 4.15 'To heal an open fracture: with a plant' (most recently treated in Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000–2001), which is often cited in this connection because of its Germanic and Hittite parallels. Furthermore, we find remarkable archaisms in the text, of which I here give just two types of phenomena, one morphological and one lexical:

1 See below, section 5.3, on the argument that this is not just an impression, but a linguistic reality.

(1) Middle imperative endings of the statives:
3sg. impv. med. of the root-aor. *padām* of *pad-* 'to fall, lie down'. PS 5.15.7a reads *ni te padāṃ pṛthivī yantu *sindhavaḥ* 'Let the Earth lie down for you, let the rivers go [their course]'. This is a hapax with an archaic ending *-ām* (instead of *-tām*), typical of statives / intransitive middles, cf. *śayām* (AV) to *śi-* 'to lie', *duhā́m* (RV) to *duh-* 'to yield (milk)'. This form suits well the other forms of the intransitive middle root *pad-* (for subj. *padāti* see Insler 1968: 317, fn. 7). *vi śerām* [3pl. impv. med.] (PS 2.73.3) of *śi-* 'to lie', a hapax, parallel to *duhrā́m* (AV). The ending *-rā́m* is not found in the RV.

(2) *puvas-* n. (PS 4.14.3c) 'pus': *asno gandhāt puvasaḥ pra cyavasva* 'Emerge from the blood, from the smell, from the pus'. Although the word *puvas-* is not attested elsewhere in Vedic or later Sanskrit, it is a perfect match of Greek πύος n. 'pus', Latin *pūs*, *pūris* n. 'id.' ← PIE **puH-os-*. On this hymn, see Griffiths & Lubotsky 2014.

At the same time, there are numerous morphological innovations in the AV as compared with the Family books of the RV. For instance, whereas in the Family books we only sporadically find cases of gen. sg. *-yāḥ*, dat. *-yāi*, loc. *-yām* with fem. *i*-stems,[2] these endings are the norm in the AV; similarly, monosyllabic *iva,*[3] rare in the RV, is very frequent in the AV.

In the PS, we encounter for the first time a future in *-tar-* (see Lubotsky 2002: 68), and 1pl. *vidmas(i)*.[4] A unique PS innovation seems to be the loc. sg. *patyām* (6×) vs. the usual *pátā(u)* of *páti-* 'husband'.

Many archaic features gradually disappear. For example, outside of RV repetitions, we hardly find any injunctives in a non-imperative context, very few examples of tmesis (separated preverbs), of nom. pl. m. *-āsaḥ* and of metrical lengthening of word final vowels. It is further conspicuous that the PS attests a considerable number of words that are Vedic hapax legomena, e.g., *śikhara-* m./n. 'top, peak' (4.14.5), *sūta-* m. 'child, son' (5.37.4), *prapautra-* m. 'great-grandson' (5.40.5).

Consequently, although we cannot establish a secure *terminus post quem* for the AV, it is likely that the bulk of its hymns have acquired their final shape at

2 Type *nírṛtyāḥ, -yāi, -yām* to *nírṛti-*, goddess of perdition, cf. AiGr. III: 135.

3 For an explanation of this phenomenon, see Pinault 1995–1996: 354–361.

4 The regular form 1pl. pf. *vidma* is abundantly attested in the PS, but *vidmas(i)* is found in five passages. In PS 16.13.7d *yāsu vidmasi saṁbhṛtam* and 17.12.1f, 13.9e *nāmadheyāni vidmasi*, the form *vidmasi* is secured by the meter, which conclusively shows that it is not a mistake of the transmission, but an original 1pl. form of the PS, although it is not attested in the ŚS. The present form *vidmas(i)* is most probably due to the reinterpretation of ppf. *avet* as an imperfect.

approximately the same time as Book X of the RV. We shall discuss the *terminus ante quem* below, but in order to see the AV innovations in due perspective, let us first have a look at the general picture of linguistic developments after the RV.

3 Sound Changes after the RV

There are hardly any sound changes between the language of the RV and Classical Sanskrit. The sound differences that we see are either purely phonetic details[5] or are due to variation during the transmission of the texts.[6] This fact, the importance of which has not been fully appreciated in the scholarly literature, means that during or soon after the period of the composition of the RV, Sanskrit ceased to be a living language in the sense that it was only used in specific situations, in a high stylistic register, and became "petrified" to some extent. From that moment on, Sanskrit was only affected by morphological and syntactic changes.

4 Prākritisms in the RV?

Can we determine the date when this petrification started? Much depends on the question as to whether the RV contains so-called Prākritisms, i.e., words that show Middle Indic phonetic developments. There is a certain tradition among Indo-Europeanists to etymologize (usually obscure) Sanskrit words by assuming Prākritic developments even in the earliest Vedic.

A typical example is the RV hapax *ogaṇá-*. The only passage where it occurs reads: 10.89.15ab *śatrūyánto abhí yé nas tatasré, máhi vrā́dhanta ogaṇā́sa indra*. Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1537) translate: 'Those who, seeking to rival us, have battered at us, being greatly arrogant and powerful, o Indra', following Geldner in glossing *ogaṇá-* as 'powerful', although there is no foundation for it in the context.

5 For instance, the monophthongization **ai* > *e* and **au* > *o* (for which, see Lubotsky 2012), some sandhi differences (e.g. RV *-ṣ ṭ-* in *vidúṣ ṭe* 'they know of you' vs. Class. *-s t-*), etc. See further Witzel 1997. A more complicated issue is RV **CiyV* and **CuvV* vs. Class. *CyV* and *CvV*. In unstressed position, the contraction had already taken place before the RV, and the poet had the license to use either a disyllabic or a monosyllabic form (e.g. *divyá-* / *div̥yá-*, for details see Lubotsky 1997: 149ff.). When stressed, **CíyV* and **CúvV* normally remained disyllabic. This is also the situation of the AV. The Taittirīyas still have *súvaḥ*, *vr̥kíyaḥ*, etc. for *svàḥ*, *vr̥kyàḥ*. In Classical Sanskrit, this contraction has become generalized to all contexts.

6 E.g., RV *-VḶV-* vs. Class. *-VḍV-*, which is a matter of pronunciation during transmission (like *saṃskrutam* or *saṃskritam* for *saṃskr̥tam*).

One would rather expect a negative connotation like 'treacherous', 'murderous', 'brutal', 'fierce'. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that *ogaṇá-* means 'powerful' and goes back to **ogr̥ṇa-* < PIE **h₂eug-r-* + an adjective suffix *-na-* (see EWAia 1.276–277 with references). What is more, in the PS and the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (VS) we find *úgaṇa-* in very similar contexts, specifying an inimical *sénā-* 'army' (mentioned next to thieves and robbers), cf. VS 11.77 (= PS 1.42.1) *sénā abhítvarīr āvyādhínīr úgaṇā uta* 'the attacking, murdering and *úgaṇāḥ* armies.' In the Sāmaveda we further find nom. sg. *ugaṇā*[7] (SVK 1.336b *yo no vanuṣyann abhidāti marta ugaṇā vā manyamānas turo vā* 'a man, who is hostile, plotting against us, *ugaṇā* or considering himself strong'), again in a negative context. This *úgaṇa-* is also usually etymologized as an Indo-European word, this time as **ugr̥ṇa-* < PIE **h₂ug-r-* + an adjective suffix *-na-* (EWAia 1.276–277).

It follows that the meaning of *ogaṇá-* / *úgaṇa-* is unclear and that the different ablaut grades and accentuation, as well as the nom. sg. *ugaṇā*, are unaccounted for.[8] Furthermore, the formation (an *r*-stem + a suffix *-na-*) is unparalleled. It seems therefore unjustified to postulate a Middle Indic development for *ogaṇá-* / *úgaṇa-* only in order to save an Indo-European etymology, which is not even very appealing because of the morphological problems.

This is not the place to discuss all proposed Prākritisms in the RV, but most of them meet the above-mentioned objections and are doubtful. In my view, the best example is a passage from the so-called Frog hymn, RV 7.103.3cd: *akhkhalīkŕ̥tyā pitáraṃ ná putró, anyó anyám úpa vádantam eti* 'saying "akhkhala" [/repeating syllables] like a son to a father (at lessons), one goes up close to the other who is speaking.' This translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1013) follows Thieme's (1954) suggestion that *akhkhala-* is a Middle-Indic reflex of *akṣára-* 'syllable', which reveals the pun of the author of the hymn, who constantly tries to create parallels between the frogs and the Brahmins. We must thus assume that the author already said *akhkhala-* for *akṣára-* in his daily life. Since RV 7.103 is an "Anhang" hymn, belonging to the latest additions to the collection, it would mean that Middle Indic developments started to take place at least at the very latest stages of the codification of this text.

7 This unusual nominative is also encountered in the name of an ancient sage *uśánā-* (RV+), i.e. *uśánā kāvyá-*, which is likely to be of non-Indo-European origin.

8 It is sometimes assumed that *ug°* is due to the influence of *ugrá-*, but the accent shows that this idea cannot be correct.

5 Prākrit-like Sound Changes in the RV

Although the direct evidence for Prākritisms in the RV is limited, the language of this text, even of its oldest parts, already shows a few sound changes which foreshadow the later, Middle Indic, developments. This points at a situation of prolonged contacts with the indigenous population of India, which became increasingly intensive with the years.

5.1 Proto-Indo-Iranian **di̯-* > Skt. *jy-*

This sound change is found in two Rigvedic words: *jyótiṣ-* n. 'light, brightness' and *jyók /ji̯yók/* adv. 'a long time, still a long time, already a long time'. In later Vedic, it is further attested in the middle present *jyotate* 'to shine' (MS *jyotatām* 3sg. impv.), passive *ava-jyotyámāna-* (ŚB), absolutive *ava-jyótya* (Br.+), and the nouns *jyótsnā-* f. 'moonlight night' (MS+) and *jyotayamāmaka-* m. 'will-o'-the-wisp' (ŚS 4.37.10) = *jyotaya mām* 'shine on me!' + suffix *-aká-*.

It was convincingly argued by aan de Wiel 2000 that the Vedic sound change **di̯-* > *jy-* only took place in the position before *o* (which at that time still was **au* [əu]), whereas *dy-* remained unchanged in all other positions.

In Middle Indic, any **dy* has become *-jj-* in intervocalic position and *j-* word-initially (see von Hinüber 1986: 120–121).

5.2 Vedic "vowel harmony" + *r*-dissimilation

In Vedic, there are several cases where vocalic *r̥* loses its consonantal element and becomes *i, u,* or *a*, depending on the following vowel, cf.

– **śr̥thirá-* [śərthirá-] > [śirthirá-] > *śithirá-* adj. 'loose' (root *śrath*^{i}- 'to be loose').
– **mr̥hur* [mərhur] > [murhur] > *múhur* 'suddenly, at once, immediately' (cf. Young Avestan *mərəzu-* 'short').
– **durhŕ̥ṇā-* [durhərṇā-] > [durharṇā-] > *durháṇā-* 'bad anger' (~ *hr̥ṇīté* 'to be angry') (see Narten 1982: 140).
– **tvŕ̥ṣṭar-* [tvərṣṭar-] > [tvarṣṭar-] > *tváṣṭar-* (cf. Avestan *θβōrəštar-* 'sculptor, creator') (see Lubotsky 1994).

These forms are the result of *r*-dissimilation, and the schwa of vocalic *r̥* [ər] copies the vowel of the next syllable. This "vowel harmony" is very similar to the rules for the development of *r̥* in Middle Indic (see Berger 1955):

– *hr̥daya-* > Pāli *hadaya-*; *ghr̥ta-* > Pāli *ghata-*; *kr̥pana-* > Pāli *kapana-*; *vr̥ka-* > Pāli *vaka-*
– *r̥ṣi-* > Pāli *isi-*; *kr̥mi-* > Pāli *kimi-*; *vr̥ścika-* > Pāli *vicchika-*; *kr̥trima-* > Pāli *kittima-*
– *r̥tu-* > Pāli *utu-*; *r̥ju-* > Pāli *uju-*; *mr̥du-* > Pāli *mudu-*

It follows that the vowel harmony (or assimilation of the schwa to the vowel of the next syllable) started as a phonetic development already in Vedic and has become phonemic only if *-r-* was lost. In Middle Indic, this process has spread to any former *r̥*.

5.3 Skt. *karoti, kurvanti*

A very similar scenario is responsible for the development of *karóti, kurvánti* (Class 8 present) from *kr̥ṇóti, kr̥ṇvánti* (Class 5 present) as argued by Hoffmann (1976: 575–588). He assumes that in this verb, *-r̥ṇ-* has exceptionally assimilated to *-r̥r-*, which then underwent "vowel harmony" and *r*-loss:
– *kr̥ṇu- / kr̥ṇv-* > **kr̥ru- / kr̥rv-* > [$k_u$rru- / $k_u$rrv-] > *kuru- / kurv-*
– **kr̥ṇau-* > **kr̥rau-* > [$k_a$rrau-] > *karo-*[9]

According to Hoffmann, these forms are used in Vedic texts as follows:
– RV: predominantly Class 5 *kr̥ṇo- / kr̥ṇu-*, but in Book X already 2× *kuru* (10.19.2b *púnar enā ny ā́ kuru*; 10.145.2d *pátim me kévalaṃ kuru*) and 1× *kurmás* (10.51.7a *kurmás ta ā́yur ajáraṃ yád agne*)[10]
– AV: Class 5 *kr̥ṇo- / kr̥ṇu-* next to (rare) Class 8 *karo- / kuru-*
– YV mantras (both prose and poetry): idem
– YV prose: only Class 8 *karo- / kuru-*

9 Vedic *e* and *o* were diphthongs [ai] and [au], at least until the time of the composition of the Yajurveda (see Lubotsky 2012).

10 As was pointed out by Hoffmann, in the RV the poets use Class 8 forms as an indication of colloquial / substandard usage, especially female speech. The same is true of the Atharvaveda, see, for instance, PS 5.34, 'Against a female rival', where we find three times a Class 8 present: 2ab *ā krandayolulā kuru, vācam ā dheh̥y apriyām* 'Shout out, wail, raise your unpleasant voice!', 5cd *atho śvabhyo *rāyadbh̥yaḥ, prati sma gaṅgaṇaṃ kuru* 'And then howl back to the barking dogs!', 6c *atho yat kār̥yaṃ kur$_u$v* 'And do what has to be done!' or PS 6.23 'To get rid of a rival wife' with its 2a *apāñcaṁ patim ā kur$_u$v* 'Make the husband turn away [from her]', 4b *bilād araṇyam ā kur$_u$v* 'Remove [her] from the hole toward the jungle', 4e *vātasyaināṃ śikhāṃ kuru* 'make her the crest of the wind' (Griffiths 2009: 247 and 249).

Hoffmann has missed just one minor detail, which is of importance for the chronology of the Atharvaveda, however. It turns out that the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā[11] shows the same distribution as the Yajurveda: in the mantras we find most of the time Class 5 *kṛṇo-* / *kṛṇu-* next to a few rare occurrences of Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*, indeed, but – and this is the difference – the prose passages exclusively attest Class 8 *karo-* / *kuru-*. This distribution indicates that the prose passages of the AV have been added to the collection at a later date (see further below).

6 Canonization of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda

Most Vedic texts contain material from different periods, and it must have taken a long time before they were canonized and reached the form in which they have been transmitted to us (for a recent discussion, see Bronkhorst 2007: 175ff.).

What can be said about the time of canonization of the Atharvaveda, and of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā in particular? The distribution discussed in the preceding section suggests that the prose of the Atharvaveda (the so-called *paryāya* sections) and that of the Yajurveda are contemporary, which confirms the impression of many scholars that the Atharvaveda prose is composed in a Brāhmaṇa style. At the same time, it means that the canonization of the Atharvaveda took place no earlier than the period of the Brāhmaṇa prose.

Indeed, there are indications that canonization took place even later. A case in point is the stanza PS 8.15.6 (for the edition of this hymn see Lubotsky 2007 and Kim 2014: 145–146):

śatarcino mādhyamā ye maharṣayaḥ (12)
kṣudrasūktānām uta yā prajeha | (11)
ṛṣīṇāṃ yāni janimāni vidmas (11)
tebhyaḥ pra brūma iha kilbiṣāṇi || (11)

'The [descendants of the] Śatarcins, [the descendants of] the great ṛṣis who have composed the middle parts, and those here who are the progeny of those whose hymns are short – whichever races of the ṛṣis we know, to them we announce here the offenses.'

This stanza mentions the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which are only known since the late texts of the Ṛgveda school: the *mādhyamāḥ* are referred to at KauṣB 12.3:5ff., the earliest other attestation of *śatarcinaḥ* seems to be at AitĀ 2.2.1 (alongside the *mādhyamāḥ*), and the *kṣudrasūktāḥ* are not referred to before the Gṛhyas-

11 The PS has mostly reintroduced Class 5 *kṛṇo-* / *kṛṇu-* in these cases, in a conscious endeavor to use the more "correct", archaic language (see above, section 1).

ūtras (ŚāṅkhGṛS 4.10, ĀśvGṛS 3.4.2). It is therefore conceivable that the stanza is a late addition, which is further corroborated by its strange position within the hymn (see Lubotsky 2007: 28).

This means that even at the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, close to the end of the Vedic period, the charms were still adapted and rearranged. In this particular case of PS 8.15.6, the reason for expanding the text was clearly the endeavor to involve the RV brahmins in a protest against the king who has abducted a brahmin's wife. And although this process of adding new material to the collection, theoretically speaking, might have continued until the Middle Ages, I see no indication of that. As far as the *terminus ante quem* for canonization of the Atharvaveda is concerned, I follow Johannes Bronkhorst, who writes (2007: 197): "Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya allows us to obtain an approximate idea as to the time before which the Atharvaveda was constituted into a collected whole. It cites in its opening passage the first lines of the four Vedas; these apparently existed as collections in those days (second century BCE). The first line is *śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, which begins the Paippalāda version of the Atharvaveda. Patañjali even informs us of the size of the Atharvaveda known to him, saying (Mahā-bh[āṣya] II p. 378 l. 11; on P. 5.2.37): *viṃśino 'ṅgirasaḥ.* This fits the twenty books of the Atharvaveda in both its surviving versions. We may conclude that the Paippalāda Saṃhitā existed essentially in its present form in the second century BCE."

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The Three Grand Divisions of the Śaunakasamhitā from a Lexico-Statistic Perspective

Abstract: The Śaunakasaṃhitā was divided into three "grand divisions" by Whitney and Lanman, its most influential interpreters: short hymns (kāṇḍas 1–7), long hymns of miscellaneous subject matter (kāṇḍas 8–12), and hymns "characterized each by unity of subject" (kāṇḍas 13–18), with kāṇḍas 1–7 constituting the core of the collection. Witzel agrees with these divisions but adds a temporal aspect, proposing that ŚS 1–5 and 8–12 are older than ŚS 13–18. This paper revisits these earlier approaches using computational and corpus linguistics, focusing on vocabulary subsets and their correlation with Whitney and Lanman's divisions.

Introduction

In the introduction to their translation of the Śaunakasaṃhitā (ŚS[1]), Whitney and Lanman split the text of ŚS 1–18 into three "grand divisions". These divisions consist of "short" (kāṇḍas 1–7) and "long hymns of miscellaneous subjects" (kāṇḍas 8–12), and of hymns "characterized each by unity of subject" (kāṇḍas 13–18), respectively (Whitney and Lanman 1905: cxxvii). Lanman claims that the first division (kāṇḍas 1–7) is probably the "most characteristic part of it all, and [. . .] books i.–vi. are very likely the original nucleus of the whole collection." (Whitney and Lanman 1905: cxlii). The introductory notes to the individual kāṇḍas do not discuss further linguistic evidence that supports this claim. It thus appears that Lanman's conclusion is largely based on content and on the ordering principle of increasing numbers of stanzas, as generally applied when studying the structure of the Rigveda (see Oldenberg 1888: 242; Renou 1947: 63–65; Insler 1998: 19–20).

Witzel (1997: 275–284) agrees with Whitney and Lanman's "grand divisions", but introduces a further temporal component. Based on cultural as well as linguistic features, Witzel proposes that kāṇḍas 1–5 constitute the oldest part of the ŚS, while ŚS 8–12 are later, but still earlier than the Yajurveda prose (Witzel 1997: 280–281). ŚS 6–7 may be interpolated in the first grand division, and ŚS 13–18 may

1 This paper uses the abbreviations defined in Griffiths (2009: 453–456).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-005

be contemporaneous with the TS or the earlier parts of the AB (see Witzel 1997: 281; also see Renou 1955 on the prose parts contained therein). As the ŚS is often used as a reference point for post-Rigvedic linguistic developments (see, for example, Arnold 1897; Witzel 1995 for a discussion and possible fallacies), it is worthwhile assessing if the structure that was proposed by Whitney and Lanman and largely adapted in later research (e.g. Griffiths 2003: 2009) can be corroborated in a lexico-statistic study.

While it is possible to detect changes in the morphosyntax of post-Rigvedic Sanskrit (see, for instance, Lanman 1872; Hoffmann 1967), Wackernagel (1896: XIV–XXVII) claims that the most important linguistic developments after the RV took place on the level of vocabulary. Combining Wackernagel's claim with the assumption that the oldest part of the ŚS largely coincides with its first Grand Division, one may expect a higher ratio of old words in this part of the ŚS than in its presumably later divisions. Note that the term 'word' refers to the uninflected lexical form (lemma) throughout this paper, if not specified otherwise.

In order to assess this hypothesis, this paper examines how words that exclusively occur in the Rigvedic and Mantra periods of Vedic Sanskrit as defined by Witzel (1997: 268) are distributed over the ŚS. This lexical subset is called Rigvedic-Mantra vocabulary (henceforth: RMV) in the rest of this paper. If words contained in the RMV are distributed over the ŚS in a way that coincides with the (chronological) structure proposed by Witzel (1997), this finding provides additional lexico-statistic evidence for the claim that the Grand Divisions indeed correspond to a historical stratification of the ŚS.

This paper examines the distribution of RVM words over the ŚS from two perspectives. In the first perspective, it examines how the RMV is distributed over the ŚS alone. As intertextual links play an important role in the Vedic corpus, the second perspective considers the joint distribution of the RMV over the RV and the ŚS; this means the distribution arising when RMV words occurring in the ŚS as well as the RV are interpreted as links between the two texts. While such a joint distribution could also have been created for the ŚS and any other text from the Mantra period, the RV appears to be especially suited for this kind of evaluation, because previous research has claimed that there exist relevant connections between sections of the ŚS and some parts of the RV (esp. RV 10) on the levels of textual content and linguistics. Moreover, the Family Books RV 2–7 are often assumed to represent the oldest layer of Vedic, and strong lexical connections between the ŚS and RV 2–7 may help to sort out presumably older parts of the ŚS.

The idea of using lexical distributions for studying the stratification of texts is not new. Arnold (1905: 32–41) compiled lists of words which, in his opinion, can serve to indicate the dates of composition of various parts of the RV. Notably, many of the words indicative of a younger date are selected on the basis of socio-cul-

tural ideas and therefore semantic criteria; e.g. terms relating to the daily life or to philosophy, two topics which are implicitly assumed not to occur in the hieratic core of the RV. While Wüst (1928) uses lexicographic information as one of several criteria for stratifying the RV, Poucha (1942, 1944) solely relies on lexico-statistics in his study of the RV. The author bases his results on Arnold's and Wüst's lists as well as on his own linguistic intuition (Poucha 1942: 105ff.). These previous studies met with a reserved reception in the scholarly community. One central point of concern was that the authors did not sufficiently consider the interactions between the content of the Rigvedic hymns and their socio-cultural background on one side and the lexical composition on the other (see, e.g., Edgerton 1929 and Gonda 1975: 28). It may be added that statistical tests of significance are preferable to simple counting of lexical units, as done by all mentioned authors, although this point has only been mentioned in more recent reviews of their work (Fosse 1997).

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. The second section describes the data used for this paper and deals with the question of how parallel passages can be detected and removed before compiling the RMV. It also gives a short overview of how parallel textual passages are jointly distributed over the RV and the ŚS. The distribution of the RMV over the ŚS and its joint distribution over the ŚS and RV are examined in the third section, which also discusses how the influence of topics on the lexical distribution can be estimated using quantitative methods. The final section summarizes this paper.

Textual Parallels

Creating the Data

The lexicographic data that are used in this paper are extracted from the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit (DCS).[2] The definition of the literary periods used for constructing the RMV follows the listing presented by Witzel (1997: 273). Apart from RV, ŚS, RVKhil and VSM, the Mantra parts of the MS and the TS according to Keith (1914: xlvii–lxvi), as far as they are contained in the DCS, provide words for the RMV. Note that the RMV contains the complete vocabulary of ŚS 1–18, although parts of the ŚS are later than the Mantra period according to Witzel. As this paper investigates

2 http://www.sanskrit-linguistics.org/dcs/index.php. An up-to-date dump of this database in ConLLU format is available at https://github.com/OliverHellwig/sanskrit/tree/master/dcs/data/conllu. – The DCS currently contains the following early Vedic texts (*: only parts of the text are contained in the DCS): RV (see Hellwig et al. 2018), ŚS 1–18, *RVKhil, *VSM, *MS, *TS.

whether the stratification proposed by Whitney, Lanman and Witzel can be reproduced when looking at lexico-statistics, their hypotheses should not influence the selection of the data, and parts of the ŚS that are presumably later have thus been intentionally included as sources of the RMV.

While parallel passages and their textual variants can give important insights into the mutual relationship between the RV, the two extant śākhās of the AV and other Vedic texts (Oldenberg 1888: 320ff.; Bloomfield and Edgerton 1979; Renou 1947: 69; Griffiths 2009: XXXIV–XXXVII; Mucciarelli 2015), they are less useful when studying the RMV, because words contained in parallel passages generate false negatives, when they occur in post-Mantra texts.[3] Therefore, it is crucial to identify parallel passages and remove them from the corpus before creating lexical statistics.

This paper combines two methods for parallel detection. The first method is a modified version of the Levenshtein algorithm (Levenshtein 1966) which operates on continuous word embeddings (Mikolov et al. 2013). It achieves the highest recall but tends to produce false positive results as well. The second method uses the digital version of Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance (Bloomfield 1906, as updated by Franceschini 2008). Each record of the VC is split into the cited text and its occurrences. All but the first occurrence, which is, somehow mechanically, assumed to represent the source of the citation, are searched in the DCS using fuzzy string comparison. If a citation can be traced in the DCS using either of these methods, the lexical annotation corresponding to this match is ignored when constructing the RMV.

Evaluation

Although parallel passages are not the main topic of this paper, their distribution shows some similarities to that of the RMV words, and is therefore briefly discussed. For reasons similar to those given in the introduction, this paper concentrates on the distributions of parallels between the ŚS and the RV: Links connecting the ŚS with the purportedly older parts of the RV may be helpful for understanding the chronological structure of the ŚS, and RV 10 is another important source of Atharvanic material apart from the ŚS itself.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of parallel text lines detected in the RV and the ŚS. The horizontal x-axis displays the ten books (maṇḍalas) of the RV. The distances between the ticks on this axis, which indicate the start of each book, are proportional to the number of text lines contained in the respective book. The

3 If a later text such as a ritual sūtra cites a mantra that contains a word of the RMV, and the text is not labeled as a citation, this word may be excluded from the RMV, thus producing a false negative.

vertical axis displays the books of the ŚS and is organized in the same way.[4] On the whole, the algorithm detects 1,123 parallels between the RV and ŚS. Because an unfiltered display of this sparse matrix would make it difficult to detect interesting trends, neighboring parallels are clustered using Hartigan's leader cluster algorithm (Hartigan 1975) with a maximal radius of 50 lines of text. While the radius of a circle in Figure 1 shows the extent of a cluster, its hue indicates how many parallels are contained in each cluster, with darker colours indicating higher numbers.

The separate plots at the top and right margins of Figure 1 visualize smoothed estimates of the marginal densities of the underlying count matrix (see Fn. 4; top: RV; right: ŚS). These marginal distributions record the smoothed sums of the columns (RV) and rows (ŚS) of this matrix. They show where and how often parallels occur in the RV (top) and the ŚS (right), without considering the distribution in the other text.

Figure 1 provides a picture of the mutual relationship between the RV and ŚS that agrees with results of previous research, especially as reported by Bloomfield (1899: 46) and Witzel (1997: 282). The clusters in the main plotting area and the density plot at the top margin show that most parallels occur in book 10 of the RV. This book is generally assumed to belong to a younger layer of the RV, both on account of its linguistic features and its Atharvanic content (see e.g., Oldenberg 1888: 270; Witzel 1995: 195; Witzel 1997: 282). While parallels occurring in RV 1–7 are quite evenly distributed, there are virtually no parallels with RV 9. Since Soma, the central topic of RV 9, plays no major role in the ŚS, the absence of citations from this book is not surprising.

While the RV marginal can be explained as a unimodal distribution having its peak in RV 10, the marginal plot for the ŚS (right margin of Figure 1) is approximately bimodal. The first peak corresponds to ŚS 6 and especially 7, which contain the majority of parallels with the RV. As Witzel (1997: 276) has pointed out, ŚS 6 and 7 may be interpolations in the ŚS, and Figure 1 supports the claim that they occupy a special position in the first Grand Division. Notably, parallels with RV 1–7 concentrate in ŚS 7, while ŚS 1–6 share most parallels with RV 10 (as does ŚS 7). The density of parallels drops sharply after ŚS 7, leaving the plotting area for ŚS 8–12 almost empty. This sharp break may be due primarily to the change in content, as the second grand division (ŚS 8–12) mainly deals with speculative ("mystic" in the terminology of Whitney and Lanman 1905) topics. The frequency of parallels

4 The data from which the figure is created are stored in a count matrix of size $s \times r$, where s denotes the number of text lines in the ŚS, and r the number of text lines in the RV. If line i of the ŚS is (nearly) identical with line j of the RV, the value of cell (i, j) in this matrix is set to 1.

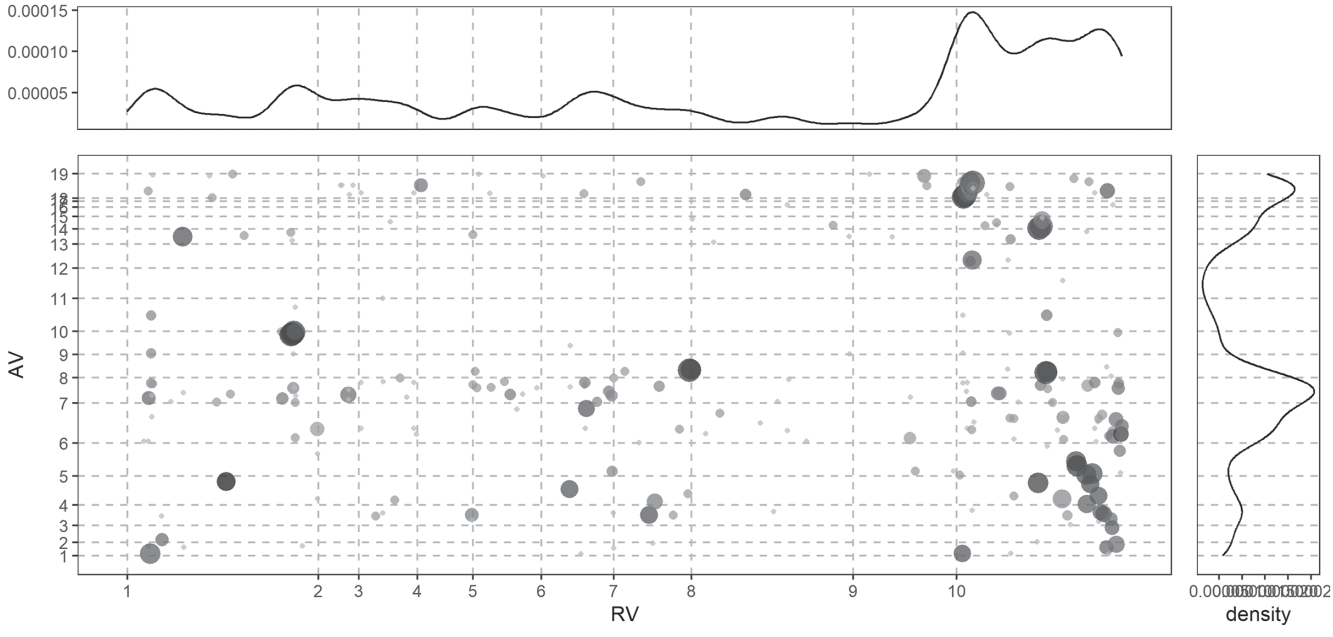

Figure 1: Clustered parallel text lines in the RV (horizontal axis) and the ŚS (vertical axis), and the corresponding marginal densities.

increases again in the third grand division (ŚS 13–18), which Witzel (1997: 277) calls the "Gṛhya collection", and reaches the second peak in the funeral hymns of ŚS 18, which mixes Rigvedic with AV material.

The Lexical Distribution

Creating the Data

When compiling the RMV, all verbal forms are subjected to a special treatment. Modern editions of accented texts often separate preverbs from verbs if the verb occurs in a non-subordinate clause. In addition, tmesis is widespread in old Vedic texts. As annotations that reliably connect preverbs with verbs are currently only available for the RV (Hellwig et al. 2018), verbal forms with preverbs, which occur, for example, in subordinate clauses and unaccented texts, are reduced to their verbal roots, and all preverbs are excluded from the RMV. As a consequence, the argumentation presented in this paper relies heavily on non-verbal forms, because only a few verbal roots are restricted to the period of the RMV. Similar considerations lead to the exclusion of the particle *cid* 'even', which is part of the indefinite quantifier *kaścid-* written as one lemma in the DCS database. As this lemma is split into *kaś cid* in some of the texts in the DCS, the particle *cid* as well as the quantifier *kaścid-* are excluded from the lexical analysis.

The RMV is generated by fuzzy set intersection, and textual parallels are detected in an unsupervised manner. Even if a scholarly curated resource such as the VC is used, some later citations of Vedic mantras may not be detected. Therefore, words are included in the RMV, if at least 95% of their occurrences in the DCS are contained in the RV, ŚS, RVKhil and the Mantra portions of the MS and the TS. The RMV created in this way contains 204 nouns, 189 adjectives, 86 verbs and 31 indeclinables.

Distribution over the ŚS

Figure 2 shows how words that occur in the ŚS and at least one other RMV text are distributed over the ŚS. The horizontal axis is structured in the same way as the vertical axis in Figure 1 and shows the books of the ŚS. Grey vertical bars summarize statistics about RMV words occurring in each text line of the ŚS. The heights of these bars are calculated by assigning the same total mass to each word type, distributing

this mass over all occurrences of the word in the ŚS and summing up all fractions obtained for each line. To motivate this approach, consider, for example, the two RMV words *kimīdín-*, the name of an inimical creature, and *mákṣā-* 'bee'. While *mákṣā-* occurs only once at ŚS 9.1.17a, the term *kimīdín-* occurs 21 times in ŚS 1–5 and the second grand division. If word statistics would be based on the distribution of word tokens, the word *mákṣā-* would contribute the sum of 1 (one occurrence) to the full distribution of RMV words, while *kimīdín-* would contribute the sum of 21. In this way, the overall distribution would become biased towards frequent RMV words, which would be in opposition to the general aim of this paper, namely studying the distribution of word types in the ŚS. In order to avoid such a bias, the single occurrence of *mákṣā-* obtains the sum of 1, i.e. its complete mass, while each occurrence of *kimīdín-* only obtains $\frac{1}{21} \approx 0.048$. The heights of the bars in Figure 2 are the sums of these fractions.

In addition to the source data indicated by the grey vertical bars, Figure 2 also displays a smoothed trend line that summarizes the source data. Judging from this smoothed trend, the plot exhibits a clear separation between the first grand division on one hand and the second and third grand divisions on the other. Starting directly with ŚS 8, the trend line drops to a lower level and remains in this state until the end of ŚS 18. The division of the ŚS into two parts that becomes evident from Figure 2 can be corroborated with a statistical test of significance that compares the heights of the grey bars in the first grand division with those in grand divisions 2 and 3.[5]

Joint Distribution over the RV and ŚS

Although many details remain disputed, Vedic studies have produced a coarse internal chronology of the RV: RV 2–7 are generally assumed to belong to the oldest layer of the text, while RV 10 is considered to be a late addition (see e.g. Witzel 1997: 262–265). These ideas about its chronology may be helpful when studying the structure of the ŚS.

To create the joint distribution of the RMV in the RV and the ŚS, a link between a text line in the RV and a line in the ŚS is established if these two lines share at least one word from the RMV. If multiple words are shared by the two lines, the strength

5 As the source data do not meet the requirements for a parametric t-test, the difference in means is tested using the Mann-Whitney U-test. The alternative hypothesis of this test claims that the vertical lines in grand division 1 are denser and higher than those in grand division 2 and 3. The test produces a highly significant test statistics of $W = 10126000$, $p < 2.2e{-}16$.

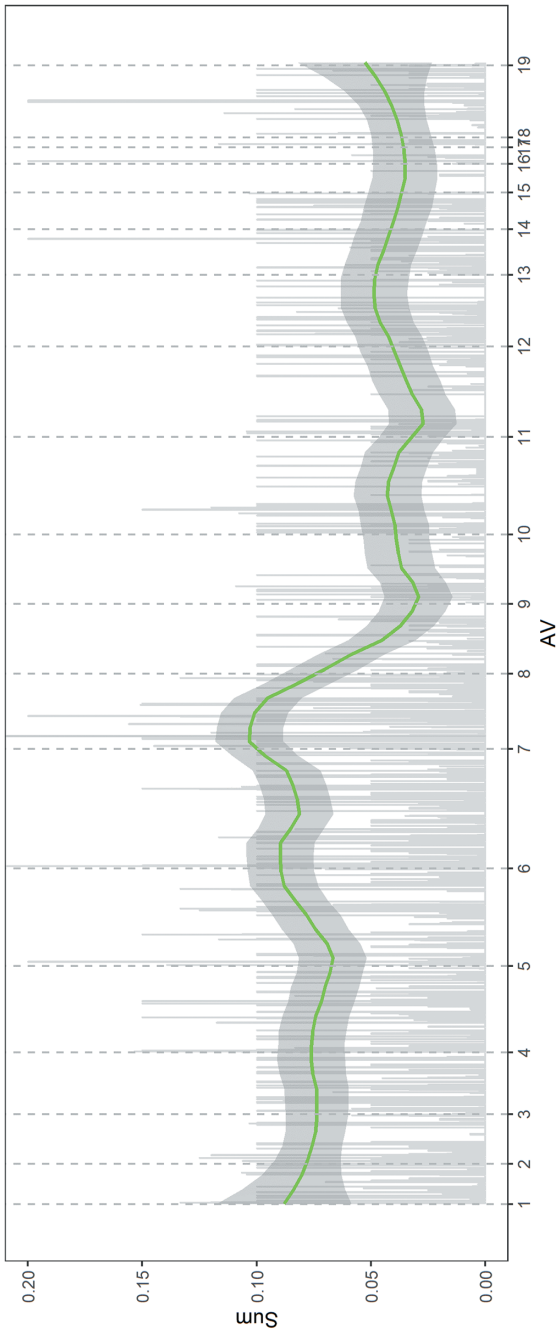

Figure 2: Marginal distribution of the RMV over the ŚS.

of the link is increased proportionally.[6] This linking strength will be called density in the following.

Figure 3, which is organized in the same way as Figure 1, displays such densities for the RV (horizontal axis) and the ŚS (vertical axis). The highest values in the RV marginal distribution (top margin of Figure 3) can be observed for RV 1.50 to RV 7, i.e., the core of the text according to Oldenberg (1888), as well as RV 10. As the Family Books are generally assumed to contain most of the oldest Rigvedic material and RV 10 probably belongs to the Mantra period, this result is not surprising. It shows, however, that the approach used in this paper is able to detect meaningful segmentations. The density drops to a generally lower level towards the end of RV 7, although RV 8 contains a sub-peak, which roughly corresponds to the Vālakhilya hymns in RV 8.49–59.

The marginal distribution of the ŚS (plot at the right margin of Figure 3) largely corresponds to Figure 2. This distribution is ragged, but the highest RMV density is found in ŚS 1–7. The density drops sharply in ŚS 8–9, i.e. the start of the second grand division, as could be observed for the parallels and in Figure 2. The joint distribution, i.e., the grey values in the main plotting area of Figure 3 is dominated by the textual segments that can be observed in the marginals. The strongest links are found between ŚS 1–7 and ŚS 18 on one hand and RV 1.50 to RV 7 and RV 10 on the other.

The Influence of the Textual Content

The results visualized in Figure 3 do not take the content or topics of the text sections into account. This is a relevant drawback of the evaluation, since even low-level linguistic features such as case or phoneme distributions are often correlated with the topic of a text passage (see Hellwig 2017). This caveat is even more important when studying the distribution of lexemes, the choice of which is directly influenced by the content of a text (see e.g. Edgerton's review of Wüst's approach, Edgerton 1929).

In order to address this issue, this paper evaluates an approach based on hidden topic assignments. A Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic model (see Blei, Ng, and Jordan 2003) is used to automatically determine the topics of all hymns of the RV and the ŚS. An LDA model takes the frequencies of words in each hymn as input, and predicts the most probable distribution over a set of unnamed topics,

6 The linking strength is stored in an $s \times r$ matrix, and updated on the basis of type information. Let n_S, n_R denote the absolute frequencies of a word in the ŚS and the RV, respectively. As the word creates $n_S \cdot n_R$ links between the ŚS and the RV, the corresponding cells of this matrix are updated with the value $\frac{1}{n_S \cdot n_R}$. – Also see the related procedure for estimating corpus densities in Hellwig (2019).

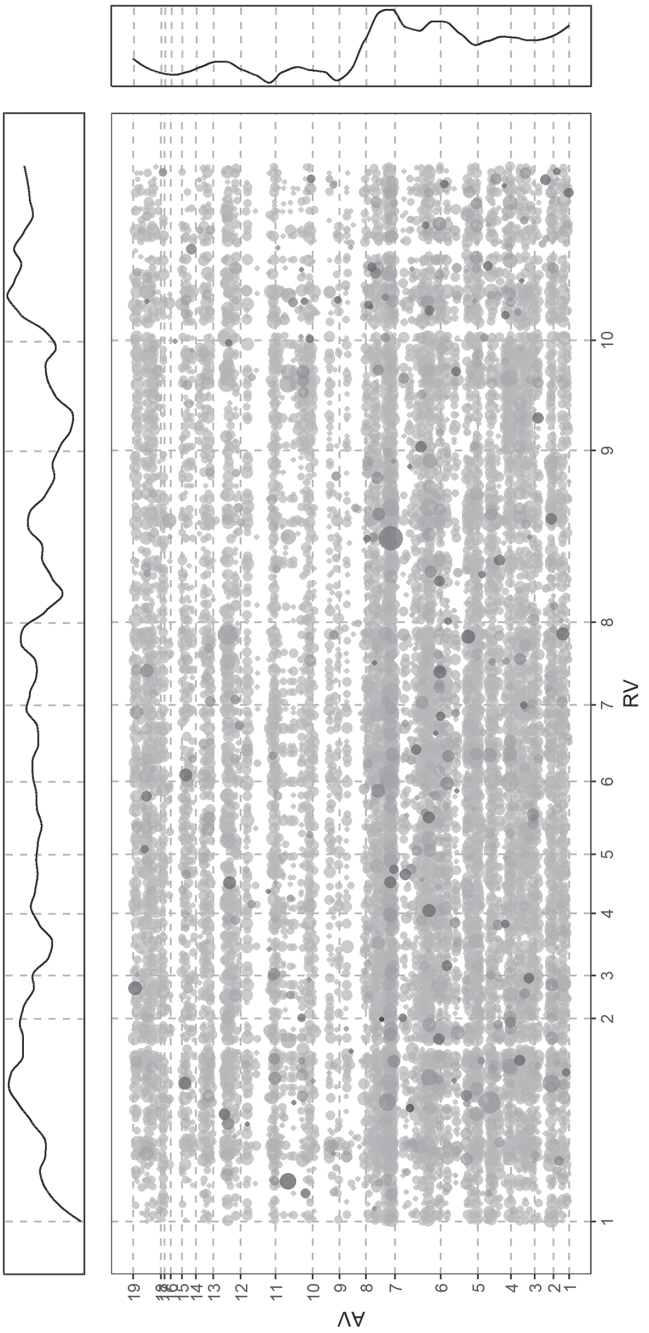

Figure 3: Joint distribution of the RMV word types over RV and ŚS; refer to Figure 1 for an explanation of the plot.

the number of which must be specified a priori. The meaning of each topic can be determined a posteriori by inspecting the most prominent words assigned to it (not done in this paper). As many hymns are comparatively short, often consisting only of a few lines of text, the Sanskrit words of each hymn are supplemented by their lemmatized English translations, and plain LDA is applied to this joint set of lexical data.[7] After the training has finished, each hymn from the RV and the ŚS is described by a probability distribution over a set of anonymous topics so that hymns containing similar content should obtain a similar topic distribution. The Hellinger distance, which ranges from 0 (completely different) to 1 (identical distributions) is used for quantifying the similarity of these discrete topic distributions.

These pairwise similarity values are now used to quantify the influence of topics on the word wise similarities plotted in Figure 3, based on the following intuition. If the distribution in Figure 3 were solely conditioned on topics, it should be possible to predict the intensity and distribution of its grey scale levels, when only the topic similarities would be known. A simple predictive model that performs this task uses least square linear regression.[8] Using the values predicted by such a regression, the individual errors or residuals can be found by subtracting the predicted from the true density values. A histogram of these residuals shows that they follow a normal distribution (not reported in this paper). The residuals are therefore split into three groups based on their mean and standard deviation:

– The group 'high' contains pairs of hymns whose residuals are larger than the mean plus one standard deviation. These hymns have linking word densities that are higher than could be expected from the topic similarities.

7 For the purpose of training the model, each hymn constitutes a separate document. The topic distributions are given the final Φ values. A set of 50 frequent particles, auxiliary verbs (*bhū-*, *as-*) and pronouns were removed before training. The model uses 15 topics, 5,000 training iterations and a flat Dirichlet prior, which is not optimized during the training.

8 The topic similarities are calculated for pairs of hymns, while the word densities in Figure 3 are extracted from text lines. In order to bring both distributions into a common format, the word densities are averaged over hymns for the regression experiments.

The model predicts the logarithm of the word densities. Visual inspection and goodness-of-fit tests of the histograms of the predictors and predicted values show that both sets of values are approximately normally distributed (details not reported). The visual inspection of the scatter plots of these variables shows no obvious trends in their variances, so that the requirement for homoscedasticity seems to be met. Predictions are made by splitting the set of all elements with $m_{ij} > 0$ into 10 disjunct folds, training the regressor on 9 of them and then predicting the values in the tenth holdout set (tenfold cross-validation). Slopes and biases of all regressions are statistically highly significant with p-values < 0.01 (details not reported).

– The group ‘mean’ contains all pairs of hymns whose word densities can be predicted with good accuracy when their topic similarity is known.
– The group ‘low’ is the symmetric equivalent of ‘high’.

Figure 4 and Figure 5 are based on the same word densities as Figure 3, but consider only those hymns that are contained in the groups ‘low’ (Figure 4) and ‘high’ (Figure 5). The plots allow for three relevant observations. First, grand division 1 of the ŚS is split into two parts. The kāṇḍas ŚS 1–5 have lower word densities than could be expected from their content (see Figure 4), while the word densities in ŚS 6–7 are higher than expected from the content (see Figure 5). Very tentatively, one may consider that ŚS 6–7 have a closer lexicographic connection to the range from RV 1.50 to RV 7 than ŚS 1–5. The neat separation of ŚS 1–5 and ŚS 6–7 thus seems to support the hypothesis that ŚS 6–7 may be interpolated in the first grand division. One should, however, keep in mind that ŚS 6–7 contain many short hymns for which the results of the LDA, i.e. the topic distributions, may not be well defined.[9] As the predictions are based on suboptimal values in such cases, the clear distinction between ŚS 1–5 on one hand and ŚS 6–7 on the other may thus also be due to algorithmic issues.

The area corresponding to ŚS 8–16 is virtually empty in Figure 4 and underpopulated in Figure 5. As pairs of hymns that fall into the group ‘mean’ are not plotted in these figures, this result indicates that the word densities ŚS 8–16, i.e. major parts of grand divisions 2–3, conform to the expectation given by topic information. However, Figure 5 shows bands of higher values that appear to concentrate at the beginnings of individual kāṇḍas, and such a trend can be confirmed using a statistical test of significance (details not reported). Such a distribution may be related to an observation made by Bloomfield (1899: 39), who claims that the initial hymns of some kāṇḍas tend to be composed in a more elaborate style (“loftier diction”; also see Griffiths 2009: LXXVI–LXXVII) on related phenomena in PS 6).

9 A closer inspection of the distributions generated for ŚS 6–7 shows that most of them are rather flat and thus differ from the predominantly unimodal distributions of longer hymns.

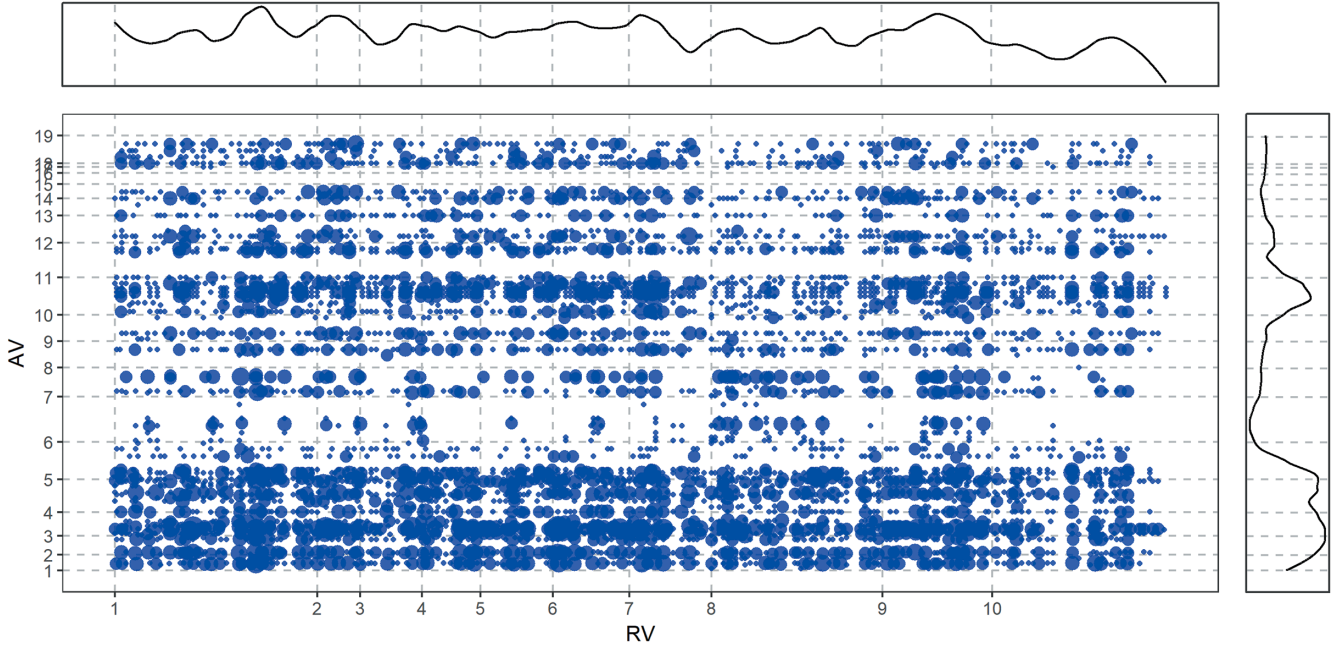

Figure 4: Joint distribution of the RMV (see Figure 3) for the topic-filtered group 'low'; the highlighted passages have lower linking word densities than could be expected from their content similarities.

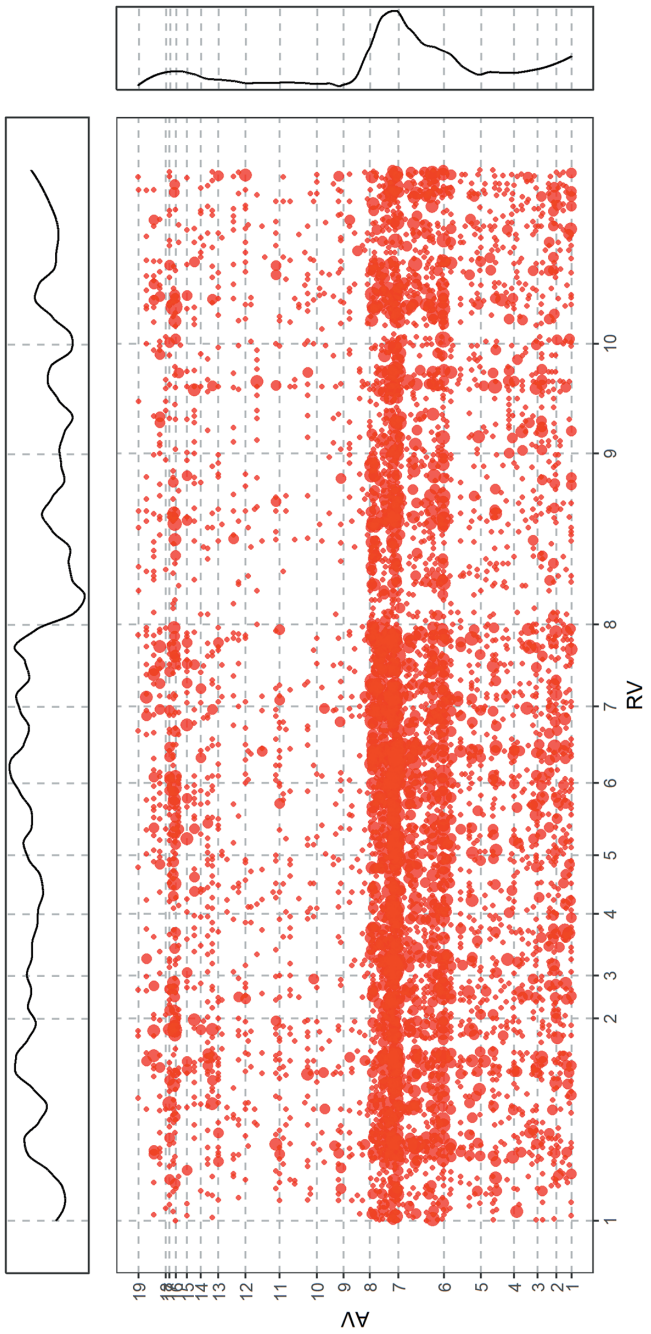

Figure 5: Joint distribution of the RMV for the topic-filtered group 'high'; see Figure 4 for details.

Summary

As Wackernagel has pointed out, lexical statistics may contain important clues for understanding linguistic developments in Vedic Sanskrit and thus for inferring chronological information from the surface forms of Vedic texts. While such an approach was pursued by several scholars for the RV, these scholars worked with manually compiled word lists they considered to be diachronically marked, a point often criticized in reviews of their work. In addition, they did not apply quantitative methods for evaluating and visualizing their results (see the brief history of research in the introduction). The present paper resumes these lexico-statistical investigations, but differs in two relevant aspects. First, the word list, called Rigveda-Mantra vocabulary (RMV) in this paper, is chosen in a purely data-driven fashion using corpus-linguistic methods. Second, the paper applies statistical tests of significance that support central claims, and it proposes a quantitative approach for estimating to what degree the lexical distributions are influenced by the content of the examined text passages.

When this quantitative framework is applied to the ŚS, it provides support for some text-historical hypotheses brought forward by Whitney and Lanman (1905) and Witzel (1997). While the marginal distribution of the RMV over the ŚS clearly separates its first grand division from ŚS 8–18 (see Figure 2), the detailed examination of the joint distribution over the ŚS and the RV (see Figure 3) suggests that ŚS 1–7 can be further differentiated into ŚS 1–5 on one hand and ŚS 6–7 on the other, thus substantiating text-historical claims made by Witzel (1997). A similarly clear differentiation between the grand divisions 2 and 3 does not emerge from the data. However, this result is not surprising under the two assumptions that (1) the RMV consists of old words, and (2) these two grand divisions are later than the first one. In this scenario, occurrences of RMV words should mainly be confined to the first grand division, and thus cannot help in revealing the structure of the purportedly later parts of the ŚS.

The results presented in this paper are just the first step in exploring the diachronic structure of the ŚS from a quantitative perspective. Two lines of research appear especially interesting to follow. First, the reservations brought forward against earlier lexico-statistic approaches still hold, and using topic models to deal with them yielded only mixed results. In order to obtain a more reliable data basis, it needs to be examined whether the words contained in the RMV allow for semantic alternation; in other words, if their selection is mainly due to the content of the Mantra stage texts they are extracted from, or if there exist real synonyms that were in use in (roughly) contemporaneous texts. A refined data basis should preferably consist of the second type, i.e. words with semantic alternatives. The second line should concentrate on finding equivalents of the RMV that help to elucidate

the structure of the second and third grand division of the ŚS. Here, promising candidates may be present in the prose Samhitās, as already proposed by Witzel, or even the early Upaniṣads. This paper provides a simple, yet effective quantitative framework for pursuing both lines of research.

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Laura Massetti

And I Will Fix You: A 'Chariot-simile' in PS 4.15.6–7, ŚS 4.12.6–7

Abstract: In this paper, I focus on the chariot-simile of PS 4.15.6–7 (= ŚS 4.12.6–7): in this passage, the healer is compared to a craftsman (Ṛbhu), his patient to a broken wagon. To reconstruct the *disiecta membra* of the metaphor, I focus on the phraseology applying to the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda*. The verb *takṣ* 'to fashion' occasionally describes 'rejuvenations' effected by these gods and the Aśvins, healer deities of the Vedic pantheon. Moreover, I show that the metaphorical conceptions of the human body in terms of a chariot is widely attested in other Indo-European languages, where names of chariot parts are identical to those of the parts of the human body. I finally propose that the chariot-metaphor underlies the poetic expression τέκτων νωδυνίας 'fashioner of painlessness', a kenning referred to the healer Asclepius in Pindar's *Pythian Three*.

1. In this paper, I investigate the Vedic background of the chariot-simile attested in PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7). In this passage, the healer of a fracture is compared to a craftsman, a Ṛbhu, while his patient is compared to a broken vehicle. First of all, my phraseological analysis will focus on the description of the Ṛbhus' work in the *Rigveda*. Such a study aims at highlighting how Vedic *takṣ* 'to fashion' describes the divine work of the Ṛbhus as creators of things. Moreover, the paper aims at providing an Indo-European thematic comparandum for the metaphor of the healer as 'fashioner'. In this regard, I propose that the poetic expression τέκτων νωδυνίας 'fashioner of painlessness' (Asclepius, in Pindar's *Pythian* 3), reflects a similar state of things as the Atharvavedic passage. The comparison between Pindar *Pythian* 3.47–53 and ŚS 4.12.6–7 will reveal further thematic matches: the patients of the

Note: This paper is based on a talk given at the conference *The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts. University of Zurich, September 26–28, 2019*. I would like to thank the participants for their suggestions and their comments, in particular Georges-Jean Pinault for providing me with some bibliographical references. The standard disclaimers apply. The talk was presented in the framework of the project 'Family Myths: Phraseology and Inherited Indo-European Thematic Structures in Greek Myth'. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Sklodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 793479. The re-elaboration and final submission of the paper was done within the project "LORACOLA" (program NEXT Generation UE, funds NRRP M4C2, project nr. MSCA_0000083-project LORACOLA, CUP C61B22002760001). Unless otherwise indicated, the printed translations are taken from Jamison – Brereton 2014 (RV); Griffiths – Lubotsky 2000–2001 (PS 4.15); Zysk 1985 (ŚS 4.12), Race 1997 (Pindar).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-006

Greek healer and those of the Vedic one appear to have been hurt in a similar way. Finally, the expression 'to stand upright' applies to the response to the treatment performed by the healers in Greece and India.

2. The Paippalādasaṃhitā (PS) hymn 4.15 is a charm to heal open fractures. It parallels the Śaunakasaṃhitā (ŚS) hymn 4.12—PS 4.15.1–5 are indeed identical to ŚS 4.12.1–5—, whose central stanzas (3–5) have long been compared to the Old High German second Merseburg spell from a phraseological point of view[1] and to the Irish *Cath Maige Tuired* §33–35, from a thematic point of view.[2] In stanza 6 of PS 4.15, the work of the healer is directly compared to that of a Ṛbhu, while his patient is said to resemble a chariot. The passage in question reads as follows:

> PS 4.15.6 (only PS ♢ b+d: cf. ŚS 4.12.7a+cd)[3]
> *yadi vajro visr̥ṣṭas t$_u$ vā$_ā$ra*
> **kāṭaṃ patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam*
> *vr̥kṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa*
> $^+$***r̥bhū rathasyeva*** *saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*
>
> 'If a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well (?), or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree: the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. I put together your joint **as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot**.'[4]

The reference to the Ṛbhu as a term of comparison for the healer's skill is unsurprising and, to be sure, not unparalleled.[5] Indeed, in early Vedic texts, the Ṛbhu is often referred to as a touchstone for the creativity of masters in any field:

> RV 6.3.8cd *śárdho vā yó marútā$_a$ṃ* ***tatákṣa***, ***r̥bhúr ná*** *tveṣó rabhasānó adyaut*
> 'Or who **fashioned** the troop of Maruts **like a Ṛbhu**, he, turbulent and wild, has flashed.'

1 Kuhn 1864.

2 Krause 1930: 32; Campanile 1990; Watkins 1995: 523–532. One can also add the comparison with the Tocharian text "The Craftsmen and the Lion" (THT 644–646 a11–13, cf. also *Pañcatantra* 5.3), now discussed by Serangeli (2022) and Massetti (forthc./b).

3 ŚS 4.12.7 *yádi kartáṃ patitvā́ saṃśaśré yádi vā́śmā práhr̥to jaghā́na | r̥bhú ráthasyevā́ṅgāni sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ.*

4 Differently, Bhattacharya (2008) reads *yadi vajro visr̥ṣṭas tvāra kāṭāt, patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vr̥kṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa, $^+$r̥bhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*, and translates (p. 132) 'if a thunderbolt, loosened, has moved towards you, and then falling into a pit if there is injury, or (by falling) from a tree (there is injury), that the ten headed genie has relieved, I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot.'

5 Cf. PS 16.35.8ab (Kim 2019ab, 2021) *yas te parūṃsi saṃdadhau, rathasyeva *r̥bhur dhiyā* (= ŚS 10.1.8ab).

RV 10.105.6 *prástaud ṝṣvaújā ṝṣvébhis*, ***tatákṣa*** *śū́raḥ śávasā*
ṝbhúr ná *krátubhir mātariśvā*
'He of lofty might has struck up the praise song with the lofty ones. The champion **fashioned** it with his swelling strength, **like an artisan [Ṛbhu]** in accord with his intentions, (like?) Mātariśvan.'

All the aforementioned similes rely upon the Rigvedic descriptions of the Ṛbhus,[6] a group of three deities, who are identified as skillful craftsmen.[7] Since they are *the fashioners par excellence*, their deeds are mostly described through Vedic *takṣ* 'to fashion' (Indo-European **tetk*- 'id.', cf. Old Avestan *tašaṯ* 'he built', Lithuanian *tašau*, *tašyti* 'to smooth, work', Greek τέκτων 'fashioner', τεκταίνομαι 'to fashion').[8] The association between Vedic *takṣ* and the Ṛbhus must have been perceived as a distinctive trait of their divine personality. Indeed, the verb was not only applied to the Ṛbhus' major accomplishments (see below), but it also came to refer to their doing in a variety of metaphoric contexts. Take, for instance, the invocation [FASHION – X], where 'X' may stand for the sacrifice (RV 3.54.12d *ūrdhvágrāvāṇo adhvarám ataṣṭa* 'with pressing stones raised, you have fashioned the ceremony'); wealth (RV 4.33.8c *tá ā́ takṣant*$_{u}$*v ṝbhávo rayíṃ naḥ* 'let these Ṛbhus fashion wealth for us'); fame (RV 4.36.9b *ihá śrávo vīrávat takṣatā naḥ* 'Fashion here for us the fame that heroes accompany')[9] and poetry (RV 10.80.7a *agnáye bráhma ṝbhávas tatakṣuḥ* 'For Agni did the Ṛbhus fashion their formulation').[10]

Furthermore, the *Rigveda* often makes reference to the fact the Ṛbhus have attained immortality (e.g., RV 4.33.4d *tā́bhiḥ śámībhir amṛ̥tatvám āśuḥ* 'they attained

6 On the Ṛbhus as craftsmen see Hillebrandt 1891: 515; MacDonell 1897: 131–134; Ryder 1901; Oldenberg 1917: 239–240; Keith 1925: 176–178, Kramrisch 1959; Gonda 1960–1964: 72, Oberlies 2012: 157–158; Brereton 2012, with special focus on the ritual dimension of the Ṛbhus and their connection with the Third Soma Pressing.

7 The other prominent craftsman deity of the *Rigveda* is Tvaṣṭar, on whom cf. MacDonell 1897: 116–117. Just like the achievements of the Ṛbhus, those of Tvaṣṭar are also described by means of Vedic *takṣ* 'to fashion'. However, the Ṛbhus and Tvaṣṭar fashion different things. Among other things, Tvaṣṭar, who is associated with fertility, fashions babies in women's wombs. On Ṛbhus and Tvaṣṭar cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

8 On the IE root see Bendahman 1993: 246–247. On the etymology of Hittite *takš*- 'to unite [harmoniously], to fit together', *takšan* 'jointly, together' cf. Melchert 2018, who reconstructs a root **tek-s*-, which also underlies Latin *texere*.

9 On [to FASHION – GLORY] underlying the Greek personal name Κλεοτέκτων see Massetti (forthc./a).

10 For the collocation [POETRY – *takṣ*], Greek ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες (Pindar *Pythian* 3.113), Vedic [*vā́cam* – *takṣ*] 'to fashion a (poetic/ritual) utterance' (RV 1.130.6ab), Young Avestan *vacastašti*- 'strophe' see Darmesteter 1878, Schmitt 1967: 14–15; Nagy 2006; Massetti 2019: 192–194. For 'to join words together' (ἐξ ἐπέων . . . οἷα . . . ἄρμοσαν) and the name of Homer as 'the one who joins the words together' see Nagy 2006.

immortality by these labors') after performing five great creative deeds: (a) the fashioning/carving of four cups from Tvaṣṭar's soma cup; (b) the making of a chariot, which is sometimes identified as the Aśvins' chariot; (c) the creation of a milk-cow and (d) of Indra's two fallow bay horses; (e) the rejuvenation of their aging parents:[11]

– Achievements (b), (c):
RV 1.20.3 ***tákṣan*** *nā́sat͜yābh͜yām*, *párijmānaṃ sukhā́ṃ* ***rátham***
tákṣan dhenúṃ *sabardúghām*
'They fashioned for the Nāsatyas an earth-circling, well-naved **chariot**; **they fashioned** the juice-yielding **milk-cow**.'[12]

– Achievements (b), (d), (e), (c):
RV 1.111.1 ***tákṣan ráthaṃ*** *suv͜ŕtaṃ vidmanā́pasas*, ***tákṣan hárī*** *indravā́hā vŕ̥ṣaṇvasū*
tákṣan pitŕ̥bhyām r̥bhávo yúvad váyas, ***tákṣan*** *vatsā́ya* ***mātáraṃ*** *sacābhúvam*
'They fashioned the smooth-rolling **chariot,**[13] working with their know-how; **they fashioned the** two fallow **bays** that convey Indra and bring bullish goods.[14] **They fashioned—the Ṛbhus—for their parents youthful vigor**; **they fashioned** for the calf **a mother** to stay by it.'[15]

Although the *Rigveda* does not make reference to the Ṛbhus' medical skill(s), verbal allusions to achievement (e) (: rejuvenation of their parents, see RV 1.111.1c *tákṣan pitŕ̥bhyām r̥bhávo yúvad váyaḥ* 'they fashioned—the Ṛbhus—for their parents youthful vigor') deserve close consideration, since this miraculous deed may involve a healing process. In most of the texts, the rejuvenation is described by means of the expressions [*púnaḥ* – *kar*] or [*púnaḥ* – *takṣ*] 'to fashion [young] again/ to fashion back', see RV 1.20.4 *yúvānā pitárā púnaḥ*, *satyámantrā r̥jūyávaḥ* / *r̥bhávo viṣṭ͜y ákrata* 'They whose mantras come true, who aim straight—the Ṛbhus—made

11 Achievement (a) is often described by means of other Vedic verbs, such as *kar* 'to make' (RV 4.33.5, 4.35.2, 3), and *peś* 'to carve' (RV 3.60.2). The latter also describes achievement (c), cf. RV 1.110.8, 1.161.10, 4.36.4.

12 'Sie zimmerten den beiden Nāsatyas (Aśvins) den ringsherum befindlichen Streitwagen mit gut (geschmierten) Nabenlöchern / sie zimmerten die Milchkuh Sabardughā.' (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 36, for *sabardughā* as 'etwa ›die saftig milchende‹' and bibliographical references see p. 507).

13 For the collocation [*takṣ* – CHARIOT] cf. RV 1.130.6, 5.2.11b, 5.29.15, 5.31.4, 5.73.10 (formulations/ chariot), 10.39.14b.

14 Scarlata (1999: 474): 'die zwei Falben, die den Indra fahren {und} soviel wert wie Stiere sind (?).'

15 'Sie haben den gutrollenden Streitwagen (der Aśvins) mit Kenntnis vom Werk gezimmert. Sie haben das Falbenpaar, das den Indra fährt, das den Stier als (Lade)gut hat, gezimmert. Sie haben, die Ṛbhus, ihren Eltern Jugendkraft gezimmert. Sie haben dem Kalb eine begleitende Mutter gezimmert.' (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 195).

their parents young again through their toil.'[16] In a slightly expanded version of the collocation, the Ṛbhus are said to have fashioned their parents young again *so that they could keep going* (Vedic *caráthāya*):

RV 4.36.3cd *jívrī yát sántā pitárā sanājúrā, **púnar yúvānā caráthāya tákṣatha***
'. . . that you **fashion** your **parents** as **youths for them to keep going**, even though they were enfeebled, worn out by age.'

A similar phraseology occurs in connection with a miraculous deed performed by the Aśvins:

RV 1.117.13ab *yuváṃ cyávānam aśvinā járantam*
***púnar yúvānaṃ cakrathuḥ** śácībhiḥ*
'You, o Aśvins, **made** the aging Cyavāna **a youth again** through your powers.'

This match is significant, because, as it is well known, the Twin-gods are associated with rescuing and healing. In particular, RV 1.117.13, quoted immediately above, alludes to the myth of the rejuvenation of Cyavāna,[17] which is told *in extenso* in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.120–128), the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (4.1.5), in the *Mahābhārata* (3.121.20–125.10) as well as in the *Devībhāgavata* (7.2.30–7.43) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*s (9.3.1–28). Cyavāna's rejuvenation is compared to several concrete actions in the *Rigveda*, such as the removing of a garment (e.g. RV 1.116.10ab *jujurúṣo nāsatyotá vavrím, prắmuñcataṃ drāpím iva cyávānāt* 'and, Nāsatyas, from Cyavāna, who had become old, you removed his covering [=aged skin] like a garment').[18] But significantly, in a passage from the tenth book, the Aśvins are directly compared to carpenters:

16 'Die (Ṛbhus) haben die Eltern (wieder) jung gemacht, deren Sprüche Wahrheit enthalten, die recht wandelnden (Ṛbhus), durch ihre Dienstleistung.' (Witzel – Gotō 2007: 36). See also RV 1.110.8d, 1.161.3, 7; 4.33.2–3, 4.35.5ab always with *kar*.

17 Cyavāna, whose name is an *aequabile* of the Greek male personal name Σύμενος (Rhodes, Athens, see García Ramón 1999), is a ṛṣi who is rejuvenated by the Aśvins. For the narrative evolution of Cyavāna's legend, see Witzel 1987 and West 2017.

18 Cf. also RV 5.74.5ab *prá cyávānāj jujurúṣo vavrím átkaṃ ná muñcathaḥ* 'you remove the covering like a cloak from Cyavāna, who had become old.' In post-Vedic literature, the image of 'wearing new garments' describes the process of rebirth, cf. *Bhagavad Gītā* 2.22 *vāsāṃsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti naro 'parāṇi | tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇānyanyāni saṃyāti navāni dehī* 'just as a man casts off his worn-out clothes and puts on other new ones, so the embodied soul casts off its worn-out bodies and takes new ones' (Cherniak 2008).

RV 10.39.4ab *yuváṃ cyávānaṃ sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham*, ***púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ***
'You two (Aśvins) **fashioned** old **Cyavāna**, like a chariot, into a youth **again**, (for him) **to move about**.'

The comparison between the collocations occurring in the Ṛbhus-passages and in the Aśvins-passage is remarkable: RV 1.20.4, 4.36.3, and 10.39.4 contain a collocation [to MAKE/FASHION (Vedic *kar* or *takṣ*) – X – YOUNG – AGAIN – (to keep going)]:

yúvānā . . . púnaḥ . . . ákrata (RV 1.20.4 etc., Ṛbhus)
púnar yúvānā caráthāya tákṣatha (RV 4.36.3cd, Ṛbhus)
púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ (RV 10.39.4b, Aśvins)

While all passages preserve 'to make/fashion (Vedic *kar* or *takṣ*) X young again' with an optional dative of purpose (*caráthāya*), 'to keep going', as the standard collocation for 'rejuvenating', RV 10.39.4 (: the Aśvins-passage) adds 'like a chariot' (*yáthā rátham*) in pāda a, creating a simile with the comparanda.

In light of all these collocations, RV 1.111.1c (*tákṣan pitṛ́bhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyaḥ* 'they fashioned – the Ṛbhus—for their parents youthful vigor') may make reference to the same episode: when the Ṛbhus rejuvenated their parents, they *fixed* them (*púnaḥ . . . kar*/*takṣ*), by *fashioning* (*takṣ*) new vigor. From the examples in which *takṣ* applies to the healer-gods, it is clear that the verb does imply both the notion of 'fashioning back', i.e., 'fixing, renewing', and that of 'production/creation', just like τέκτων or τεκταίνομαι in Greek (see below, §4).

3. In order to clarify the metaphor 'healer': 'carpenter', it is useful to take into account the complementary metaphor 'body': 'chariot', which is directly attested in PS 4.15.7[19] and elsewhere:

PS 4.15.7 *ut tiṣṭha prehi sam *adhāyi te paruḥ*
saṃ te dhātā dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam
rathaḥ sucakraḥ supavir yathaiti
sukhaḥ sunābhiḥ prati tiṣṭha evam
'Stand up, go forth, your joint has been put together. Let Dhātar put together the injury of your body. **Be steady in this way, as a chariot goes with good wheels, with good felloes, with good axle-holes, with good naves**.'[20]

This metaphor is not a mere poetic *topos*, it reflects a widespread conception in India, Greece and beyond. As the dossiers collected by Pinault (2003: 138–140) and

19 Cf. ŚS 4.12.6 *sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava ráthaḥ sucakráḥ* / *supavíḥ sunā́bhiḥ práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ*.
20 Bhattacharya (2008: 135) instead reads (pāda a): *ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāyi te paruḥ* 'Stand up, go forth, your joint is, indeed, put together.'

Jamison (1987: 71–88) have made evident, the semantic field of 'body parts' crosses with that of 'chariot' and viceversa in at least three Indo-European languages: Old Indic, Greek, and Tocharian.[21] In Vedic, some parts of the chariot are designated through a compound or a simplex noun, which usually denotes a body part: Vedic *ratha-mukhá-* 'front part of a chariot' (AV, JB, TS), *ratha-śīrṣá-* 'id.' (ŚB 9.4.1.13), and *ratha-śiras-* 'id.' (ĀpŚS 17.20.5) contain terms for 'head' as their second compound members, viz. *mukhá-*, *śīrṣán-*, and *śíras-*; Vedic *nắbhi-* (RV+) 'nave' and *nắbhya-* (RV+) 'central part of a solid wheel' are etymologically related to Gk. ὀμφαλός, meaning both 'navel' and 'knob in the middle of a yoke' (*Iliad* 24.273, mule-cart); Vedic *kakṣyắ-* 'girth' (RV) and *kákṣa-* (RV+) 'Achselhöhle' (Hoffmann 1966: 201) are connected to both Young Avestan *kaša-* 'id.' and Latin *coxa* 'hip', Old Irish *coss* 'foot'; Vedic *kukṣí-* 'nave' (Sparreboom 1985: 157) also means 'cheek', 'buttock' (Jamison 1987, Bodewitz 1992);[22] Vedic *áṃsa-* 'panel which fitted into the rail at the top and the big beams at each side of the platform' (cf. Sparreboom 1985: 152) also means 'shoulder' (Höfler 2018) and is etymologically related to Greek ὦμος, Tocharian A *es*, Tocharian B *āntse* 'shoulders'; Vedic *ákṣa-* 'axle' is a genetic cognate of Latin *axis*, Lithuanian *ašìs*, Greek ἄξων 'axis' and 'shoulder span'; Vedic *āṇí-* 'axle-pin' (RV) also denotes 'the part of the leg above the knee' and may be connected to Tocharian B *oñi-* 'hip'.[23]

To sum up: the phraseological analysis shows that stanzas 6 and 7 of PS 4.15 make reference to a robustly attested metaphor. Accordingly, a healer or a bone-setter can be compared to the Ṛbhu (*ṛ́bhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ* 'I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot', PS 4.15.6d), who is the *fashioner* (Vedic *takṣ*) *par excellence*. In particular, Vedic *takṣ* applies to the rejuvenation of aging parents by the Ṛbhus (RV 4.36.3d, see §2) and of Cyavāna by the Aśvins (RV 10.39.4ab *cyávānaṃ . . . yáthā rátham, púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ* 'You fashioned . . . Cyavāna, like a chariot, into a youth again, (for him) to move about'). The presented data help us to understand the metaphor attested in PS 4.15.7: the human body can be fixed back/rejuvenated like a broken wagon, because the chariot parts are described through the lexicon of body parts and viceversa.

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21 Cf. also Johnson (1987) for further metaphors involving the body in modern languages.

22 Cf. also Greek κνήμη 'leg, shank' (Homer+), and 'spoke' (Pollux Grammaticus), cf. κύκλα . . . ὀκτάκημα (*Iliad* 5.722–723).

23 A further West Tocharian parallel shall be brought out here: T5a8 *kwreṃntär lānte kokalyi olyapotstse pärsāñci | taik[n]esāk ra kektseñi kätsai*[ññe] [sic] [*yänmāskeṃ*] 'Old [even] grow the chariots of the king, the very splendid ones. Thus also the bodies reach old age' (CETOM, see also Adams 2012 s.v. *taiknesa*), which translates Sanskrit *Udānavarga* 1.28 *jīryanti vai rāja rathāḥ sucitrā hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti.* The same metaphor also occurs in T5b2; for a discussion of this passage cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

4. The system of metaphors underlying PS 4.15.6–7 is thus well founded in Vedic. In order to seek parallels for it in at least another branch of the Indo-European linguistic family, I will now turn to the analysis of a Pindaric passage, which might conceal a chariot metaphor in connection with a healer, namely: Pindar's *Pythian* 3.1–7:[24]

Pindar *Pythian* 3.1–7

Ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,
εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ' ἁμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας
κοινὸν εὔξασθαι ἔπος,
ζώειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον,
Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου,
βάσσαισί τ' ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ' ἀγρότερον,
νόον ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον· οἷος ἐὼν θρέψεν ποτέ
τέκτονα νωδυνίας
ἥμερον γυιαρκέος Ἀσκλαπιόν,
ἥροα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων

'I wish that Chiron—if it is right for my tongue to utter that common prayer—were still living, the departed son of Philyra and wide-ruling offspring of Uranus' son Cronus, and still reigned in Pelion's glades, that wild creature who had a mind friendly to men. I would have him be as he was when he once reared the gentle **craftsman of** body-strengthening **relief from pain [LM: 'painlessness']**, Asclepius, the hero and protector from diseases of all sorts.'[25]

The collocation τέκτονα νωδυνίας,[26] with τέκτων from IE **tetk-* 'to fashion', cf. Vedic *takṣ* 'id.', stands out as nearly unparalleled within the Greek repertory of poetic images.[27] The uniqueness and the metaphorical potential of this collocation

24 The ode celebrates Hieron of Syracuse, who was critically ill at time of composition. For a commentary see Young 1968: 27–68; Pelliccia 1987; Slater 1988: 55–61; Currie 2005: 344–405; Gentili 2012: 407–425; Pelliccia 2017: 63–73.

25 For ἥμερον vs. ἄμερον see Forssman 1966: 41–45.

26 The term νωδυνία, as well as the adjective νώδυνος (Pindar *Nemean* 8.50+), first occur in Pindar. The etymology of these compounds is transparent: their first compound member goes back to the negative prefix **n̥*-, while the second member(s) are related to Greek ὀδύνη 'pain', Aeolian ἐδύνη *'(biting) pain', cf. Proto-Indo-European **h₁ed-* '(to bite), to eat', Armenian *erkn* 'birth labor', Irish *idu* 'pain', as pointed out by Schindler 1975.

27 The pair τέκτονα νωδυνίας . . . ἀλκτῆρα νούσων might apparently recall *Iliad* 10.19–20: εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτήναιτο, / ἤ τις ἀλξίκακος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο 'in the hope that he (: Nestor) might *contrive* with him (: Agamemnon) some incomparable device that would serve *to ward off evil* from all the Danaans.' Even if Pindar's words preserve a dimly epic phraseological memory, the *iuncturae* clearly apply to different situations. In the Homeric passage, Agamemnon hopes that Nestor might find the solution to the partiality that Zeus shows towards Hector (on *Iliad* 10.1–52 and the nature of Nestor's μῆτις ('plan') see Dué – Ebbott 2010: III 10.19ff., Nagy 2016, on vv. 10.43–52). Differently, Pindar refers to Asclepius as the contriver of health and protection against illnesses. Parallels between healers and craftsmen are then found in Plato (*Grg.* 503e–504a, *Cra.* 416d, *Prt.* 345a, *Ion* 537c, spuria 376d, 390c, 454d); cf. also Arist. *De an.* 403b, *Top.* 116a.

originate from the fact that Greek τέκτων, primarily denotes a 'carpenter', i.e., a 'fashioner of objects', see, e.g.:

Iliad 6.315–316 ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι **τέκτονες** ἄνδρες,
οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν
'. . . Men who were at that time the best **builders** in deep-soiled Troy; they had made him a chamber and hall and courtyard.'

Homeric Hymn 5.12–13 Πρώτη **τέκτονας** ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε
ποιῆσαι **σατίνας** καὶ **ἅρματα** ποικίλα χαλκῷ
'She (: Athena) first taught earthly **craftsmen** to make **chariots of war and cars** variously wrought with bronze.'

Obviously, τέκτων 'fashioner' came to be used metaphorically in Greek, in order to designate 'a master in any art' (LSJ s.v. τέκτων, 2), see *POxy*. 2389, fr. 9.8–10 τέκτονι παρθενίων 'to the craftsman of the parthenia',[28] Pindar *Nemean* 5.49 χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν 'a fashioner of athletes ought to be from Athens'; Pindar *Pythian* 3.113–114 ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοί || ἅρμοσαν 'from such echoing verses as wise craftsmen joined (them together)' (modified translation Massetti); and a 'maker', 'creator', e.g., Aeschylus *Supplices* 592–594 αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ || γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας || τέκτων, 'the father (: Zeus) is that, the lord, who planted our clan of his own hand, the great creator of our kin, who has the wisdom of age'. In order to reconstruct the process that led to the metaphorical use of τέκτων in Pindar's *Pythian* 3, let us focus on the structure of τέκτων νωδυνίας.

I propose to interpret this nominal syntagma [A_{noun} – of B_{noun}] as a substitution kenning (type i, see below). A kenning is a compact and complicated, riddling metaphor. It has been defined as "a bipartite figure of two nouns in a non-copulative, typically genitival grammatical relation (A of B) or in composition (B-A/A-B) which together make reference to, 'signify' a third notion C" (Watkins 1995: 44).[29] According to the standard view (Mittner 1954: 15), two main types of kenningar can be identified within different Indo-European languages:

i. The *substitution kenning* replaces one term in the poetic discourse, and can therefore be schematized as [A+B] → [C]. For instance, in *Reginsmál* 16, *mun-at vágmarar vind um standask* 'the sea-steeds (=the ships) will not withstand the wind', the kenning *vágmarar* 'sea-steeds' directly substitutes 'ships'.
ii. The *variation kenning* is juxtaposed to the term it refers to, as iteration, apposition, epithet etc., and can be schematized as [A+B] – [C]. For instance, in Homer,

28 On the possible attribution of the passage to Pindar, see Recchia 2017.
29 See also Krause 1930; Schmitt 1967: 277–284; West 2007: 81–83.

Odyssey 4.708–709, νηῶν ὠκυπόρων || ἐπιβαινέμεν, αἵ θ᾽ ἁλὸς ἵπποι ἀνδράσι γίγνονται ‘(he had no need) to go on board of swift-faring ships, which are for the men as horses of the sea’, ‘ships’ (gen. νηῶν) is followed by the poetic simile ‘horses of the seas’ (ἁλὸς ἵπποι).

The provided examples can be enlightening for the distribution of the kenningar in Greek, especially in comparison to the distributional patterns found in other Indo-European languages: as observed by Campanile (1977: 108–122), the substitution type (i) is less well attested in Greek than the variation type (ii).[30] The following Pindaric examples of kenningar, paralleling those found in other Indo-European languages, partially confirm Campanile’s analysis:

– [WAR/BATTLE]: [(devastating) SHOWER/TEMPEST – ZEUS$_{GEN.}$], occurs as a type (ii) in Pindar. It can be compared to Latin *ferreus imber* ‘iron-shower’ (: battle, Ennius *Annales* 266 Skutsch; cf. also Vergil *Aeneid* 12.284), and Old English *þone ðe oft gebad isernscure* ‘(the warrior) who often passed through the iron-shower’ (*Beowulf* 3116):[31]

Pindar *Isthmian* 5.48–50 ἐν Ἄρει [. . .] || **ἐν πολυφθόρῳ** [. . .] **Διὸς ὄμβρῳ**
ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ
‘in war . . . **during Zeus’ devastating rain**, that hailstorm of gore for countless men.’[32]

– [RAIN(S)]: [CHILD(REN) – CLOUD$_{GEN.}$] occurs as a type (ii) in Pindar. It recalls Vedic *mihó nápāt-*, ‘child of the mist’, a substitution kenning (type [i]) for ‘cloud’ or ‘rain’, cf. *tyáṃ cid ghā dīrghám pṛthúm*, *mihó nápātam ámṛdhram* / *prá cyāvayanti yáma-bhiḥ* ‘also this child of mist – long, wide, not negligible (in size) – do they (: the Maruts) stir forth with their journeys’ (RV 1.37.11):[33]

Pindar *Olympian* 9.1–3 ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλείστα
χρῆσις· ἔστιν δ᾽ **οὐρανίων ὑδάτων**
ὀμβρίων παίδων νεφέλας
‘There is a time when it is for winds that men have greatest need; there is a time when it is for **heavenly waters**, **the drenching children of the cloud**.’

30 For a collection of Greek kenningar, see Wærn 1951: 114–144.

31 West 2007: 83.

32 See also Pindar *Isthmian* 3/4.35–35a.

33 Geldner 1951–1957 interprets ‘rain’. Differently, Jamison – Brereton 2017: “Although most tr. take the ‘child of mist’ to be the rain, its physical description here (‘long and wide’) makes better sense for a cloud.” The Maruts are often associated with both clouds and rain (MacDonell 1897: 79–80; Oberlies 2012: 153), cf. their epithet *varṣánirṇijaḥ* ‘having a cloak of rain’ (RV 5.57.4a). At RV 5.32.4b Indra is the *mihó nápāt-*.

– [X (=WARRIOR/KING)]: [BASTION/PILLAR/BULWARK – COMMUNITY$_{GEN.}$][34] occurs as a variation type in Irish, see *Moryen mur trin* 'Morien, bulwark of the battle' (*Cyvoesi Myrddin* 121), and as a substitution type in Old English, see *biddan wille*, / *eodor Scyldinga* 'I want to ask you (a favor), enclosure of the Scyldings (:chief of the Danes)' (*Beowulf* 427–428), and may actually be considered a mixed type in Greek. In both Pindar *Olympian* 2.81–82 and *Paean* 4.83–85, the kenning has a grammatical referent. However, from a semantic point of view, the *tropos* stands for [the STRONGEST WARRIOR (Hector in *Olympian* 2, Achilles in *Paean* 4)]:

Pindar *Olympian* 2.81–82 ὃς Ἕκτορα σφᾶλε, **Τροίας**
ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ **κίονα** [. . .]
'He laid low **Hector**, **Troy's** invincible **pillar** of strength.'[35]

Pindar *Paean* 4.83–85 κυανοπλόκοιο **παῖδα ποντίας**
Θέτιος βιατάν,
πιστὸν **ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν**
'The powerful **son of** the dark-haired sea-goddess **Thetis**, the trusty **bastion of the Achaeans**.'

Back to Pindar *Pythian* 3.6: I propose that, just like [WARRIOR]: [BASTION/PILLAR of GROUP] τέκτων νωδυνίας is another example of a 'mixed type'. It grammatically refers to Asclepius, cf. τέκτονα νωδυνίας . . . Ἀσκλαπιόν, so, according to Mittner's classification, it should be understood as type ii (variation kenning). Nevertheless, the taking into account of the *synchronic* evidence, i.e. internal Greek textual elements, indicates that 'craftsman of the painlessness' is a substitution kenning for 'healer' (type i). Two main facts support this assumption:

i. According to ancient Pindaric commentators, τέκτων νωδυνίας meant 'physician', see *Scholium in Pindar Pythian* 3.11a.1 Drachmann **τέκτονα νωδυνίας**· τὸν κατασκευαστὴν τῆς νωδυνίας· **ἰατρὸς** γάρ '**craftsman of the painlessness**: the contriver of painlessness, for (it means) a **physician**'.
ii. The lexical repetitions between the first and the central part of the ode might suggest that τέκτων νωδυνίας actually corresponds to ἰατήρ:[36]

Pindar *Pythian* 3.63–67 εἰ δὲ σώφρων ἄντρον ἔναι᾽ ἔτι **Χίρων**, καί τί οἱ
φίλτρον <ἐν> θυμῷ μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
ἀμέτεροι τίθεν, **ἰατῆρά** τοί κέν νιν πίθον
καί νυν ἐσλοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἀνδράσιν θερμᾶν **νόσων**
ἢ τινα Λατοΐδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος

34 Schmitt 1967: 282–283; Campanile 1977: 120–121. As a more recent reference see West 2007: 454–455.

35 Cf. [πῦργος – COMMUNITY/CITY]: *Iliad* 4.334, Pindar *Pythian* 5.56.

36 τέκτων νωδυνίας forms a lexical repetition with ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες (v. 113). On the ring-composition and its Vedic comparandum, RV 10.39, cf. Massetti (forthc./b).

> 'Yet if wise **Chiron** were still living in his cave, and if my honey-sounding hymns could put a charm in his heart, I would surely have persuaded him to provide **a healer** now as well to cure the feverish **illnesses** of good men, someone called a son of a Apollo or of Zeus.'

The set of lexical repetitions can be shortly presented as follows: Χίρωνα (v. 1) parallels Χίρων (v. 63), νούσων (v. 7) parallels νόσων (v. 66), τέκτονα νωδυνίας (v. 6) parallels ἰατῆρα (v. 65)

Table 1: Lexical repetitions of Pindar's *Pythian* 3, vv. 1–7, 63–67.

v. 1	Χίρωνα	v. 63	Χίρων
v. 6	**τέκτονα νωδυνίας**	v. 65	**ἰατῆρα**
v. 7	νούσων	v. 67	νόσων

We can conclude: The image of the 'craftsman of the painlessness' is practically isolated in Greek literature. From the point of view of its synchronic meaning, the collocation may be interpreted as a substitution kenning for 'physician'. By combining the Greek and the Vedic phraseological data, it is possible to recover a verbal link between healers and carpenters, namely: the metaphoric use of IE **tetḱ-* 'to fashion'. If the Vedic healer is compared to the Ṛbhu, who is the *fashioner* (Vedic *takṣ*) *par excellence*, Asclepius, the best healer, is directly called 'fashioner of painlessness' (Greek τέκτονα νωδυνίας).

5. A further look to the Atharvavedic contexts and to Pindar's *Pythian* 3 reveals that the thematic and phraseological matches between these two texts may go beyond the metaphor 'healer': 'carpenter'. In this regard, the use of the collocation 'to stand upright' has to be highlighted. Although Vedic [*ūrdhvá-* – *sthā*] and Greek [ὀρθός – ἵστημι] are documented in a variety of contexts,[37] the collocations denote the full recovery of the patient in both ŚS 4.12 and Pindar *Pythian* 3.[38]

> ŚS 4.12.6 *sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava ráthaḥ sucakráḥ*
> *supavíḥ sunábhiḥ **práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ***
> 'You there stand up, advance, run along. [Your] chariot [has] strong wheels, rims [and] hubs. **Stand erect firmly**!'

While the Atharvavedic patient, directly equated to a chariot, *stands upright*, Asclepius's patients, who happen to be injured in different ways, are released, once they are *made to stand upright* through several remedies:

37 See the dossier presented by Schmitt 1967: 248–252.
38 West 2007: 339.

Pindar *Pythian* 3.47–53 τοὺς μὲν ὧν, ὅσσοι μόλον αὐτοφύτων
ἑλκέων ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη τετρωμένοι
ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ,
ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ
χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων
ἔξαγεν, τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀμφέπων,
τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πί-
νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
φάρμακα, **τοὺς δὲ** τομαῖς **ἔστασεν ὀρθούς**

'Now all who came to him afflicted with natural sores, or with limbs wounded by gray bronze or by a stone, *which smote (them) from afar* (translation Massetti), or with bodies wracked by summer fever or winter chill, he relieved of their various ills and restored them, some he tended with calming incantations, while others drank soothing potions, or he applied remedies to all parts of their bodies; **still others he made stand upright** with surgery.'

The three types of patients correlating with three types of remedies in the Pindaric passage parallel the properties and the medical treatments documented in other Indo-European languages, such as Vedic (Benveniste 1945), Avestan (Darmesteter 1877, Puhvel 1970[39]), Germanic (Dumézil 1958: 21–22) and Old Irish (Watkins 1995: 537–539), as summarized in the following table:[40]

Table 2: Patients and Remedies of Pindar's *Pythian* 3, RV 10.39.3, *Vīdēvdād* 7.44.

Pindar (*Pythian* 3.47–53)	**Vedic (RV 10.39.3cd)**	**Pindar (*Pythian* 3.47–53)**	**Avestan (*Vīdēvdād* 7.44ae)**
αὐτοφύτων ἑλκέων ξυνάονες (vv. 47–48)	***andhásya*** [. . .] *bhiṣájā*	τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς **ἐπαοιδαῖς** ἀμφέπων (v. 51)	***mąθrō.baēšaza-***
ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη **τετρωμένοι** ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ (vv. 48–49)	*bhiṣájā* ***rutásya***	τοὺς δὲ **τομαῖς** ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (v. 53)	***karətō.baēšaza-***
ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ **περθόμενοι δέμας** ἢ χειμῶνι (v. 50)	***kr̥śásya*** [. . .] *bhiṣájā*	τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πίνοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν **φάρμακα** (vv. 52–53)	***uruuarō.baēšaza-***

According to Benveniste, Dumézil, and Puhvel, the threefold description of ailments and treatments match the tripartite social structure proposed and exhaustively

39 Puhvel (1970) adds Yašt 3.66 as a further comparandum to the Greek and Vedic evidence.

40 In Irish (see Watkins 1995: 539) *Cath Maige Tuired* §§33–35: Míach restores Nuadu's hand by *incantation* (§33), then he is killed by four *cuts* of his father's sword (§34), and finally, from Míach's grave grow 365 *herbs* corresponding to the number of his joints and sinews (§35).

described by Dumézil (1941): the patients affected by natural sores and cured with spells could represent the priestly class, those wounded by weapons the warrior class, and those affected by exhaustion the 'third estate'.

In Greek, just like in the Vedic context, [to (make) STAND UPRIGHT] describes the result, and, so to say, the culminating act of the healing process. Being restored of the capacity of 'going' (cf. Greek ἔξαγεν, Vedic *caráthāya*, see above), the patient stands up on his/her own legs. It shall thus be emphasized that Vedic *ūrdhvá-*, Greek ὀρθός and Avestan *ərəduua-*, *rδβa-* could descend from IE **Hr̥d*^{h}*-u̯ó-* with initial **h*$_{3}$*-*, as proposed by Vegas Sansalvador (1996: 282–288),[41] and may thus constitute a perfect match on the morphological level.

Finally, a further trait shared by Pindar's *Pythian* 3 and *Atharvaveda Śaunaka* 4.12 must be stressed. The reference to the 'stone smiting from afar' in Pindar as a possible cause of injury for the patients with the broken limbs (μέλη τετρωμένοι / ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ, vv. 48–49) parallels closely the accident of the Atharvavedic wounded patient in ŚS 4.12:

ŚS 4.12.7 *yádi kartáṃ patitvā́ saṃśaśré yádi* ***vā́śmā*** *práhr̥to* ***jaghā́na***
r̥bhū́ ráthasyevā́ṅgāni sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ
'If falling in a hole, [he] has been injured, **or if a** hurled **rock has struck** [**him**, then] may [Dhātr̥] unite the limbs, joint with joint, as R̥bhu [the parts] of a chariot.'[42]

The comparison between Greek ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ and Vedic *vā́śmā . . . jaghā́na* can go beyond the formal differences, especially on the strength of the combinatory evidence. As argued by Kölligan (2000–2001: 443–448), τηλεβόλος may be taken as a continuation of the phraseology [to SMITE – from AFAR],[43] which might ultimately underlie the Mycenaean male personal name *Qe-re-qo-ta* /*K*$^{\mu}$*ēleg*$^{\mu h}$*ontas*/ (PY En 659), Alphabetic Greek Τηλεφόντας*, *Kurzform* Τήλεφος (Hesiod+). Indeed, in Homer βάλλω and θείνω indicate that the enemy is struck by the projectile of archer gods, namely, Apollo and Artemis:

41 See also Sommer (2022).

42 PS 4.15.6 mentions a different possible cause of injury, namely: the fall of the patient from a tree (see above). In this connection I would like to highlight what might be a trivial, but impressive coincidence with the healing practice performed by the bonesetters in the *siddha* tradition. According to Zysk (2008: 10): "the development of this special form of healing (scil. the art of *varmam*) appears to have evolved naturally from the fact that the men of this caste, while carrying out their task of climbing coconut and borassus trees to collect the fruits and sap for toddy, occasionally fell from great heights. In order to repair the injury or save the life of a fall-victim, skills of bone-setting and reviving an unconscious patient by massage developed [. . .]".

43 Differently, Slater (1969) s.v.: 'far-flung.'

Iliad 24.605 τοὺς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ᾽ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο
'Apollo slew them with shafts from his silver bow.'

Odyssey 15.478 τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα γυναῖκα βάλ᾽ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
'Then Artemis, the archer, struck the woman.'

The personal name *Qe-re-qo-ta* /*K^{u}ēleg^{uh}ontas*/ and τηλεβόλος partially match the Vedic collocation [to SMITE – from AFAR], in which 'to smite' is expressed by the Proto-Indo-European root **g^{uh}en-* 'smite, kill', cf. RV 2.27.13cd *nákiṣ ṭáṃ ghnant$_{i}$y ántito ná dūrā́d, yá ādityā́nām bhávati práṇītau* 'neither from near nor from afar do any strike down the man who comes to be under the leadership of the Ādityas.' Given that τηλεβόλος is comparable to Vedic *ghnánti . . . dūrā́t*, the match between χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ and Vedic *áśmā . . . jaghā́na* 'a rock . . . has struck' looks remarkable and counts as a further feature that Pindar's description of Asclepius's healing practice and ŚS 4.12 have in common.

6. To sum up: In this paper, I have tried to frame PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7) in its Vedic poetic context. Additionally I made an attempt at identifying a possible parallel for the 'healer': 'carpenter' metaphor in the Greek tradition. The results of the comparison are presented in the following table:

Table 3: Common 'state of things': PS 4.15, ŚS 4.12, Pindar *Pythian* 3.

PS 4.15.6–7	**ŚS 4.12.6–7**	**Pindar *Pythian* 3**
6 ***ṛbhū rathasyeva*** *saṃ dadhāmi*	7 ***ṛbhű ráthasyevā́ṅgāni*** *sáṃ dadhat*	v. 7 **τέκτων νωδυνίας**
ṛbhu-*: *takṣ		Greek **τέκτων**
cf. ***tákṣan*** *. . .* ***rátham*** (RV)		cf. **τέκτονας** . . . ποιῆσαι . . .
bráhma *. . .* ***tatakṣuḥ*** (RV)		**ἅρματα** (Homer)
tákṣan *. . . yúvad* ***váyaḥ*** (RV)		v. 113 ἐξ **ἐπέων** . . . **τέκτονες**
'body': 'chariot'		v. 7 **τέκτονα νωδυνίας**
rathaḥ sucakraḥ (PS, ŚS)		
yáthā rátham *púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya* ***takṣathuḥ*** (RV)		
—	7 ***vā́śmā*** *práhṛto* ***jaghā́na***	v. 49 **χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ**
	6 *práti* ***tiṣṭhordhváḥ***	v. 53 **τούς . . . ἔστασεν ὀρθούς**

a. The cross-reference to the Vedic phraseology applying to the Ṛbhu, to whom the Vedic healer is compared, allows us to recover an association between Vedic *takṣ* and the Ṛbhus' work. As a consequence, although the term *tákṣan-* 'carpenter, fashioner' does not occur in PS 4.15.6–7, the reference to the verb is automatically implied by the mention of the Ṛbhu, the god who fashions 'fresh vigor' and objects in the *Rigveda.*

b. The metaphor 'healer': 'carpenter' can be understood as complementary to the metaphor 'body': 'chariot', which underlies both PS 4.15.7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.7) and several lexical items, denoting the chariot's components.
c. An isolated Pindaric expression, τέκτων νωδυνίας*, a substitution *kenning* for 'healer' in *Pythian* 3.6, possibly shares the same background as PS 4.15.6–7 (cf. ŚS 4.12.6–7).
d. Pindar's ode displays further phraseological traits in common with ŚS 4.12.6–7. The successful healing process is identified with the capacity of 'standing upright', (re-)acquired by the patient, cf. τούς . . . ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (v. 53) with *práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ* (ŚS 4.12.6).
e. The patients of Asclepius and those of the Vedic healer suffer similar injuries. One possible cause of the fracture is described in the same terms in both Greek and Vedic, i.e., 'smiting stone', cf. ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ (v. 49) with *vā́śmā . . . jaghā́na*.

In conclusion, the phraseological matches identified for PS 4.12.6–7, ŚS 4.12.6–7 and Pindar *Pythian* 3 are notable for both their quantity – three matches (c), (d), (e), occurring all together in passages dealing with the same themes – and quality – two partial matches (c), (e), and one perfect match (d). Comparanda of this kind speak strongly in favor of a common background, or 'state of things', reflected by two diverse but related traditions: the final stanzas of the Atharvavedic charms to heal an open fracture and Pindar's *Pythian* 3.

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The Funeral Ceremony Described in the 13th Anuvāka of the Mahatkāṇḍa (Kāṇḍa 18) of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā vs Its Śaunaka-Saṁhitā Parallel, Interpreted from the Perspective of Their Textual Differences

Abstract: This article discusses pieces of textual evidence at PS 18.76.1–18.82.10, arguing that the 13th anuvāka is a description of a king's funeral, and that the building of a burial mound was practised as part of a special funerary ritual by which the king received an outstanding grave.

1.1 Introduction

In this article, I discuss pieces of textual evidence in passages occurring in the 13th anuvāka of the Mahatkāṇḍa (Kāṇḍa 18) of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS 18.76.1–18.82.10) and a few additional passages of the preceding funeral stanzas (PS 18.75.1ff.). My hypothesis is that there is cumulative evidence indicating that the building of a burial mound was practised as a very special funerary ritual either at the time of the composition of the text, or before. I suggest that the 13th anuvāka is a description of a king's funeral and the building of a burial mound by which the king received special treatment and an outstanding grave. This hypothesis implies that the PS text describes partial cremation ("making cooked") of the dead person preceding a burial. The remains were then buried in order to protect the dead person from complete dissolution (*nírṛti-* f.). Complete cremation (and immersion of the ashes) would lead to dissolution and would prevent the mending of the body's limbs on his way to becoming a celestial son (*divás putrá-*). This is different from immersing the ashes in a river, a practice that became more respectable later. The respective PS passages can be read as describing partial cremation and subsequent burial embedded in the king's funeral ceremony. I give the following headings to these pieces of cumulative evidence. These headings can serve as a first orientation, in the sense of a table of contents. Their numbers are also the numbers of the respective sections of §2 (e.g. 1. = §2.1.).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-007

1.	The imitation of the universe.	PS 18.76.5
2.	The path to heaven is *vitara-*.	PS 18.77.4
3.	Heaving up the earth as if to heaven.	PS 18.77.6–78.5
4.	It is a container from clay with four caves.	PS 18.78.10
5.	Grains grow on it and shall stand up.	PS 18.79.3 and 78.5
6.	It is made as big as his kinship.	PS 18.79.7
7.	The container has a front entrance in the west.	PS 18.80.4
8.	It is Yama's dungeon.	PS 18.81.2
9.	The fatherly roads are deep.	PS 18.81.8
10.	The fathers are coming again in a month.	PS 18.81.9
11.	Cover him, O Earth!	PS 18.80.5, 81.2, 82.2
12.	Be calm, don't be afraid in this cowshed.	PS 18.82.3
13.	The dead man is like Trita trapped in the well.	PS 18.82.10 (= RV 1.105.1)

The PS text passages quoted below are based on Bhattacharya's 2011 edition, although I have read manuscript JM4 (see Griffiths 2003, 353) and parts of Ji4 (ibid. p. 350) to verify the PS text on a preliminary basis. The Śaunaka text is, in most cases, copied from the online edition available at the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL).[1]

1.2 Structure and contents of the 13th anuvāka of PS 18

Since large parts of kāṇḍa 18, including anuvāka 13 (except for the very last stanza, PS 18.82.10), are missing in the Kashmirian manuscript (see Zehnder 1999: 258), textual criticism is a particularly delicate matter here, and many of the Odishan readings might be errors of transmission.

As transmitted in Odisha, the 13th anuvāka (= PS 18.76.1–18.82.10) consists of 70 stanzas divided into seven kaṇḍikās of ten stanzas each. There are 63 stanzas following the usual four-pāda scheme, and six stanzas consisting of five pādas (76.6, 76.8, 76.9, 77.2, 78.7, including the final stanza 82.10 = RV 1.105.1). A single stanza (PS 18.82.2) consists of three pādas. The 13th anuvāka corresponds largely to ŚS 18.4, but lacks the prose parts (ŚS 18.4.67–68, 71–74, 76–87) and ŚS 18.4.75. Only a few stanzas have RV parallels. The parallel passages are listed in Tables 1a–1g below. Here, the

1 Input by V. Petr and P. Vavroušek, in cooperation with J. Gippert, A. Griffiths and P. Kubisch, last revised 2009.

sign ♦ indicates that the stanza is quoted and translated in this article. The sign ⟲ indicates that the sequential order of stanzas in the PS deviates from that in the ŚS or the RV. Each stanza and a few single pādas are given a title in the form of a prominent phrase occurring in the text. Tables 1a–1g thus provide an overview of the various steps in the procedure of the ceremony described in the text. Table 1a is an overview of the first section, a coherent group of 15 stanzas (see Lanman in Whitney 1905: 869ff.; Weber 1896: 278). It is treated as one ritual unit in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 81.45). Here is where Agni is invoked, the fires are kindled, and the dead man has been placed on the fire.

Table 1a: Part I.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
76.1 ♦	1		I am making you all ascend through fatherly (roads).
76.2	2		The gods arrange the sacrifice, seasons, instruments.
76.3ab	3ab		Follow the path of the order.
76.3cd PS only	—		Step forward onto the surface of the reddish one.
76.4 ♦	4		The three eagles (the three sacrificial spoons).
76.5 ♦	5		The imitation of the worlds.
76.6 ♦	6		O Fixed-spoon, ascend the earth!
76.7 ♦	7		I have apportioned the world.
76.8 ♦	8		The tracks are the fires.
76.9	9		Let the fires burn.
76.10	9–10		Having become side-carrier horses, you all shall move him.
77.1	11		Burn, O Agni!
77.2a ♦ PS only	—		Set him to the padmā of Agni.
77.2b ♦	11d		Set him into the world of the well-doers.
77.2cde ♦	12		The kindled fires shall carry him.
77.3	13		The sacrifice goes to all sides, mending him.
77.4 ♦	14		The man has mounted the fire, the back of the firmament.
77.5 ♦	15		The sacrifice, set together, shall go.

After PS 18.77.5, there is what can be called a section break in the text and the procedure of the funeral ceremony. The following verses are associated with the interment of the bone-relics (see Table 1b).[2]

2 See Whitney (1905: 876): "According to KauśS (86.3), the verses beginning with *apūpavān* (16–24) are used as, in each case, what is specified in the verse (*mantroktam*) is deposited in the quarters and intermediate quarters (*dikṣv aṣṭamadeśeṣu*); this is in the ceremony of interment of the bone-relics, next after the use of 4.57 and 3.72 . . ."

Table 1b: Part IIa. Interment of the bone-relics/viaticum.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	PS pāda a
77.6 ♦	16		*apūpavān kṣīravāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
77.7	18 ⟲		*apūpavān drapsavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
77.8	17 ⟲		*apūpavān dadhivāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
77.9	19		*apūpavān ghṛtavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
77.10	20		*apūpavān māṁsavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
78.1	22 ⟲		*apūpavān madhuvāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
78.2	21 ⟲		*apūpavān annavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
78.3	23		*apūpavāṁ rasavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*
78.4	24		*apūpavān ūrjāvaṁś carur eha sīdatu* ≠ ŚS *apūpávān ápavāṁś* etc.
78.5 PS only	—		*apūpavāṁ yavavāṁś carur eha sīdatu*

According to Weber (1896: 282), this section refers to the viaticum to be given to the dead. Notice that the PS has an *apūpavān*-verse that is not found in the ŚS parallel, i.e. PS 18.78.5 with *yavavān* 'rich in barley'. After it, two stanzas follow that also seem to belong to this section (see Table 1c).

Table 1c: Part IIb.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
78.6	25 = 18.3.68		The vessels covered with cake shall be full of honey.
78.7abcd ♦	26 = 18.3.69 = 18.4.43		The grains I scatter on you, these may Yama bestow upon you.
78.7e ♦	~ 27		
78.8	28	10.17.11	When soma is spilled. (Triṣṭubh)
78.9	29	10.107.4	To the Dakṣiṇā or its donors. (Jagatī; RV 10.107 Triṣṭubh otherwise)

The first stanza (PS 18.78.6) describes the vessels or jars covered with cake(s) (*apūpāpihitān kumbhān*) that the gods held (but notice that b *yāṃs te devā adhārayan* can also mean 'which the gods fixed for you'). PS 18.78.7 describes the scattering of grains mixed with sesame, while Yama is invoked (see §2.5. below). After these two verses, two RV stanzas are inserted. RV 10.17.11 (= PS 18.78.8) is used when soma or any other liquid is spilled, while RV 10.107.4 (= PS 18.78.9) is about the Dakṣiṇā 'sacrifical fee' and its donors, presumably with the intention of reminding them to prepare their payment.

The main keywords of the subsequent section (see Table 1d) are **the well** (or spring, source, fountain; *útsa-* m.), **the grains**, and **the waters**. It ends with the invocation of Sarasvatī, using a stanza of a Rigvedic tṛca addressed to this

goddess (RV 10.17.7–9, = Lanman's part IV). Again, this RV stanza seems to mark a break in the flow of the recitation and the ceremony.

Table 1d: Part III.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
78.10 ♦	30		They milk **the well****.
79.1	31		This garment saturated with ghee.
79.2 ♦	32		The milch cow becomes grains.
79.3 ♦	33		They shall stand up to you.
79.4–5	34–35		Coloured grains / Into Agni Vaiśvānara I am pouring this oblation.
79.6 ♦	36		**The well****.
79.7 ♦	37		This Kasāmbu.
79.8–9	38–39		Be here, satisfying son and grandsons.
79.10	40		Send forth the waters to this fire.
80.1	41		They are kindling the immortal one.
80.2	42		What mixture I am filling into you.
80.3	45 ⟲	10.17.7	To Sarasvatī. (Triṣṭubh)
— *	46 = 1.42	10.17.9ab + 8cd	* = PS 18.61.2 (Triṣṭubh)
— *	47 = 1.43	10.17.8ab + 9cd	* = PS 18.61.3 (Triṣṭubh)

Next comes a section the content of which will become clearer in the course of this paper. It ends with three RV stanzas to Soma, Agni, and Soma again (RV 9.86.19, 6.2.6, 9.86.16).

Table 1e: Part IV.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
80.4 ♦	44 ⟲		The front entrance.
80.5 ♦	48		I am now making you enter into earth.
80.6	50 ⟲		The Dakṣiṇā has come to us.
80.7	49 ⟲		You two move ahead.
80.8	51		I am strewing a living barhiṣ.
80.9 ♦	52		I mend your limbs with a sacred formula.
80.10	53		King Parṇa provides longevity.
81.1	54		Yama the lord.
81.2 ♦	55		They have laid out a dungeon for Yama (a grave mound).
81.3	56		Carry this gold.
81.4	57		A brook of ghee.
81.5	58	9.86.19	Soma verse. (Jagatī-group)
81.6	59	6.2.6	To Agni. (Anuṣṭubh)
81.7	60	9.86.16	Soma as compensation. (Jagatī-group)

Stanza ŚS 18.4.48 (= PS 18.80.5 'I am now making you enter into earth') and the group ŚS 18.4.58–60 find no use in the Kauśikasūtra (see Lanman in Whitney 1905: 870). Lanman says that the ritual use of ŚS 18.4.44 precedes the cremation, but this is not indicated in the PS text. ŚS 18.4.50 and 49 (= PS 18.80.6–7) stand side by side in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 82.40). According to Lanman, the Brahmin in charge takes the two oxen that drew the vehicle conveying the corpse while ŚS 18.4.49 (= PS 18.80.7) is recited, and with the Dakṣiṇā verse ŚS 18.4.50 (= PS 18.80.6) he accepts his payment. In the PS version, he apparently accepts his payment before addressing the oxen. ŚS 18.4.51 (= PS 18.80.8) accompanies the strewing of Darbha grass on the pyre. According to KauśS 82.25, stanza ŚS 18.4.52 (= PS 18.80.9) accompanies the forming of a human figure with the bones. The bones are covered with stones at ŚS 18.4.53–54 (= PS 18.80.10, 81.1). Finally, according to Lanman (p. 871), stanza ŚS 18.4.55 (= PS 18.81.2) accompanies the patting of a grave-mound, while ŚS 18.4.56 (= PS 18.81.3) symbolizes the taking of the hereditament by the oldest son. And one use of ŚS 18.4.57 (= PS 18.81.4) is in the viaticum ceremony.

The next section is dedicated to the fathers and describes what they do or should do (see Table 1f). First, they are asked to come here (PS 18.81.8a), then to go away (PS 18.81.9a) and to come again (PS 18.81.9c) and finally to return to their homes (PS 18.81.10d). The order of these actions is different in the ŚS version, where the fathers are only asked to come and to go away (ŚS 18.4.62–63). I think this difference is important, and I will return to it below.

Table 1f: Part V.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
81.8 ♦	62 ⟲		Come here, fathers!
81.9 ♦	63 ⟲		Go away and come here again, fathers!
81.10 ♦	61 ⟲		Return home, fathers!
82.1 ♦	64		When a limb has been forgotten.
—	65		
82.2 ♦	66		Cover him, O Earth!
82.3 ♦	—		= KauśS 89.12
82.4–5	—		= KauśS 89.12

After the verses to the fathers, there is an extra stanza for when a limb has been forgotten, followed by a three-pāda stanza (PS 18.82.2) that invokes the earth to cover the dead. This section has three final stanzas that are also found in the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 89.12). The last two verses are a blessing of *gr̥hā mama* 'the houses of mine'. ŚS 18.4.65 is not found in the PS. According to Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 871), this is recited during the "withdrawal of the fires". It seems to me that this

verse is absent from the PS text because the "withdrawal of the fires" had a different place, or no place, in the procedure of the ritual that is described by the PS text.

At the very end of the ceremony, Varuṇa is invoked to loosen the fetters and to forgive the sin that has been committed, since burning ("cooking") a man and invoking Yama is not a good deed. Notice that the PS has two prayers to free the staff from Varuṇa's revenge that are not found in the ŚS parallel (PS 18.82.7 is quoted at KauśS 97.8; see Griffiths 2004, 83–85).

Table 1g: Part VI: Atonement and epilogue.

PS 18	ŚS 18.4	RV	Comments, title or keyword
82.6	69	1.24.15	To loosen Varuṇa's fetters. (Triṣṭubh)
82.7	—		The Maruts shall release us, O Varuṇa! (= KauśS 97.8)
82.8	70		Release from us all fetters, O Varuṇa!
82.9	—	1.24.14	We beg for atonement from your anger, O Varuṇa! (Triṣṭubh)
—	71–87		(Prose, once 8+8, at ŚS 18.4.75)
—	88	5.6.4	(Pańkti)
82.10 ♦	89	1.105.1	The moon among the waters. (Pańkti)

The prose passages belonging to the Piṇḍapitṛyajña (ŚS 18.4.71–87) are not found in the PS, nor ŚS 18.4.88 (= RV 5.6.4). This passage accompanies the "laying on of fuel" according to Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 871). The gap is very similar to ŚS 18.4.65, which is also missing from the PS text (as mentioned above). If both the "withdrawal of the fires" and the "laying on of fuel" are not described in the PS, we seem to be able to infer from this that the corresponding actions had a different place, or no place, in the procedure of the ritual that is described by the PS text. A plausible explanation is that the fire was already cleared in the PS ceremony and the dead man was already covered with earth. I will return to this issue below. The final stanza is the same as RV 1.105.1 and seems to be a kind of epilogue. It is, according to my interpretation (see Jamison & Brereton 2014, 248–249 for other interpretations of RV 1.105), the beginning of the myth of Trita trapped in the well (or tank: *kūpa*-). This seems to correlate with **the well** (*útsa*-) mentioned earlier in the text (PS 18.78.10 and 79.6, marked by ** and bold type in Table 1d). In my view, such an epilogue cannot be accidental. I will return to these mythical associations below. Having gone through the sections and keywords, we already have an impression of what is going on during the ceremony. I can thus make the hypothesis that the 13th anuvāka is a quite linear description of the ongoing funeral ceremony that differs from the one described in the ŚS in various ways. But let us start at the beginning.

The 13th anuvāka opens with invoking the Jātavedases (viz. fires) to make them ascend to their birthing mother (Janitrī) at PS 18.76.1. The offering-mover (i.e. Agni,

the messenger) has just moved the sent offerings (*havyā iṣitā*), while the singer is making them ascend (*ā rohayāmi*) together through the fatherly roads. In pāda d, *dhatta loke* clarifies that the dead **is placed** (√*dhā*-) at a 'place, space, open space', which I translate as 'world' here.

PS 18.76.1		ŚS 18.4.1
ā rohata janitrīṁ jātavedasaḥ	12	*ā́ rohata jánitrīṁ jātávedasaḥ*
pitr̥yānaiḥ saṁ va ā rohayāmi |	11	*pitr̥yā́naiḥ sáṁ va ā́ rohayāmi* |
avāḍ ḍhavy$_{a}$eṣitā havyavāha	11	*ávāḍ ḍhavyéṣitó havyavāhá*
ījānaṁ yuktāḥ sukr̥tāṁ dhatta loke ‖	12^{T}	*ījānáṁ yuktā́ḥ sukr̥tā́ṁ dhatta loké* ‖

Ascend to Janitrī, Jātavedases! Through [roads] leading to the Fathers, I make you [all] ascend together. The offering-mover has just moved the sent offerings (*havyā iṣitā*). You, who are harnessed, place the one who has worshipped into the world of the well-doers!

Bhattacharya (2011: 1382) edits *ḍhavyeṣitā* in c, which is also found in manuscript JM4. In the subsequent stanza (PS 18.76.2), the divine seasons arrange the sacrifice and the sacrificial instruments, the sacrificial cake and the ladles are listed. The dead person is invoked to go, together with the sacrificial instruments, by the roads that the gods travel to the heavenly world (*svarga*-). After this brief introduction, we can now turn our attention to stanzas PS 18.76.5 and 4.

2.1 The imitation of the universe

The starting point for substantiating my hypothesis of a mound burial is the key phrase *pratimā lokānām* 'the image of the worlds' or 'the imitation of the worlds' in PS 18.76.5c. This is the first piece of textual evidence that motivates my working on the following research question here: Is there textual evidence for a mound burial in this part of the PS? This hypothesis came to my mind while reading the PS text and remembering what Kuz'mina (2007: 192) writes about the burial rites of the Andronovo Culture:

> How did the Andronovans bury their dead? . . . They buried their dead far from their settlement, on the river bank, and they oriented the graves to the west or south-west, the direction of the setting sun. They dug the graves into the earth and constructed a timber frame-work; in the treeless regions, they replaced it with a stone cist. They erected overhead a cover on the central supporting pillar. The grave was covered with earth by a kurgan of pyramidal form; it was surrounded by a circular or square stone fence. Like the Vedic Aryans and earliest Irani-

> ans, they too knew both burial rites – cremation and inhumation. . . . A round kurgan with a square grave in the center was *a microcosm of the universe*. (Kuz'mina 2007: 192, italics mine)

In the PS funeral hymns, *pratimā lokānām* 'image/imitation of the worlds' (PS 18.76.5c) seems to refer to such an idea of a "microcosm of the universe".

PS 18.76.5		ŚS 18.4.5
juhūr dādhāra dyām upahṛd		*juhū́r dādhāra dyā́m upabhṛ́d*
antarikṣaṁ	( )	*antárikṣaṁ*
⁺dhruvā dādhāra pṛthivīṁ		*dhruvā́ dādhāra pṛthivī́ṁ*
pratiṣṭhām |	11	*pratiṣṭhā́m* |
pratimā lokānāṁ *ghṛtapṛṣṭhā*		*prátīmā́ṁ lokā́ ghṛtápṛṣṭhāḥ*
prapīnāṁ	( )	*svargā́ḥ*
svadhām ūrjaṁ yajamānāya		*kā́maṁkāmaṁ yájamānāya*
duhrām ‖	11	*duhrām* ‖

The Tongue-spoon holds the sky, the Carrier-spoon the space in between. The Fixed-spoon holds the earth, the firm stand. **The imitation of the worlds** is ghee-backed. They [all] shall milk brimming Svadhā[3] and nourishment for the Yajamāna.

Bhattacharya (2011: 1383) edits *dhruvāṁ* in b, which I emend to *⁺dhruvā* following the ŚS version. Whitney (1905: 873) comments on ŚS 18.4.5c with "the *pada*-mss. all give *prati◦mā́m*, as if it were accusative of *pratimā́*". He adds that *pratimā́m* is the reading of two manuscripts (P. and M., described by Whitney 1905: cxii). In PS 18.76.5c, we seem to have the nominative *pratimā* (thus Bhattacharya 2011: 1383). JM4 reads *pratiṣṭhāṁ pratiṣṭhā lokānāṁ ghṛtapṛṣṭhī*, where *pratiṣṭhā* is repeated in place of the word in question. Bhattacharya also prints *ghṛtapṛṣṭhā(ḥ)* in c, which probably means that he is inclined to adopt the ŚS variant. Notice that ŚS 18.4.5d is found at PS 18.76.4d (see below). The three sacrificial spoons metaphorically hold or carry the three spheres. In the ŚS text, the spoons hold the earth "unto me (?)" (Whitney 1905: 873). However, an accusative form of the first-person singular personal pronoun is odd here, and Whitney adds a question mark to his translation. ŚS *prátīmā́ṁ* can be analyzed as *práti imā́m*, so that what is referred to is the earth or the body of the dead person. Pādas bcd of the ŚS version can be understood as 'The Fixed-spoon holds the earth, the firm stand. Against this (body/earth), the worlds. The heavenly ghee-backed worlds shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna.' The PS text does not seem to describe the same things as the ŚS version. In the ŚS,

3 This is 2. *svadhā́-* 'invigorating drink, sacrificial potion (especially the one offered to the deceased fathers)'.

it is the heavenly worlds that shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna. Here, the two words *svargáḥ* and *lokáḥ* reoccur in pāda c of the preceding stanza (ŚS 18.4.4, see below), whereas the PS text has no such repetition in the context, so that ŚS 18.4.5c *lokā́ ghṛ́tápṛṣṭhāḥ svargáḥ* could be due to a perseveration of the preceding *svargā́ lokā́ḥ*. This repetition might also be the reason why the āmreḍita *kā́mamkāmam* is following in ŚS 18.4.5d here, as it is following *svargā lokāḥ* at PS 18.76.4. The sense of the PS text becomes clearer once we interpret it as a description of an imitation or a microcosm of the universe.[4] This passage is preceded by the description of the position of the three spoons (PS 18.76.4, see below). If we take the imitation of the worlds as referring to a mound, the three spoons should metaphorically describe the poles or pillars within the mound, holding the ceiling and propping up the space in between, thus making it an earth room (earthy world, place) for the dead person. PS 18.76.4b can be read as such a description, when we take the three spoons as being leaned to the back of the ceiling.

PS 18.76.4		ŚS 18.4.4
trayaḥ suparṇā ⁺*uparasyāḥ* ⁺*sakhāyau*	12[T]	*tráyaḥ suparṇā́ úparasya māyú́*
nākasya pṛṣṭhe adhi viṣṭapi śritāḥ |	12	*nā́kasya pṛṣṭhé ádhi viṣṭápi śritā́ḥ* |
s_u*vargā lokā amṛ́tena* ⁺*viṣṭāḥ*	11	*svargā́ lokā́ amṛ́tena viṣṭhā́*
kāmamkāmam yajamānāya duhrām ‖	11	*íṣam úrjam yájamānāya duhrām* ‖

[Here are] three eagles, two friends of one [spoon] below, leaned to the back of the firmament up to the highest surface.[5] Heavenly worlds with the immortal one, the prepared [worlds] (*lokā́ḥ* ⁺*viṣṭāḥ*) shall milk each and every wish for the Yajamāna.

Bhattacharya (2011: 1383) edits *uparasyāsakhāyū* (with a partial underline) and mentions the variant reading *°sakhāya* of manuscript Mā[kandā] in his apparatus. JM4 has *°sakhāyū*. I owe the emendation ⁺*sakhāyau* to a discussion with Alexander Lubotsky (personal communication) and the emendation ⁺*uparasyāḥ* (gen. sg. f.) to Thomas Zehnder. JM4 has *viṣṭā* in c, while Bhattacharya prints *viṣṭā(ḥ)*. This word can be understood as the verbal adjective *viṣṭa-* of the verb √*viṣ-*, characterizing the preceding *svargā lokāḥ* (nominative plural masculine), whereas ŚS *viṣṭhā́ḥ* is a root compound *vi* + *sthā́-* (√*sthā-*) that can be understood as 'standing against

4 *ghṛ́tápṛṣṭhā* indicates that the imitation, and the spoons to be burnt, were sprinkled with ghee. In the ŚS, this accompanied the symbolic laying of the spoons on the dead body (KauśS 81.7). Their symbolic sense is that the sacrifice forms and holds the universe "with the ritual fire a pillar connecting heaven and earth" (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 24).

5 We can interpret *nākasya pṛṣṭhe* and *adhi viṣṭapi* as referring to the same thing (suggested to me by Robert Leach).

each other, in all directions' referring to the spoons/eagles and the three spheres. Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 873) notes that some ŚS manuscripts (Whitney's P.M.I. and Pandit's C) also read *viṣṭấ* (i.e. *viṣṭấḥ*) in c, which is also Sāyaṇa's reading and adopted by Weber (1896: 279; "durchdrungen") and Whitney (1905: 873; "filled [?]"). The difference between PS *viṣṭāḥ* and ŚS *viṣṭháḥ* becomes significant once we interpret the PS text as a description of an imitation of the universe that they have drawn up, worked out, prepared, and erected in the form of a mound including heavenly spheres for the dead person with a cave that is finally filled with the dead body, whereas they are not referring to such a thing when they use *viṣṭháḥ* in the Śaunaka recension. The ŚS stanza seems to refer solely to a symbolic laying of the spoons on the dead body. This matches the later interpretation of the text. According to KauśS 81.7, the sacrificial instruments are placed on the different parts of the dead body, to be burnt with the dead. Recall that when an *āhitāgni* dies, his body is cremated in his fire along with the sacrificial utensils. Here, we can take them as symbols for the firmament, the space in between, and the earth. In the PS passage just discussed (PS 18.76.4 and 5), we can understand the imitation of the universe as a mound that is actually prepared as such an image or imitation. In the ŚS version, however, the spheres are symbolized by putting the three spoons on the dead body. We may conclude that something happened to the liturgical context of the ceremony with regard to what was done during the recitation of these passages. In other words, the imitation of the universe seems to be more symbolic in the ritual of the Śaunakins, whereas it appears to be more literal in that of the Paippalādins. Note that the Fixed-spoon (*dhruvā*) is invoked to **ascend the earth** in pāda a of the following passage. If my interpretation is correct, this was the pillar that propped up the earth (*pṛthivīm*).

PS 18.76.6		ŚS 18.4.6
dhruva ā roha pṛthivīṁ		*dhrúva ấ roha pṛthivíṁ*
viśvavedasam	13	*viśvábhojasam*
antarikṣam upahṛd ā kramasva |	11	*antárikṣam upabhṛ́d ấ kramasva* |
juhu dyāṁ gaccha yajamānena		*júhu dyấṁ gaccha yájamānena*
sākaṁ	12^{T}	*sākáṁ*
sruveṇa vatsena diśaḥ prapīnāḥ	11	*sruvéṇa vatséna díśaḥ prápīnāḥ*
sarvā dhukṣā ahṛṇīyamānāḥ ‖	10	*sárvā dhukṣváhṛṇīyamānaḥ* ‖

O Fixed-spoon, ascend the earth that is *viśvávedas*-! Step here, O Carrier-spoon, to the space in between. O Tongue-spoon, go to the sky in company with the Yajamāna! With the little spoon, with the calf, you will milk all the brimming quarters [that are] not bad-tempered.

If one assumes that this sacrificial utensil is placed on a part of the dead body, this implies that its ascending the earth can only be understood symbolically. However, interpreted in light of my hypothesis of a mound burial, the description makes good sense: The Fixed-spoon will stand for a pillar that is fixed in the ground, "ascending the earth", holding the ceiling, and propping up the space in between as if going up to heaven above, as explicitly outlined in the *apūpavān*-verses (PS 18.77.6ff., see §2.2. below). The word *viśvavedasam* 'knowing/seeing everything' in PS 18.76.6a might be a description of the earth that is lifted as a mound in its natural environment with a panoramic view. ŚS has *viśvábhojasam* 'all-nourishing' instead. The form *dhukṣāḥ*, if interpreted correctly, is the first instance of the subjunctive of a *sa*-aorist found in the Vedic corpus (at least no other form of this category is noted by Macdonell 1910: 385).

PS 18.76.7		ŚS 18.4.7
tīrthais taranti pravato mahīr anu	12	*tīrthái taranti praváto mahī́r íti*
yajñakr̥taḥ sukr̥to yena yanti |	11	*yajñakŕ̥taḥ sukŕ̥to yéna yánti* |
atrābhajaṁ yajamānāya lokaṁ	11	*átrādadhur yájamānāya lokáṁ*
diśo bhūtāni yadi kalpayanta ‖	11	*díśo bhūtā́ni yád ákalpayanta* ‖

Through fords they cross the great slopes, [on the way] by which the sacrifice-makers, the well-doers go. There, I have apportioned the world for the Yajamāna, to the directions, when they are mending the ghosts (or: when the ghosts are mending themselves. Or: when the directions are mending the ghosts).

JM4 has *yadi kalpayanta* in pāda d, while Bhattacharya (2011: 1384) prints *mayi kalpayanta(ḥ)*. I opt for the former, because it is closer to ŚS *yád ákalpayanta* and a temporal meaning 'when they are mending the ghosts' makes sense in the context of a funeral ceremony. The preposition phrase *pravato mahīr anu* also occurs at RV 10.14.1a: *pareyivā́ṁsam praváto mahī́r ánu* "to the one who has departed along the great slopes" (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1391). In pāda d I do not understand *bhūtāni* as 'creatures', as suggested by Whitney (1905, 874), but – following a suggestion to me by Umberto Selva (personal communication) – as 'ghosts' (some kind of more or less aimlessly wandering ghosts) of the dead that are mending (repairing) themselves or are being mended (that is, their bodies are being repaired in a special way).

In the following PS passage, we find the new Vedic word *padmānam* (accusative singular). It is not a hapax legomenon because it reoccurs at PS 18.77.2. In both passages, it denotes something that belongs to Agni (*padmānam agneḥ*).

PS 18.76.8		ŚS 18.4.8
aṅgirasām ayanaṁ pūrvo agnir	11	*áṅgirasām áyanaṁ pū́rvo agnír*
ādityānām ayanaṁ gārhapatyo	11	*ādityā́nām áyanaṁ gā́rhapatyo*
dakṣiṇānām ayanaṁ dakṣiṇāgniḥ |	11	*dákṣiṇānām áyanaṁ dakṣiṇāgníḥ* |
padmānam agner *vihitasya*		*mahimā́nam agnér víhitasya*
brahmaṇā	12	*bráhmaṇā*
samaṅgaḥ sarva upa yāhi ***śagmam*** ‖	11	*sámaṅgaḥ sárva úpa yāhi śagmáḥ* ‖

The track of the Aṅgirases is the eastern fire, the track of the Ādityas is the householder's [fire], the track of the Dakṣiṇās is the Dakṣiṇā (i.e. the southern) fire. Go to the strong[?] *padmā* of Agni, the one set out with a sacred formula, having [your] limbs together, as a whole one!

JM4 has *padmānam* in d and *śagmaṁ* in e, as printed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1384). Since PS *padmānam* fits into the meter, whereas ŚS *mahimā́nam* 'greatness' does not, it seems that it is original. The second attestation of *padmānam agner* is found in the following passage:

PS 18.77.2 (ab: only PS)		ŚS 18.4.12
padmānam agner *vihitasya brahmaṇā*	12	(PS 18.76.8d ~ ŚS 18.4.8d)
⁺samyaṅ enaṁ dhehi sukṛ̥tām ulokam |	( )	~ ŚS 18.4.11d
tam agnayaḥ samiddhā ā bharantāṁ	11	*śám agnáyaḥ sámiddhā ā́ rabhantāṁ*
prājāpatyaṁ medhi̯yaṁ jātavedasaḥ	12	*prājāpatyáṁ médhyaṁ jātávedasaḥ* |
śr̥taṁ kr̥ṇvanta iha mā †vicakṣaṇam† ‖	12	*śr̥táṁ kr̥ṇvánta ihá mā́va cikṣipan* ‖

To the *padmā* of Agni, of the one set out with a sacred formula, place him (i.e. the dead person with his limbs) turned against himself (i.e. his limbs are turned against each other) to the world of the well-doers. The kindled fires shall carry him, the *médhyam* (i.e. the pure thing that is ready and fit for being sacrificed) belonging to Prajāpati, the Jātavedases, making [him] boiled, they shall not . . . (†*vicakṣaṇam*†) here!

JM4 has *samya enaṁ* in b, Bhattacharya (2011: 1385) edits *samaṅganaṁ.* I emend this to *⁺samyaṅ enaṁ*. The meaning of *padmānam* cannot be easily determined. It seems to be a verbal abstract with the suffix *-mán-* derived from the root √*pad-* 'fall, go'. We only know that it is characterized by the adjective *śagmá-* 'strong[?], favourable[?]' in PS 18.76.8de, and that it is something the dead man can go to (*úpa yā-*). In pāda e, *mā vicakṣaṇam* seems to be a corruption of *mā́va cikṣipan* as preserved in the ŚS parallel. At least, a noun ('conspicuous, experienced') does not fit the syntactic context. Bhattacharya attempts to restore a finite verb (*iha mā vi cakṣaṇan**

'they shall not have completely hurt [damaged] him here'??). Lanman comments on ŚS 18.4.12c *mā́ áva cikṣipan* as follows:

> Here, *cikṣipan* with *ava* means 'let them [the fires, not] throw [any part of the dead man] down'; that is, Agni (in his kindly forms, *śivás tanvàs*) is to treat the dead man kindly and not let a foot, the head, or a hand fall off from the funeral pile, but is to consume him completely: cf. the comm., who aptly says, *yathā niravaśeṣaṁ dahyate tathā*. The importance, in Hindu belief, of having every member of the body carried by Agni to the other world for use in the next life is abundantly shown by the hymns . . . — When, as often happens, the pile of wood is too short for the corpse, the feet will naturally overhang and drop off from the pyre. In my journal of a visit at Benares, under date of Feb. 25, 1889, I find the following: 'Saw a cremation, at the Burning Ghat. One foot of the corpse fell off the pyre (which was none too long), and a man tried to put it back on the fire with a bamboo. But failing, he took it by the toe with thumb and fingers and chucked it back.' An allusion to an occurrence of this kind is clearly made by the Chāndogya Upanishad at vii. 15.3 . . . (Lanman in Whitney 1905: 875).

The corruption PS (Odisha) *vicakṣaṇam* instead of ŚS *(á)va cikṣipan* is similar to PS (Odisha) *cakṣuṣaḥ* ('of the eyesight') instead of RV, ŚS *cikṣipaḥ* at PS 18.63.8b: *māsya tvacaṁ †cakṣuṣo† mā śarīram* vs. RV 10.16.1b (= ŚS 18.2.4b) *mā́sya tvácaṁ cikṣipo mā́ śárīram* "don't singe his skin nor his body" (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1395). Jamison (1983, 140, with fn. 71) interprets *cikṣipaḥ* at the RV passage as the reduplicated aorist of √*kṣā-* 'burn, singe' (i.e. of its causative *kṣāpáya-*) – against the other approach which derives this form from √*kṣip-* 'throw, cast' – and this ('burn') may also be intended here at PS 18.77.2e, presumably in the sense that they shall not burn and damage the dead body completely (see the following section §2.2.).

2.2 The path to heaven is *vitara-*

Within the funerary ceremony, Agni is envisioned as a transformer, not necessarily as a complete destroyer. His function is that of a general carrier, and he carries the dead body to prolonged or eternal life, as, for example, in the following RV stanza:

> RV 10.16.11 *yé* ***agníḥ kravyavā́hanaḥ*** *pitŕ̥n yákṣad ṛtāvŕ̥dhaḥ | préd u havyā́ni vocati devébhyaś ca pitŕ̥bhya ā́ ‖* "**Der Leichen fortführende Agni**, der den wahrheitstärkenden Vätern opfern soll, er möge den Göttern und den Manen die Opferspende ansagen." (Geldner 1951c: 149).

The dead bodies were sometimes completely burnt and sometimes incompletely burnt, as described in this RV passage:

> RV 10.15.14 *yé* ***agnidagdhā́*** *yé* ***ánagnidagdhā*** *' mádhye diváḥ svadháyā mādáyante | tébhiḥ svarā́ḷ · ásunītim etā́ṁ ' yathāvaśáṁ tanvàṁ kalpayasva ‖* "Those burned by fire and those not burned by fire who become exhilarated at (the cry of) "svadhā" in the middle of heaven, along

> with them (go) as sovereign king (on the way) leading to (the other) life. Arrange your body as you wish." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1394, emphasis mine).

In this passage, the verb *kalpayasva* clearly refers to the repairing, fixing, arranging, and adjusting of the dead body for eternal life. Completely burning a dead body would destroy the person, as explicitly outlined in RV 10.16.1a: *máinam agne ví daho mā́bhí śocaḥ* 'Do not burn him through, O Agni, do not let him glow.' It is thus clear from the text that the dead body is incompletely burnt. The function of the earth within the funerary ritual is to protect the dead from complete dissolution (*nírṛti-*), as explicitly stated in the following passage:

> RV 10.18.10 *úpa sarpa mātáram bhū́mim etā́m uruvyácasam pṛthivī́ṁ suśévām | úṛṇamradā yuvatír dákṣiṇāvata* ***eṣā́ tvā pātu nírṛter upásthāt*** ‖ "Creep upon this mother earth, the broad earth of wide expanse, who is very kindly. The young girl, soft as wool for the one who gives priestly gifts – **let her protect you from the lap of Dissolution**." (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1401, emphasis mine).

As indicated here, burials assure that the body is not completely destroyed by the fire (see Oberlies 1998: 472). Vedic burials are also confirmed by PS 18.68.2 and its parallel ŚS 18.2.52ab (Oberlies 1998: 299–312, especially fn. 727 with further references). In the PS passage given below, the dead's first path is entering the *pṛṣṭhá-* 'mountain back, ridge' to fly up to the sky in the future (*divam utpatiṣyan*). This is the **further (viz. second)** path (*panthā vitaraḥ*), the heavenly path.

PS 18.77.4		ŚS 18.4.14
+ījānáś +citam ā$_a$rukṣad agniṁ	11	*ījānáś citám árukṣad agníṁ*
nākasya pṛṣṭhaṁ divam utpatiṣyan |	11	*nā́kasya pṛṣṭhā́d dívam utpatiṣyán |*
tasmai pra bhātu nabhaso jyotiṣīmān	12^T	*tásmai prá bhāti nábhaso jyótiṣīmānt*
svargaḥ panthā vitaro devayānaḥ ‖	11	*svargáḥ pánthāḥ sukṛ́te devayā́naḥ ‖*

He who has sacrificed has mounted the piled fire, the back of the firmament, about to fly up to the sky. For him, the luminous heavenly path, the further one, the one traveled by the gods shall shine forth from the cloud.

In pāda a, the Odishan manuscripts read Ja *īhajānaś*, Mā *ihajānaś*, JM4 *ihajanaś*, which Bhattacharya (2011: 1386) emends to **ījānaś* following the ŚS parallel. As Whitney (1905: 876) points out, the second word of this stanza should be read as *citám* 'piled', as transmitted by a number of ŚS manuscripts, and this also applies to the PS, where all manuscripts have *cittam*. In pāda d Bhattacharya's manuscripts (Ja, Mā) have *pitaro devajānaḥ*, which he (2011: xci) emends to **vitaro *devayānaḥ*. The latter is what I read in JM4, so that editorial symbols can be removed. I understand this pāda as describing a '**further (= second)** path' to the sky that was taken

by the gods. In PS 18.77.5d, on the other hand, the sacrifice shall go the **earlier track** (*pūrvam ayanam*) of those who have already been offered:

PS 18.77.5		ŚS 18.4.15
agnir hotā$_a$dhvaryuṣ ṭe bṛhaspatir	12	*agnír hótā$_a$dhvaryúṣ ṭe bṛ́haspátir*
indro brahmā dakṣiṇatas te astu |	11	*índro brahmā́ dakṣiṇatás te astu* |
huto $_a$'yaṁ saṁsthito yajña etu	11	*hutó 'yáṁ sáṁsthito yajñá eti*
yatra pūrvam ayanaṁ hutānām ‖	10	*yátra pū́rvam áyanaṁ hutā́nām* ‖

Agni shall be the Hotar, Bṛhaspati your Adhvaryu, Indra the Brahmin on your right [side]. This offered sacrifice, being completed, shall go where **the earlier track** of those offered is.

The second path (*panthā vitaraḥ*) does not seem to be identical with this first track of those who have been offered. This difference is also described at RV 10.18.1ab: *páram mṛtyo ánu párehi pánthāṁ' yás te svá ítaro devayā́nāt* "Depart, Death, along the further path, which is your own, different from the one leading to the gods" (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1400). We may conclude from this that the dead person has to take two paths: an initial path into the earth and a second one to the sky leading to the gods. From the perspective of full cremation, the PS text is somewhat irritating. How can there be a second path to the sky that follows an earlier path when there was full cremation and immersion of the ashes? The earlier path seems to be related to the *pūrvam aparaṁ niyānam* 'the front entrance in the west' that is described at PS 18.80.4 (see §2.7. below).

2.3 Heaving up the earth as if to heaven: *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīṁ dyām ivopari*

In the *apūpavān* verses (see Table 1b above), there is one part of the refrain that is only found in the PS text, viz. PS 18.77.6b–78.5b *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīṁ dyām ivopari* (i.e. the participle of the class V. present of *út* + √*stambh-* 'uphold, support'). The syntagm *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīm* is paralleled by *út te stabhnāmi pṛthivī́m* at RV 10.18.12a:

> RV 10.18.10–14 *úpa sarpa mātáram bhū́mim etā́m uruvyácasam pṛthivī́ṁ suśévām* \| *ū́rṇamradā yuvatír dákṣiṇāvata* ***eṣā́ tvā pātu nírṛter upásthāt*** ‖10‖ ***úc chvañcasva pṛthivi*** *mā́ ní bādhathāḥ sūpāyanā́smai bhava sūpavañcanā́* \| *mātā́ putráṁ yáthā sicā́bhy ènam bhūma ūrṇuhi* ‖11‖ ***ucchváñcamānā pṛthiví sú tiṣṭhatu*** *sahásram míta úpa hí śráyantām* \| *té gṛ́hāso ghṛtaścúto bhavantu viśvā́hāsmai śaraṇā́ḥ santu átra* ‖12‖ ***út te stabhnāmi pṛthivī́m*** *tvát pári imáṁ logáṁ nidádhan mó aháṁ riṣam* \| ***etā́m sthū́ṇām pitáro dhārayantu*** *te átrā yamáḥ*

> *sádanā te minotu* ‖13‖ *pratícīne mắm áhani íṣvāḥ parṇám ivắ dadhuḥ* | *pratícīṁ jagrabhā vácam áśvaṁ raśanáyā yathā* ‖14‖ "10. Creep upon this mother earth, the broad earth of wide expanse, who is very kindly. The young girl, soft as wool for the one who gives priestly gifts – **let her protect you from the lap of Dissolution**. 11. **Arch up, Earth**; do not press down. Become easy to approach for him, easy to curl up in. Like a mother her son with her hem, cover him, Earth. 12. **Let the earth stay arching up**. For let a thousand (house) posts be fixed in (her). Let the house be dripping with ghee. Let it always be sheltering to him there. 13. **I prop up the earth from you.** Setting down this earth clod here, let me not be harmed. **Let the forefathers uphold this pillar for you**. There let Yama fix your seats. 14. On the day facing me [= today] they have set (him = dead man) down like a feather from an arrow. The speech facing me I have grasped, like a horse by its halter" (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1401).

What is described at PS 18.77.6–78.7 thus belongs to what is said in RV 10.18, which is a description of a tumulus burial, where 10d *tvā pātu nírṛter upásthāt* shows that the idea of *uttabhnuvan pṛthivīṁ dyām ivopari* is to keep the dead person safe from complete dissolution (*nírṛti-*). The earth is further invoked to **arch up** (*út* + √*śvañc-*) at 11a, and it is invoked to keep standing in this position with a thousand house posts fixed (stanza 12). Stanza 13 mentions a pillar (*sthúṇā-*) that the fathers shall uphold and make stand firm. This text quite literally describes the heaping up of a bulging mound grave (see Anthony 2007: 409).[6] As mentioned, the PS passage can be connected with the interment of the bone-relics. When taken literally, repeated formulae like 'the one rich in cake, rich in milk, the dish shall sit down here' look as if they describe burial gifts (viz. the viaticum) intended for the dead, which are rich in cake and *kṣīravān*, *drapsavān*, *ghṛtavān*, *māṁsavān*, *madhuvān*, *annavān*, *rasavān*, *ūrjāvan* (the latter deviating from the strange *ápavān* at ŚS 18.4.24a).

PS 18.77.6		ŚS 18.4.16
apūpavān kṣīravāṁś carur ₐeha sīdatū-	7+8	*apūpávān kṣīrávāṁś carúr éhá sīdatu* |
-ᵤttabhnuvan pṛthivīṁ dyām ivopari |	12	
lokakṛtaḥ pathikṛto yajāmahe	12	*lokakṛ́taḥ pathikṛ́to yajāmahe*
ye devānāṁ ghṛtabhāgā iha stha ‖	11	*yé devā́nāṁ hutábhāgā ihá sthá* ‖

The dish rich in cake, rich in milk shall sit down here, **heaving up the earth as if to the sky above**. We offer to those who make the world, who make the path, [to you] of the gods who are here, having a share in ghee.

This formula is repeated eight more times at PS 18.77.7–78.5.

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6 "The parallels include a reference in RV 10.18 to a kurgan . . ., a roofed burial chamber supported with posts . . ., and with shored walls . . . This is a precise description of Sintashta and Potapovka-Filatovka grave pits, which had wooden plank roofs supported by timber posts and plank shoring walls" (Anthony 2007: 409).

2.4 It is a container from clay with four caves

At PS 18.78.10, a well (*útsa-* m.) is described as a *kalaśa-* ‘jar, pot, round container’ made of clay (⁺*mṛdāṁ*) that is *caturbilam* “with four orifices” (Whitney 1905: 878). It does not have just one opening as would a cinerary urn. While the meaning ‘hole’ is younger, *bíla-* n. actually means ‘pit, cave’ in the Rigveda (Mayrhofer 1996: 225: “Höhle, Grube”, Grassmann 1875, 906: “Höhle”, see RV 1.11.5ab *valásya . . . bílam* ‘Vala’s cave’, also in RV 2.12.3). We can conclude that the meaning of *cáturbila-* is not necessarily ‘with four openings’ here. If the meaning is still the same as in the RV, the container has rather four pits or four caves in it. Note that a *kaláśam* is *níkhātam* ‘dug in’ in RV 1.117.12cd *híraṇyasyeva kaláśaṁ níkhātam úd ūpathur daśamé aśvināhan* “you dug out the one who was buried like a tub of gold on the tenth day, O Aśvins” (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 273). In that hymn, the Aśvins rescue those who have been *níkhāta-* ‘dug in’ (“buried”) in one form or another. In my interpretation, the lower part of the *kalaśam* is ‘dug in’ (into the earth) as well.

PS 18.78.10		ŚS 18.4.30
utsaṁ duhanti kalaśaṁ caturbilaṁ	12	*kóśaṁ duhanti kaláśaṁ cáturbilam*
⁺***mṛdāṁ*** *dhenuṁ madhumatīṁ*		*íḍāṁ dhenúm mádhumatīṁ svastáye* |
sᵤvastaye |	12	
ūrjaṁ madantīm aditiṁ janeṣᵤv	11	*úrjaṁ mádantīm áditiṁ jáneṣv*
agne mā hiṁsīḥ parame vᵢyoman ‖	11	*ágne mấ hiṁsīḥ paramé vyòman* ‖

They milk the well, the jar with four caves, **the clay**, the milch cow rich in honey for well-being, the exhilarating refreshment, the Aditi among the people. Do not injure [him[?]], O Agni, in the highest firmament!

A variant of the first hemistich is also found at TB 3.7.4.16 (and elsewhere): *útsaṁ duhanti kaláśaṁ cáturbilam íḍāṁ devī́ṁ mádhumatīṁ suvarvídam*, thus with *utsam* (= PS vs. ŚS *kóśam* ‘receptacle, box’) in a and with *íḍām* (= ŚS, see below) in b. In place of the latter, Bhattacharya (2011: 1390) prints *mṛḍāṁ*, which apparently is the reading of his manuscripts, whereas JM4 has *marṛā(ṁ[?])*. I tentatively emend this word to ⁺*mṛdāṁ*, which can be supported by the observation that *ma-* < *mṛ-* is similar to the phonetic development reflected by Middle Indic, cf. Pali *maga-* ‘animal’ < *mṛgá-* m. ‘wild animal, deer’ etc. For the younger retroflex cf. also Prakrit *maḍakkiyā-* f. ‘earthen jar’ < **mṛd-*. This *mṛdā-* f. is also attested in the Upaniṣads and

appears to be a younger substitute of earlier *mṛ́d-* f. 'earth, clay'. This substitution is straighforward – unlike that of *mṛ̥ḍa-* for RV *mṛ̥ḍayáku-*.[7]

The PS-description seems to be that of a house of clay that nobody wants to enter too soon, as confirmed by RV 7.89.1 *mó ṣú varuṇa mṛnmáyaṃ gṛháṃ rājann aháṃ gamam ... mṝḷáya* 'King Varuṇa, let me not go to the house of clay! ... Be merciful!', where *mṛnmáyaṁ gṛ́ham* has been interpreted as referring to a grave or to an urn (e.g. by Geldner 1951b: 269, fn.), although the RV-text clearly says that it is a 'house'. In the PS stanza, the form *⁺mṛ̥dām* is found in a series of accusative forms (*utsam*, *kalaśaṁ caturbilaṁ*, *dhenum madhumatīm*) and the ŚS parallel also has an accusative singular feminine form (*íḍām*) in the relevant place. Therefore, *⁺mṛ̥dām* is rather not a genitive plural.

2.5 Grains grow on it and shall stand up

Stanza PS 18.78.7 gives a description of the scattering of grains, which are mixed with sesame.[8] Grains naturally grow on the earth and stand up, but not on a dead body that has been cremated.

PS 18.78.7		ŚS 18.4.26 (= ŚS 18.3.69 [*vibhvíḥ* in c], ŚS 18.4.43)
yās te dhānā anukirāmi	( )	*yā́s te dhānā́ anukirā́mi*
tilamiśrāḥ svadhāvatīḥ |	8	*tilámiśrāḥ svadhā́vatīḥ* |
tās te santu vibhvīḥ prabhvīs	8	*tā́s te santūdbhvíḥ prabhvís*
tās te rājānu manyatāṁ	8	*tā́s te yamó rā́jánu manyatām* ‖
yamo akṣitaṁ ⁺bhūyāṁsam ‖	8	*ákṣitiṁ bhū́yasīm* ‖ (ŚS 18.4.27)

7 Reading *mṛ̥ḍāṁ* as acc. sg. f. of an adj. *mṛ̥ḍa-* (*mṛ̥ḍāṁ dhenuṁ* "merciful milch cow"?) is not unproblematic because this is first attested in the Black Yajurveda at KS 37.13: 93.19, 14: 94.20) *mṛ̥ḍo 'si mṛ̥ḍase*, where the coinage of *mṛ̥ḍa-* is motivated by the following 2sg pres. ind. mid. *mṛ̥ḍase* (Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 76). If the PS mantra is earlier than the Yajurvedic prose, and if *mṛ̥ḍa-* did not exist, the emendation to 'clay' will be necessary. The fact that the parallel ŚS *íḍāṁ* f. is not an adjective speaks for a noun in the PS. I doubt that the image depicted in the PS is that of the sun as an udder with four teats, milking Soma. As indicated by ŚS a *kóśaṁ* and b *íḍāṁ*, this may hold for the ŚS if describing the cooling ceremony following the cremation. I am grateful to the second anonymous reviewer for pointing me to that interpretation. In my view, however, the use of different words points to a difference between what is described in the ŚS vs the PS.

8 For *tilamiśrāḥ* see Caland (1896: 34): "Im ritual des anāhitāgni's der Rāṇāyanīyas, Bandhāyanīyasan, Āśvalāyanīyas [. . .] und nach dem Vaikh. sūtra wird in drei gruben oder an drei stellen des zubereiteten bodens [. . .] sesamwasser oder sesamkörner ausgeschüttet, . . . Die übrigen sesamkörner werden nach links herumgestreut. Wenn jetzt noch in der mitte der geweihten stelle ein stückchen gold niedergelegt ist, wird sie mit gräsern, deren spitzen südlich zu legen sind, überstreut."

The grains that I scatter on you, mixed with sesame, rich in svadhā, shall be abundant (*vibhvīḥ*), standing ahead (or 'mighty', *prabhvīḥ*). May the king approve those for you, may Yama [approve] the imperishable, the greater one.

JM4 reads *santu vibhvavī tās te* in line cd. The emendation $^{+}$*bhūyāṁsam* is proposed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1389) for Mā *bhūyāsaṁ* (= JM4) and Ja *bhūyasaṁ* – it is obviously inspired by *bhū́yasīm* of the ŚS version. In ŚS 18.3.69d, 18.4.26d, and 18.4.43d, the meter suggests that the word *yamó* has been secondarily inserted. In the PS version, however, Yama (*yamaḥ* in e) is separated from the word *rājā* 'king', which might be understood as indication that there was a different, human king involved in the ritual in the PS version. Moreover, *akṣitaṁ bhūyāṁsam* is accusative and thus cannot refer to Yama here. Instead, it might perhaps refer to the dead man, who, in my interpretation, is also imperishable and greater than a normal person, sitting in his cave, covered and surrounded by a huge, imperishable mound. Under this assumption, a human king might be present the PS text, put in his grave. The entity addressed with the pronoun *te* in d could be the mound and it would be Yama who bestows the grains upon the dead king (speaking in the first person: 'I scatter'). This reading seems to have been changed to another sense in the ŚS parallel, where the king is Yama himself and there is neither another king other than Yama, nor a grave-mound. Grains are also mentioned in the following two stanzas, PS 18.79.2–3:

PS 18.79.2		ŚS 18.4.32
dhānā dhenur bhavad	( )	*dhānā́ dhenúr abhavad*
vatso asyās tilo bhavat |	8	*vatsó asyās tiló 'bhavat* |
tāṁ tvaṁ yamasya rājye	8	*tā́ṁ vái yamásya rā́jye*
$_a$'kṣitam upa jīvatāt ‖	8	*ákṣitām úpa jīvati* ‖

Grains [are what] the milch cow becomes, her calf becomes sesame. On her subsist in Yama's realm [and] on the imperishable one!

In place of Bhattacharya's (2011: 1390) *bhavad* in pāda a, JM4 has *abhavad*, which agrees with the ŚS parallel. Instead of his *tāṁ* in pāda c, JM4 and Mā have *tā*. The nominative plural *dhānāḥ* cannot be the subject to the singular verb *(a)bhavat*, as Whitney's (1905: 879) translation implies: "the grains became a milch-cow". In my syntactic analysis,[9] *dhenuḥ* is the subject to *bhavat*. In my interpretation, the dead king is identified as a milch cow that provides the sweet grasses that really grow on

9 I think that *dhānā dhenur bhavad* is a focus construction with 'grains' in clause-initial focus position. See further Delbrück (1888: 17, §8); Amano (2009: 47–48).

the mound, out of the grave-mound of the dead king. The picture described here is that of a milch cow, living in Yama's realm (Yama's dungeon, see §2.8. below).

At PS 18.79.3d I understand *upa tiṣṭhantu tvā* as '[that grains] shall stand up to you' (i.e. 'grow'):

PS 18.79.3		ŚS 18.4.33
etās te asau dhānāḥ	7	*etā́s te asau dhenávaḥ*
kāmadughā bhavantu |	7	*kāmadúghā bhavantu* |
enīḥ ⁺*śyenīr virūpāḥ sarūpās*	10	*énīḥ śyénīḥ sárūpā vírūpās*
tilavatsā upa tiṣṭhantu tvā$_a$t ‖	11	*tilávatsā úpa tiṣṭhantu tvā́tra* ‖

That grains of yours, O you, the one beyond, shall become wish-milking – the piebald, reddish-white ones, of different form, of like form, with [their] sesame-calf, **shall stand up to you then**.

In pāda a, the dead man is invoked as 'that one, the one beyond', at least if we assign the pronoun *amú-* its distal deictic value and not its function as placeholder for a name as do Weber (1896: 284: "o NN") and Whitney (1905: 879; "O so-and-so"). Instead of PS *dhānāḥ* 'grains', the ŚS version has *dhenávaḥ* 'milch cows', which fits the meter better. At the end of the stanza, ŚS has the adverb *átra* 'there', whereas the PS seems to have a temporal *āt* 'then'. To sum up, I argue here that the scattering of the grains is more symbolic in the ritual of the Śaunakins, whereas in the ritual of the Paippalādins, the seed is actually sown to make sweet grass grow on the grave-mound.

2.6 It is made as big as his kinship

In PS 18.79.6, the well is described **as being extended** on the back (i.e., surface) of the sea.

PS 18.79.6		ŚS 18.4.36
⁺*utsaṁ śatadhāram akṣitaṁ*	( )	*sahásradhāraṁ śatádhāram útsam ákṣitaṁ*
***v̥yacyamānaṁ** salilasya pr̥ṣṭhe* |	11	*vyacyámānaṁ salilásya pr̥ṣṭhé* |
ūrjaṁ duhānam anapasphurantam	11	*ū́rjaṁ dúhānam ánapasphurantam*
upāsatāṁ sukr̥tāṁ yatra lokaḥ ‖	11	*úpāsate pitáraḥ svadhā́bhiḥ* ‖

The well, hundred-streamed, inexhaustible, extended on the back (i.e. surface) of the sea, milking nourishment, not pushing [us] away – they shall wait upon it, where the world of the well-doers is.

Bhattacharya's (2011: 1391) emendation *+utsaṁ* for *vatsaṁ* of the manuscripts (including JM4) is taken from the ŚS version.

The next stanza asks people referred to with *sajātāḥ* 'kinsmen', probably the bereaved family, to make the world for him **as big as his kinship** (*yāvatsabandhu*). Although the dictionaries give "a heap of wood (?)" (Monier-Williams1899: 266a), the meaning of *kásāmbu-* is unknown. Weber (1896: 285) vacillates between "Holzstoss" ('woodpile') and "Knochenhaufen" ('pile of bones').

PS 18.79.7		ŚS 18.4.37
idaṁ kasāmbu +cayanena +citaṁ	11	*idáṁ kásāmbu cáyanena citáṁ*
tat sajātā ava paśyat$_a$eta |	11	*tát sajātā áva paśyatéta* |
martyo +amṛtyum amṛtatvam eti		*mártyo 'yám amṛtatvám eti*
tasmai lokaṁ kṛṇuta	11	*tásmai gṛhán kṛṇuta*
yāvatsabandhu ‖	( )	*yāvatsábandhu* ‖

This kasāmbu is piled by piling. Kinsmen, look down upon it, come here! The mortal one goes to non-death, to immortality. For him make the world as big as his kinship!

In place of *+cayanena* the manuscripts have *vayanena*. The emendation *+citaṁ* 'piled' is analogous to PS 18.77.4a (see above). And for the correction in pāda c see Bhattacharya (2011: xciii). As for b, Whitney (1905: 881) mentions that "the comm. says that either the relatives or all are to look at them as deposited in the hollow, while the manager recites the verse". Lanman adds that "the verse, with its *cayanena citam* and *gṛhán* [. . .] seems clearly to refer to **a grave-mound**; but the ritual use, with its trench, is in **flat contradiction** with such reference" (emphasis mine). This is in agreement with my interpretation of the imitation of the worlds (see §2.1. above) as referring to such a grave-mound. If we thus take the imitation of the worlds (§2.1) as referring to such a grave-mound, the PS text fits the descriptions as interpreted here so that there is no contradiction any longer.

2.7 The container has a front entrance in the west

Weber (1896: 287) writes that ŚS 18.4.44 (= PS 18.80.4) is addressed to the dead, be it on the pyre, be it in the tomb (". . .sei es auf dem rogus, sei es in der Gruft"). It is possible to understand the word *ápara-* here as 'western', so that the dead fathers

would have entered the grave in the west. This approach seems attractive to me because the Andronovans oriented their graves to the west or south-west, i.e. the direction of the setting sun (see Kuz'mina 2007: 192).

PS 18.80.4		ŚS 18.4.44
idaṁ pūrvam aparaṁ niyānaṁ	10	*idáṁ pū́rvam áparaṁ niyā́naṁ*
yena te pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ |	11	*yénā te pū́rve pitáraḥ páretāḥ* |
purogavā ye $^{+}$*abhiṣāco asya*	11	*purogavā́ yé abhiśā́co asya*
te tvā vahantu sukṛ̥tām ulokam ‖	11	*té tvā vahanti sukṛ́tām ulokám* ‖

This is the western front entrance, by which your former fathers went away. Those who are the forerunners, [who will be] his followers, they shall carry you to the world of the well-doers.

In pāda c, I read $^{+}$*abhiṣāco* as proposed by Bhattacharya (2011: 1393: *abhiśā*(<*ṣā*)*co*). The following stanza clearly refers to a burial (see Weber 1896: 287: "bei der Beerdigung, nicht bei der Verbrennung"):

PS 18.80.5		ŚS 18.4.48 (a = ŚS 12.3.22a)
pṛthivīṁ tvā pṛthivyām ā veśayāmi	12^{T}	*pṛthivī́ṁ tvā pṛthivyā́m ā́ veśayāmi*
devo no dhātā †*savitāt*$_{i}$*y*† *āyuḥ* |	11	*devó no dhātā́ prá tirāty ā́yuḥ* |
$^{+}$*parāpuraitā vasuvid vo ast*$_{u}$*v*	11	*párāparaitā vasuvíd vo astv*
adhāmṛ̥taiḥ pitaraḥ saṁ bhavātha ‖	11	*ádhā mṛ̥tā́ḥ pitṛ́ṣu sáṁ bhavantu* ‖

You (singular), [who are] earth, I [now] make enter the earth. God Dhātar [and] Savitar . . . lifespan. The one going away earlier[?] shall be a wealth-finder for you (plural). Then, fathers, you will be together with the immortal ones.

Pāda b of the PS version (JM4 has *savitāẏāyuḥ*) is difficult to make sense of and it is probably just a corruption of what is preserved in the ŚS parallel, i.e. the result of a perseveration from PS 18.4.2d (*asmai vo dhātā savitā suvāti*). In pāda c Bhattacharya (2011: 1394) prints *parāpurī(<rai)tā* (JM4 has *parāpurītā*). I tentatively adopt his suggestion $^{+}$*parāpuraitā*, although the sense and morphology of this word remain vague. There is a good chance that *párāparaitā* as found in the ŚS version is meant here, i.e. a nomen agentis with iterated preverb: 'one who goes repeatedly away' (see Tichy 1995: 79 and 265).

PS 18.80.9		ŚS 18.4.52
evaṁ barhir asado medh¡yo bhavan	12	*édáṁ barhír asado médhyo 'bhūḥ*
prati tvā jānantu pitaraḥ paretam |	12^{T}	*práti tvā jānantu pitáraḥ páretam* |
yathāparu tan$_u$vaṁ saṁ bharasva	11	*⁺yathāparú tanvàṁ sáṁ bharasva*
gātrāṇi te brahmaṇā kalpayāmi ‖	11	*gātrāṇi te bráhmaṇā kalpayāmi* ‖

In this way, you sat down at the barhis, becoming ready to be sacrificed. The fathers shall recognize you, as departed. Gather [your] body joint by joint! I mend your limbs with a sacred formula.

In this stanza, a new body is procured for the dead. The PS version confirms the old emendation *⁺yathāparú* 'joint by joint' for the reading *yathāpurú* shared by all ŚS manuscripts (see Whitney 1905: 885 with Lanman's addendum).

2.8 It is Yama's dungeon

In PS 18.81.2, the text says that certain people 'scattered' or 'heaped up' (√*vap-*) a mansion or **a dungeon** (*harmyá-*) for Yama and the speaker asserts that he now follows this example. PS *⁺vapāmi* is an emendation (= ŚS). Bhattacharya (2011: 1396) prints *vapāpāmi (vapāmi?)*, while JM4 has *vapaṣāmi*.

PS 18.81.2		ŚS 18.4.55
*yathā yamāya **harm¡yam***	8	*yáthā yamā́ya harmyám*
avapan pañca mānavāḥ |	8	*ávapan páñca mānavā́ḥ* |
evā ⁺vapāmi harm¡yaṁ	8	*evā́ vapāmi harmyáṁ*
yathā me bhūrayo 'satha ‖	8	*yáthā me bhū́rayó 'sata* ‖

As the five [clans] of Manu heaped up a **dungeon** for Yama [before], so I heap up a dungeon, so that you (plural) be many for me.

Further evidence of a **fortified house** with good fences can be found in other Vedic texts as well. The hymn RV 10.15 addresses the forefathers (*pitáraḥ*), who have gone to eternal life (1c *ásuṁ yá īyúḥ*). Crucially, two types of forefathers are distinguished. The first mentioned are the ones set down in the *rájas-*. Second come those who are now in *suvr̥jánāsu vikṣú*.

> RV 10.15.2 *idám pitŕbhyo námo astv adyá ' ye pū́rvāso yá úparāsa īyúḥ* | *yé pā́rthive rájasy* ***ā́ níṣattā*** *'* ***ye vā nūnáṁ suvr̥jánāsu vikṣú*** ‖ ~ ŚS 18.1.46 *idáṁ pitŕbhyo námo astv adyá ' yé pū́rvāso yé áparāsa īyúḥ* | *yé pā́rthive rájasy ā́ níṣattā ' yé vā nūnáṁ* ***suvr̥jánāsu dikṣú*** ‖

PS 18.61.6 (= PS 2.30.3) *idaṁ pitr̥bhyo namo astv adya ‘ ye purvāso ye ’parāsaḥ pareyuḥ | ye pārthive rajasy ā* ⁺*niṣattā ‘ ye vā nūnaṁ suvr̥janāsu* ***dikṣu*** ‖ ‘Let this homage be for the fathers today, those who have gone previously, those who have gone later, those who have been seated here in the earthly darkness, or who are now in mounds[?] of good territory.’

The places where the forefathers are buried are described in the PS and ŚS versions using the locative *dikṣú* instead of RV *vikṣú*. PS ⁺*niṣattā* is an emendation for Odisha *niṣaktā*, Kashmir *niṣatā* (see Zehnder 1999: 85). Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1393) translate the RV version as follows: “Let this homage here today be for the forefathers – those who went previously, those who went later, those who are seated here in the earthly realm, or **who are now among the clans of good community**”.

However, the noun phrase *pā́rthive rájasi* may refer to the earthly ‘dust, darkness’, which is one of the meanings of *rájas-* n. (see Mayrhofer 1996: 426). In the context of a funeral, this seems to refer to a grave. The burial is contrasted with *ye vā nūnaṁ* ***suvr̥janāsu dikṣu***. I understand *suvr̥jana-* as ‘of good territory’ in the sense of ‘well-enclosed, well-fenced’ (the etymology points to ‘fence, enclose’, see Mayrhofer 1996: 573). The AV text makes a contrast in line cd between *yé pā́rthive rájasy ā́* ⁺*níṣattā* vs. *yé vā nūnáṁ suvr̥jánāsu dikṣú*, that is, between the ones buried in the *rájas-* and those who were buried, but presumably not *regularly* buried. This contrast is indicated by the particle *vā* ‘or else’. Whereas the RV has *vikṣú*, both AV recensions seem to have *dikṣú*.[10] We can hypothesize that there were two types of burials (i.e. regular burials in the earth and outstanding burials in *suvr̥janāsu dikṣu*) and there were two ways to bury the dead in Rigvedic and Atharvavedic times, or before. Some were put into a grave (after some, but not all, of their body parts were burnt), while the more important people received special treatment (were buried in a grave-mound). Cf. Oberlies (1998: 300 with fn. 727 and §1.6.3.6) on different forms of burial rites practised side by side.

10 In my interpretation, *dikṣú* need not necessarily belong to *díś-* f. ‘direction, region’, but may, alternatively, be interpreted as the locative plural of the otherwise unattested root noun *díh-* f. ‘mound’ (German ‘Aufschüttung, Wall’; from PIE **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘smear, form, build’, see Mayrhofer 1992, 746), similar in meaning to RV 1.51.9d *saṁ-díh-* f. ‘wall’. One expects older *dikṣú* and younger **dhikṣú* (cf. the *sa-*aorist JB 3.121 *adhikṣan*). The noun phrase *suvr̥jánāsu dikṣú* ‘well-territoried *díhas*’ could then, perhaps, refer to such a mound the earth of which is surrounded by good walls and is well-marked-out, i.e. a tumulus grave with its surrounding territory (wall, fence). The RV, as well as Kashmirian PS manuscript (at PS 2.30.3c) and one ŚS manuscript (see Whitney 1905: 826) have *vikṣú* instead of *dikṣú*, which can be understood as ‘among the clans, among the settlements’.

2.9 The fatherly roads are deep

In the next passage, the fathers' roads are described as deep.

PS 18.81.8		ŚS 18.4.62
ā yāta pitaraḥ somi̯yāso	10	*ā́ yāta pitaraḥ somyā́so*
gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pitr̥yāṇaiḥ |	11	*gambhīráiḥ pathíbhiḥ pitr̥yā́ṇaiḥ* |
prajām asmabhyaṁ dadhato rayiṁ ca	11	*ā́yur asmábhyaṁ dádhataḥ prajā́ṁ ca*
dīrghāyutvāya śataśāradāya ‖	11	*rāyáś ca póṣair abhí naḥ sacadhvam* ‖

Come here, fathers, soma-loving ones, by deep fatherly roads, supplying us with progeny and richness, [in order to attain] longevity, a hundred autumns.

This stanza conforms to my hypothesis that the most important dead, before they reach their position in the sky, are locked up in a mound under a sky-stone, with the mound functioning as a well (spring, fountain) that can be milked for the descendants before the man comes out as celestial sons after sixty autumns. Can we find more about the fathers' roads and afterlife? The visions of the Vedic poets include the mythical idea that, like their fathers, they want to become *divás putrā́ḥ* 'sons of heaven':

> RV 4.2.15 *ádhā mātúr uṣásaḥ saptá víprā* ***jā́yemahi prathamā́ vedháso nṝ́n*** | ***divás putrā́ áṅgiraso bhavemā́driṁ rujema*** *dhanínaṁ śucántaḥ* ‖ 'So then, as the seven first poets, trembling [in inspiration], **may we be born** from mother Dawn, **as [to] the ritual-arranging men**. **May we become sons of heaven**, Aṅgirases. **May we break the stone** that holds the prize, as we blaze.' RV 4.2.16 *ádhā* ***yáthā naḥ pitáraḥ párāsaḥ*** *' pratnā́so agna ṛtám āśuṣāṇā́ḥ* | *śúcī́d ayan dī́dhitim ukthaśā́saḥ ' **kṣā́mā bhindánto aruṇī́r ápa vran*** ‖ "Then **like our further forefathers of old**, panting over the truth, o Agni, those reciting solemn speech (now) will come to the blazing (udder of sacrifice [= Vala]), to visionary power. **Splitting (heaven and) earth, they (will) unclose the ruddy (cows [= dawns])"** (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 560).

The relevant parts of RV 4.2.15 and 16 are highlighted here in bold type. It is clear from what is described in the text that the celestial sons are poetically envisioned as the ones who are splitting up (the darkness, *támas-*) into heaven and earth. They strive to break the stone-sky (*ádriṁ rujema*) in order to uncover the lights of the dawns (the daughters of heaven) like the sun-god (*sū́rya-*) regularly does, who is made to dispel the darkness (see e.g. RV 4.13.3ab).

RV 4.2.16a and d: *ádhā yáthā naḥ pitáraḥ . . . kṣā́mā bhindánto aruṇī́r ápa vran* thus reveals that the forefathers are also splitting up the darkness. RV 4.2.15b says that the reciters strive to follow their model by letting themselves be born as (and

to) those men that split up the darkness before. The fathers thus split up the sky as if they were Indra and as if the sky was Vala, thereby opening up the sky for the ruddy ones (= the dawnlights). We can conclude that **the dead person, trapped in the well,** will finally follow their model and do the same thing. The stanza RV 4.2.16 is also found at VSM 19.69 (= VSK 21.1.69) and TS 2.6.12.4, as exact parallels. The AV has the following versions, which I contrast again:

PS 18.70.8		ŚS 18.3.21
adhā yathā naḥ pitaraḥ parāsaḥ	11	*ádhā yáthā naḥ pitáraḥ párāsaḥ*
pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ |	11	*pratnā́so agna ṛtám āśaśānā́ḥ* |
śucīd ayan $^{+}$*dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ*	11	*śúcī́d ayan dī́dhyata ukthaśā́saḥ*
kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīr apa $^{+}$*vran* ‖	11	*kṣā́mā bhindánto aruṇī́r ápa vran* ‖

So then **as our distant fathers**, the ones that were there before, O Agni, who have blown on to here (*ā* + *śvas-*) the cosmic-ritual order, they (shall) go truly gleamingly (viz. as stars in the sky), reciting the vision, **splitting up the two grounds** (= heaven and earth), they (shall) uncover the ruddy ones.

In c, Bhattacharya (2011: 1370) emends the readings Ja *dīdhatim* and Mā *tīdhitam* to $^{+}$*dīdhitim*. In d, he prints *bruvan*, which I emend to $^{+}$*vran* following the ŚS version. Should we, perhaps, also emend ŚS *āśaśānā́ḥ* to *āśuṣāṇāḥ* and *dī́dhyataḥ* to $^{+}$*dīdhitim* (= PS, RV)? Or is there a different meaning in these deviations? I must leave this issue aside here. Jamison (Jamison & Brereton 2014ff. at RV 4.1.13) translates the phrase *ṛtám āśuṣāṇā́ḥ* with "panting over the truth" and suggests that it expresses the energy and effort of the Aṅgirases, but to my mind it can describe the way the ancient visionary poets blew on the cosmic order (like a fire) and thereby established the order of the ritual by their visionary desire and libido, as described in the hymn RV 10.129. I also think that *dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ* can be understood as 'reciting the vision'. For a possible interpretation of the form *ayan* as injunctive see Jamison & Brereton (2014ff. at RV 4.2.16). As I discuss in detail in Pooth (2019), there are stems like *áya-* and *śáya-* that cannot solely be analyzed as subjunctives, but have a status in between subjunctive and present injunctive forms of the first present class. Jamison suggests that we should understand the dual as elliptic: "splitting (heaven and) earth". She also says: ". . . would refer to the visual experience of dawn, when the appearance of the dawn light at the horizon seems to split sky from earth, allowing the light to flood in through the resulting slit" (Jamison & Brereton 2014ff. at RV 4.2.16). In my interpretation, this is what would also be the description of the dead man leaving his grave by the eastern exit, as if going through the slit resulting from the splitting of the darkness into the open space facing the sun, moving like the rising sun. Thus, RV 4.2.15d *kṣā́mā bhindántaḥ* 'splitting (it)

in two earths, splitting the two earths' is referring to the same mythical idea as RV 4.13.3a *támase vipṛ́ce* 'for dividing the darkness'. By splitting the darkness in order to provide the spheres/worlds, like Sūrya, the forefathers thus 'uncover the ruddy ones (sc. the dawns)' (*aruṇī́r ápa vran*). To conclude, the sons of heaven, the forefathers who have become celestial sons, are envisioned as splitting up the earth to uncover (and release) the daughter(s) of heaven, that is, the dawns (as Sūrya regularly does, and as Indra did to the Vala). It follows from this mythical idea that this is the reason why the forefathers are also envisioned as sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns (*ásīnāso aruṣī́nām upásthe*). This is explicitly described at RV 10.15.7:

> RV 10.15.7 ***ásīnāso aruṇī́nām*** *upásthe rayíṁ dhatta dāśúṣe mártyāya | putrébhyaḥ pitaras tásya vásvaḥ prá yachata tá ihórjaṁ dadhāta* ‖ '**Sitting in the lap of the ruddy ones**, grant wealth to the pious mortal! Hand over [some] of that wealth to your sons, fathers, grant [us] power here!'

We can interpret this as follows. The sun is envisioned as growing out of the lap of the dawns and thus the ruddy ones (the ruddy cows) like Agni grows out of the lap of the dawns and out of the lap of his two mothers (i.e. two pieces of fire wood). RV 10.15.11 refers to the forefathers who were burnt (that is, *ágniṣvāttāḥ* 'sweetened by the fire').

> RV 10.15.11 *ágniṣvāttāḥ pitara ehá gachata sádaḥsadaḥ sadata supraṇītayaḥ | attā́ havíṁṣi práyatāni barhíṣy áthā rayíṁ sárvavīraṁ dadhātana* ‖ 'Sweetened by the fire, fathers, come here. Sit in each of your own seats, you of good guidance. Eat the oblations set forth on the ritual grass. Then grant wealth that includes all men!'

According to the context, the (dead) forefathers are sitting (i.e. are buried) on something reddish. Another hypothesis that immediately comes to mind when looking at the archeological evidence is the following. It is at least possible that this mythical idea of sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns is an echo of an old funeral ritual of the past. I suggest that we connect it to the use of something **actually reddish** at the burial performance – not just as a spoken textual metaphor. From the perspective of the archeological evidence, the mythical picture of the dead forefather's sitting on the ruddy ones might be a relic of the strewing of **reddish ochre** within the burial ritual. However, this does not necessarily imply that the ochre was also used later. It is only implied that the picture of the fathers "sitting in the lap of the dawns" might have something to do with this matter on a diachronic mythological and diachronic metaphorical level. According to the metaphorical visions of the Vedic poets described above, this sitting in the womb or lap of the dawns must have enabled the dead forefathers to split up the earth (as the dawns do and as Sūrya does, and as Indra did) to prolong their life to a 'hundred autumns' and to become sons of heaven (*divás putrā́ḥ*). This idea is further strengthened by the fact

that the dawn is named as 'prolonging our life', for example, at RV 7.77.5b: *úṣo devi pratirántī na áyuḥ* 'O Uṣas, O goddess, prolonging our life'. Parallels are 'the Uṣas brings new life' at RV 7.80.2, 'the Uṣas brings sun' at RV 5.80.1, 'the Uṣas lets us see the sunlight' at RV 7.81.4, etc. The strewing of reddish ochre, therefore, might have symbolized the fires of the dawn in prehistoric times, which enable and/or assist the dead person to split up the earth again and go to eternal life. In other words, the strewing of reddish ochre once – not necessarily at the time of the composition of the text (as said), but before that period – symbolized preservation of life or fulfillment, and the fixing, adjustment and repairing of the dead body as a celestial son. Many researchers have similarly emphasized the symbolic meanings of the colour red, as expressed in the context of burial. The use of red ochre in burials has related to the concept of death and to the preservation of the energy of life, providing magical force for the route to the world beyond (see Bower 2003: 277, Vianello 2004). In this context, PS 18.76.3cd is of special interest, not only because pāda c occurs in the PS only, but also because the dead is addressed to step on the surface of the ruddy one. The *bradhnásya viṣṭáp-* must be Agni's surface and at the same time the one of the lights of the dawn.

PS 18.76.3cd
bradhnasya viṣṭapy adhi vi kramasva 11
yatrādityā amṛ̥tam īkṣayanti ‖ 11

Step onto the surface of the ruddy one to where the Ādityas make the immortal see (i.e. see the sun).

2.10 The fathers are coming again in a month

The following stanza is reminiscent of the re-opening of a grave after a month:

PS 18.81.9		ŚS 18.4.63
parā yāta pitaraḥ som¡yāso	11	*párā yāta pitaraḥ somyắso*
gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pitr̥yāṇaiḥ |	11	*gambhīráiḥ pathíbhiḥ pūryắṇaiḥ* |
adhā māsi punar ā yāta no gr̥ham̐	12	*ádhā māsi púnar ấ yāta no gr̥hắn*
havir ⁺attuṁ suprajasaḥ savīrāḥ ‖	11	*havír áttuṁ suprajásaḥ suvī́rāḥ* ‖

Go away, fathers, Soma-loving, by deep roads traveled by [your] fathers! **Then, in a month, come to our house again** in order to consume the libation, with good progeny, all men together!

The house is in the singular in the PS (*gṛham*), whereas the ŚS parallel has the plural *gṛhā́n*. If we assume that a mound is being spoken of here, a fortified house as it were, the singular makes perfect sense. At the beginning of pāda d manuscripts Ja and JM4 have *haviratnaṁ*, whereas Bhattacharya (2011: 1397) edits *havirannaṁ*, apparently following Mā. One might, perhaps, think of a conjecture ⁺*havīratnaṁ* (i.e. *haviḥ-ratna-* in sandhi). However, 'libation-treasure' hardly makes sense, and it is more likely that the PS tradition suffered a corruption of the expression of purpose *áttum* 'in order to eat' that is found in the ŚS version. As Whitney (1905: 889) notes, many ŚS manuscripts also have difficulty over this word, reading *annum*, *atnum*, *antum* and the like instead. It is tempting to understand this stanza as a description of relatives returning to the grave a month after the burial.[11] The next PS stanza describes the fathers as going away again. Pāda d is not found in the ŚS and RV (RV 1.82.2) parallels.

PS 18.81.10		ŚS 18.4.61
akṣann amīmadant$_a$-	7	*ákṣann ámīmadanta hy*
-āva priyā adhūṣata |	8	*áva priyā́ṁ adhūṣata* |
astoṣata svabhānavaḥ	8	*ástoṣata svábhānavo*
pareta pitaro gṛhān ‖	8	*víprā yáviṣṭhā īmahe* ‖

They have eaten, they have exhilarated themselves, they have shaken off their dear ones. The self-radiant ones have been praised. **Go away**, fathers, [back] **to the** (i.e. your) **houses**!

The order of the fathers' movements is PS 18.81.8a *ā yāta pitaraḥ* (= ŚS 18.4.62a), followed by PS 18.81.9a *parā yāta pitaraḥ* (= ŚS 18.4.63a). Thus, they shall come first, then they shall go and come again, and finally they shall return to their houses/homes. This order of the fathers' appearances is thus different from the ŚS text, where they shall only come (ŚS 18.4.62a) and go away (ŚS 18.4.63a). My interpretation of this difference is that the relatives return to the mound after a month in the PS ceremony, described in the PS text by the returning of the fathers after a month. The PS text may thus reveal a reopening of the grave after a month, whereas there

11 Compare in this context the burial practices of the Cemetery H culture, NW India, 1900–1300 BC: "Almost all of the graves *had been re-opened shortly after burial*, as demonstrated by the permanence of some of the weakest skeletal joints in burials that had been re-opened to place pots on the hands and knees of the deceased . . . or to remove and displace, to various degrees, the bones . . . It is now clear that many ceramic assemblages, previously mapped as synchronous deposits, are not necessarily such and probably do not simply reflect the original grave goods, but represent a palimpsest of offerings and removals *as parts of longer funerary cycles*, often including exhumation" (Vidale & Micheli 2017: 396, italics mine).

is nothing analogous in the ŚS text, where the coming and going of the fathers does not describe any returning to the grave. Notably, in the PS stanza following the fathers' part, the limbs that might have been left (forgotten) are made to **enter again**, in contrast to the ŚS text, where the speaker makes them swell (i.e. repairs them) instead:

PS 18.82.1		ŚS 18.4.64
yad vo agnir ajahād ekam aṅgaṁ	11	*yád vo agnír ájahād ékam áṅgaṁ*
pitṛlokaṁ gamayaṁ jātavedāḥ |	11	*pitṛlokáṁ gamáyaṁ jātávedāḥ* |
etad va etat punar ***ā veśayāmi***	12^{T}	*tád va etát púnar* ***á pyāyayāmi***
sāṅgāḥ sarve pitaro mādayadhvam ‖	11	*sāṅgáḥ svargé pitáro mādayadhvam* ‖

The one limb of you that Agni Jātavedas left when making you go to the fathers' world, that same [limb] **I make enter** again for you. Exhilarated yourselves, fathers, all of you, with your limbs intact!

Bhattacharya (2011: 1398) prints **tad* at the beginning of pāda c, adopting the metrically impeccable ŚS variant. However, the manuscripts (Ja, Mā, JM4) read *etad* here. I would argue that the use of different verbs in PS (*ā veśayāmi*) vs. ŚS (*á pyāyayāmi*) is not accidental. When seen from the Kurgan perspective outlined here, the forgotten limb **is made to enter** the mound, whereas it does not enter a mound in the ŚS parallel.

2.11 Cover him, O Earth

Next comes the only stanza of the 13th anuvāka with just three pādas. The earth is now invoked to cover the dead man. The unique three-pāda pattern suggests that this stanza marks a special moment in the funeral ceremony. I think this might be the moment the dead man is locked in.

PS 18.82.2		ŚS 18.4.66
asau hā iha te manaḥ |	8	*+ásau hấ ihá te mánaḥ* |
kaputsalam iva jāmayo	8	*kákutsalam iva jāmáyaḥ*
a'bhy enaṁ ***bhūma ūrṇuhi*** ‖	8	*abhy ènaṁ bhūma ūrṇuhi* ‖

Hey you, the one beyond, your mind is here. Like the siblings [cover] the *kaputsalam*, **cover him, O Earth!**

The emendation to the vocative ŚS $^{+}$*ásau* (for *asáu* of all manuscripts) is already suggested by Sāyaṇa (*pretasya saṁbodhanam*). It could also be understood as placeholder for a name ('O N.N.'; see PS 18.79.3a above). The meanings of the word *kaputsala- ~ kapúcchala-* n. found in the dictionaries are "tuft of hair on the hind part of the head (hanging down like a tail)" and "the fore-part of a sacrificial ladle" (Monier-Williams 1899, 251b). A possible etymological analysis (*ka-púcchala-*) would result in 'awful (or awesome) little tail' (see Mayrhofer 1992: 302). What this means in the present simile and how it relates to *kákutsalam* of the ŚS version is not immediately apparent.[12]

2.12 Be calm, don't be afraid in this cowshed

In the PS version, three stanzas follow which are also found in the Kauśikasūtra with some variations (see Griffiths 2004: 80–81, who provides an edition of PS 18.82.3–5). Here, the dead fathers are addressed again. They are told not to be afraid in this cowshed.

PS 18.82.3 = KauśS 89.12		(ŚS 7.60.1d)
ramadhvaṁ mā $^{+}$bibhītanā-	8	*rámadhvam mā́ bibhīta mát* ‖
-$_{a}$smin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇaḥ |	8	
ūrjaṁ dadhānāḥ sukṛtaḥ śucivratā	12	
gṛhā jīvanta upa vaḥ sadema ‖	11	

Be calm, don't be afraid, full of dung **in this cowshed**. Giving nourishment, well-doers, having pure commandments, . . . (*gṛhā* or *gṛhāḥ*) alive may we reverently approach you.

The form *gṛhā* (i.e. *gṛhā* or *gṛhāḥ*) in pāda d is difficult to interpret in the present context, and, since it is also found in the Kauśikasūtra, it cannot be dismissed easily as a recent error of transmission (cf. e.g. PS 19.52.9c *jyog jīvanta upa tvā sadema*). If it is nominative plural (*gṛhāḥ*), one could refer to RV 10.119.13a: *gṛhó yāmy áraṁkṛtaḥ* "As a household that is properly equipped, I journey . . ." (translation by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1590). Or is it vocative: 'O houses'? Or one might consider

12 If *kaputsalam* refers to the hollow part of a sacrificial spoon, the comparison might run as follows: The waters and the milk (i.e. the siblings) cover the hollow of the spoon like the earth covers the hollow of the burial mound.

that *gṛhá-* is a neuter noun here (see e.g. AVPariś. 55.6.3 *gṛhāṇi*), which would result in 'may we . . . approach your houses'.

In my tentative interpretation, the cowshed might be identified as the mound, whose inside can be truly terrifying, because it is Yama's dungeon.[13] The reciter must thus pacify the relatives going down again by saying: "don't be afraid". Here, the dead is identified as a milch cow again (as at PS 18.79.2 above) that is now in her cowshed (that is, his grave-mound).

2.13 The dead man is like Trita trapped in the well

The fact that stanza RV 1.105.1 serves as the conclusion of the AV funeral hymns is judged by Whitney (1905: 894) to be very obscure. I think that my interpretation can solve this mystery.

PS 18.82.10		ŚS 18.4.89
candramā apsu̯v antar ā	8	*candrámā apsu̯v àntár ā́*
suparṇo dhāvate divi |	8	*suparṇó dhāvate diví* |
na vo hiraṇyanemayaḥ	8	*ná vo hiraṇyanemayaḥ*
padaṁ vindanti vidyuto	8	*padáṁ vindanti vidyuto*
vittaṁ me asya rodasī ‖	8	*vittáṁ me asyá rodasī* ‖

The moon runs among the waters, the eagle [runs] in the sky. Don't they (i.e., the poets) find your track, O golden-rimmed lightning bolts? Be cognizant of this of mine, O world-halves!

According to Sāyaṇa (at RV 1.105.1 and at ŚS 18.4.89), this stanza belongs to the myth of the Ṛṣis Ekata, Dvita and Trita, who found a well (or tank: *kūpa-*).[14] Trita, drawing water, was pushed down by the other two**, and he was trapped in the well**, where he composed a hymn to the gods, and miraculously managed to prepare the sacrificial soma (see RV 9.34.4). In this myth, Trita, when locked in the well, begs aid from the gods. Thus, in this final stanza of PS 18 (and of ŚS 18), we may interpret

13 This view does not necessarily presuppose that *goṣṭhá-* must denote a closed cowshed, but not an open, unroofed pen (as one would normally assume for Vedic times), because the actual form of the cowshed is irrelevant for such a poetic metaphor. The relevant part of the metaphor is that it is the place where the cow or the cows are locked in.

14 For a detailed discussion of this story see Bigger (1994).

the well described in the funeral ritual as having something to do with a person being trapped in a well before he miraculously manages to become a celestial son. When seen from the perspective of a burial mound, described as a well, where the dead person is trapped, there is a straightforward explanation. Thus, in the concluding verse of the funeral chants of the PS, we can finally take the well that is described in the PS text (see §2.4. above) as the depth of the earth, where the dead man is trapped as if he was Trita fallen into the well. I think that this can confirm the idea that the dead person was imprisoned in Yama's dungeon, which was a fortified house and thus a burial mound, as claimed here. In my interpretation, the poet finally proudly states that he is known in both world-halves, earth and sky, for finding the path to the gods for the dead.

3 Conclusions

The presented textual evidence suggests that the 13th anuvāka of PS 18 describes a funeral ceremony with partial cremation preceding the burial of a corpse of a very important man. His body is not completely burnt, rather only parts of it. And finally, he is buried in order to protect him from complete dissolution. We have seen that complete cremation was envisioned as leading to complete dissolution and would prevent the repairing (mending) of the body on its way to becoming a son of the sky. The cumulative evidence can be read as describing this practice embedded in the king's funeral ceremony. If the Paippalādins were royal priests,[15] this important corpse must be the dead king himself (see §2.5. above). I consider it possible that the textual differences between the PS and ŚS versions are partly due to changes or different approaches in the funerary ritual of the two Atharvavedic śākhās, especially when it comes to cremation with or without burial and a final dispersal of the bone-relics. When interpreted from the perspective of these textual differences, the Śaunakins did not participate in the building of a burial mound and the burial ceremony for a dead king, as are the contents of the respective funeral chants of the Paippalādins (in the interpretation given here). Whether the PS passages reflect an ancient tradition is a thrilling question and bears quite important implications.[16] The text may either describe an ancient ceremony that was still being practiced by the Paippalādins – or their text only preserves what

15 See Kulke & Rothermund (2004: 5): "There is much evidence in ancient texts that there were two ideal types of Brahmins in those days, the royal priest or advisor (*rajpurohit*, *rajguru*) and the sage (*rishi*) who lived in the forest and shared his wisdom only with those who asked for it."
16 On early burial sites and *stūpas* cf., e.g., Schopen (1996).

their forefathers once did in the distant past. If it is true that the PS reflects an ancient tradition, the most important forefathers of the Vedic poets and their prehistoric kings were buried in outstanding mounds that were imitations of the universe. However, I must leave the final judgement on these fascinating questions to future research.

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Tiziana Pontillo

What Does the *páñcaudana- ajá-* Represent in the *Śaunakīya-* and *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā*s? A Tentative Reading through the Lens of *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* II 53–54

Abstract: The phrase *páñcaudana- ajá-* mentioned in ŚS IV 14 and IX 5 and PS III 38, VIII 19, XVI 97–100 denotes a billy-goat offered with five portions of mashed rice, in the context of a sacrifice aimed at gaining access to heaven. Nonetheless, several details, such as the syntagms *jyótis tṛtī́ya* in ŚS IX 5.11 and PS XVI 97.8 or *aparimita- yajña-* in ŚS IX 5.22 and PS XVI 99.8, refer to a permanent deathless state, which surpasses the impermanence of the stay in heaven commonly obtained by means of a sacrifice performed with the help of an officiant priest.

On the basis of a lexically grounded comparison with other Vedic sources, I postulate that this billy-goat might have originally represented the psychophysical self with its five sense organs, which has to merge the body entirely made of light, arisen from the sacrifices performed during one's life and stored in heaven, until the death of the sacrificer. In particular, a later, definitely less poetic but more explicit and systematic version of this eschatological theory seems to be taught in JB II 53–54 by the controversial figure of Keśin Dārbhya. It is the doctrine of the so-called "non-decay of what is granted by sacrifices" (*iṣṭapūrtá*), in which the individual faculties, offered during the sacrifice instead of other oblations, can reach the relevant gods (and the relevant divine worlds) and finally be "redeemed", so that the sacrificer is able to permanently enjoy merit in heaven.

0 Premise

The present article is focused on a single phrase selected from a few dozen Atharvaveda verses, but it stems from the more general purpose of testing single passages or whole hymns of this Saṁhitā in order to ascertain whether they could be read as soteriological in intent. Scholars have often preferred to focus on the ritual side of

Note: All translations from Vedic and Sanskrit are the author's, unless explicitly stated. The present work is part of a Cagliari University Research Project REG RASSR15811 "Justifying changes and making the new acceptable from the Antiquity to the Early Modern age" (RAS 2019–2020). I am immensely grateful to Robert Leach for his valuable comments and suggestions on the present work.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-008

most Atharvaveda hymns, e.g. emphasising how "[o]ur general experience with the Atharva Veda leads us to expect in the first instance an exorcistic purpose, a 'blessing' or a 'curse,' in any composition found in it."[1] Even the recent reinterpretation of the late inclusion of the Atharvaveda in the Vedic Canon as a consequence of the complex and successful schedule of Brahmins "reinventing themselves" according to Bronkhorst's hypothesis (2016) relies on the importance of the "magical formulas" collected in this work. In fact these formulas "made it possible for Brahmins to exert their powers even in hostile situations, in circumstances where the support of the ruling classes was not guaranteed or worse" (Bronkhorst 2016: 225). However, as Edgerton already noticed (1920: 118), this attitude among scholars depends on the importance the renowned *Kauśikasūtras* assumed in the later Atharvavedic tradition. Even if the Atharvaveda contains numerous texts dedicated to ritual actions aimed at achieving specific worldly goals, this should not prevent us from appreciating their relevant soteriological contents.[2]

For instance, it is quite possible that the *paryāya-sūkta* ŚS VIII 10 which is explicitly devoted to praising the well-known Vedic metre consisting of four *pāda*s of ten syllables each called *virāj*, actually took the social dimension of the main actors in sacrifices into account. This dimension was considered within a heroic perspective rather than being simply related to this concrete metre and more generally to the actual events on the ritual scene. In fact, *virāj* is also a noun denoting pre-eminence, and often the highest rank for a man (that is for the leader), so that the leader's prestige, more than the homonymous metre, might have actually moved up and down within the sacrificial arena, as Candotti, Neri & Pontillo (2020: 142–143) advanced in their comment on ŚS VIII 10.4.[3]

This is definitely not the first time that the possible importance of soteriological contents of the Atharvaveda in their early conception has been taken into account: already at the beginning of the last century, Paul Deussen (1906: 209)[4] remarked on the need for a monographic study specifically dedicated to Atharvaveda's speculative viewpoints, and Edgerton (1920: 117) maintained: "It is probably true that the Atharvaveda contains more matter which can be called 'philosophic' than any

1 Edgerton 1920: 118.

2 With an intriguing hypothesis, only partly inspired by Gonda (1975: 292), Frank Köhler argues conversely in a forthcoming article that "these speculations should function as a theoretical foundation" for the main contents of the Atharvaveda texts, i.e. the spells. Many thanks to F. Köhler for allowing me to read a preliminary version of this article.

3 *sód akrāmat sá́ dakṣiṇāgnaú ny àkrāmat | yajñárto dakṣiṇī́yo vásateyo bhavati yá evā́ṃ véda |* "She (i.e. the *virā́j*) ascended; she descended into the southern fire: he who is aware of this becomes fit for worship, fit for the *dákṣiṇā*, fit for a secure position.".

4 "Um ihres absonderlichen Charakters willen verdienen sie eine monographische Behandlung."

other Saṁhitā. Certainly it contains a great deal more of such matter than the Rig Veda." We know in fact that, on the one hand, some presumably solemn theological hymns, e.g. "the noble hymn to Varuṇa (IV 16)", turn out instead to be "a witchcraft charm, betraying its final purpose in the gross curse at the end – in *cauda venenum*" (Bloomfield 1899: 87).[5] On the other hand, it is plausible that some hymns considered to be charms might also have been based on some more complex concepts of a soteriological nature which were founded on a sapiential and heroic tradition and overtly explained in other passages in the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā or elsewhere. Shende (1985: 190) also suggested that the Atharvavedic ritual performances had a double purpose, the second of which is indisputably grounded in soteriology: "Not only did the Atharvaṇic priests employ sacrifice for the sake of magic to secure worldly ends, but also they employed it for securing the heaven."[6] A promise of some extremely practical reward, such as wealth and success in daily life, is commonly found at the end of most Atharvaveda hymns, but let us not forget that this reward is exclusively obtained by the 'initiate' who possesses a given knowledge (*yo evaṃ veda*).

Now, one might wonder what the original primary purpose of the Atharvaveda was, i.e. whether the soteriological doctrines derived secondarily from some incidental reflections on concrete ritual details or if conversely this Saṁhitā tradition was only later associated with ritual performances.[7] With regard to the Vaitānasūtras, Edgerton (1929: 157) wrote that "the application of most of Atharvaveda hymns to the Śrauta sphere was entirely a secondary matter". Today, if we accept the very interesting perspective recently outlined by Geslani (2018), namely that the king's legitimisation and the cyclic empowerment ceremonies of his reign are at the core of the Atharvaveda texts, we could still go a step further and assume that the expressly ritual garb in which the Atharvaveda tradition has been handed

5 ŚS IV 16.7: *śaténa páśair abhí dhehi varuṇainaṃ mấ te mocy anṛtavấṅ nṛcakṣaḥ* | *ástāṃ jālmá udáraṃ śraṃśayitvấ kóśa ivābandháḥ parikṛtyámānaḥ* | "With a hundred fetters, O Varuṇa, subdue him, let not the speaker of untruth escape you, o men-watcher! Let the villain sit letting his belly fall [apart], like a hoopless vessel, being cut round about." (tr. Whitney & Lanman 1905 vol. 1: 178, slightly modified: "subdue him" instead of "do thou bridle him"; "you" instead of "thee").

6 This is in line with Bloomfield (1899: 87), who considers that "Every animal offered as *dakṣiṇā* represents both itself and a cosmic power of the first rank: the gift of a goat, *aja* introduces Aja Ekapād with his mystic punning attribute [. . .]."

7 Cf. Edgerton (1920: 122): "But now arises the question, what do we mean by 'secondary' employment? Do we mean that the ritualists have lost the thread of true Atharvan tradition, and use these hymns in a way different from that intended by their Atharvan compilers? [. . .] Even when to our minds a hymn seems to deal purely with 'higher thought', can we be sure that lower or more practical motives were absent from the mind of its original composer, not to speak of him who included it in the Atharvan collection?".

down to us might have been a consequence of a later reworking of the Atharvaveda literature. We could thus restore a position once expressed by Gonda (see in particular 1965: 18) for whom the time when complex Vedic sacrifices were dramatically replaced by simple *dakṣiṇā*s depicted as Savayajñas (i.e. by the performance of mere symbolic offerings of the sacrifice of Soma) only came about during the Kauśikasūtra phase.[8]

Nevertheless we could reinterpret this supposed substitution and simplification of ritual actions not as something that came out of the blue, but rather as a re-emergence from the past of an even earlier tradition, namely that of the *sattra*-culture, as reconstructed by Falk (1985; 1986: 37–40). Among the distinctive features of the *sattra* I especially refer to the lack of separation between the role of officiant and patron in the sacrificial arena and to the consequent absence of a genuine "priestly gift" (*dakṣiṇā*). Indeed Falk points out that the sacrificers present themselves, i.e. their *ātman*, as *dakṣiṇā*, as explained in TS 7,4.9 and KB 15,1.23–26, and argues that a heroic self-immolation might have been part of the early *sattra.*[9] The assumed simplification of the ritual actions as a revival of an ancient tradition probably occurred only after the Atharvaveda branch had acquired an obvious degree of centrality that would previously have been inconceivable in view of the long period it spent in the margins of orthodoxy. Sacrifices in such a simplified context were presumably basic but competitive. What mattered most was their meaning rather than the highly technical performance and hieratic ritualism of the sacrificial actions, found instead in the Yajurveda and the Kalpasūtras. And if this reconstructive hypothesis were correct, then we might also understand why the so-called *dakṣiṇā*- or *sava*-hymns appear to originally be the most "notable *medium*" for what Bloomfield (1899: 86–87) defined as the Atharvaveda's "speculation",[10] precisely because more attention was paid to the meaning of ceremonies than to their technical details. My proposal is that the Atharvavedic ritual perfor-

8 "In the first place the whole procedure is simplified. They can be performed by an average man. Secondly, they are equally effective. They are thus superior to the Vedic sacrifices such as Agnistoma etc. [. . .] styled as '*sava*s' perhaps because they are symbolical of the Soma sacrifice." (Shende 1985: 190). See Gonda (1965: 19) on Atharvavedic sources in general: "It is, if I am not mistaken, sometimes – or, at first sight – very difficult to make out whether the victims or objects regarded as 'victims' mentioned in these rites are primarily presented as 'offerings' or as 'gifts'."

9 As for a study of the Vedic phrase *ātmádakṣiṇam sattrám*, see Pontillo 2023.

10 See also the following statement (Bloomfield 1899: 86): "The presence in the Atharvaveda of a considerable number of cosmogonic-theosophic hymns, marking in a way the extreme distance from the ordinary witchcraft-formula, is not readily explained. The common village-practitioner is not likely to have had much use for them, and even the *puróhita* in his ordinary offices [. . .]. But it would be a mistake to suppose that theosophic speculation is foreign to the Atharvan, and inorganic; or that all hymns of this sort are loosely attached to the main body of its compositions.

mances which are often nothing more than simple offerings in the *Kauśikasūtras*[11] might have been accompanied by reflection on the attainable permanent human immortality that is the core of some Atharvaveda hymns and is found later in Sāmavedic Brahmanas and in early Upaniṣads. Bearing in mind this proposal, the present paper aims to inquire into the nature of the imagery proposed in a couple of alleged offerings that Shende (1985: 194–196) called *ajaudanasava* and *pañcaudanasava* in ŚS IV 14 and in ŚS IX 5 respectively. Indeed the two names could be used at the same time for both hymns. In fact, on the one hand, in ŚS IV 14 the *ajá-* (mentioned 3 times in this hymn) is not generically supplemented by dishes of mashed rice (*odaná-*), but is precisely *páñcaudana-*, i.e. supplemented by five dishes of mashed rice (or by five balls of cooked rice, according to Shende 1985: 194). On the other hand, in ŚS IX 5, where the stem *páñcaudana-* occurs 19 times, the word *ajá-* also occurs 26 times. Thus, the same kind of performance might have been the focus of both these mentioned Śaunakīya-Saṁhitā hymns, several verses of which also match with portions of six Paippalāda-Saṁhitā hymns, namely PS III 38, VIII 19 and XVI 97–100.

The research question of the present work is: are these texts inspired by a first-hand experience of the sacred rather than being mediated by a priest? This question stems from the fact that several details of these passages involving the phrase *páñcaudana- ajá-* refer to access to heaven and in a specific way to a permanent deathless state, which surpasses the impermanence of the stay in heaven commonly obtained by means of a sacrifice performed with the help of an officiant priest.

1 The Ritual Facets of the *páñcaudana- ajá-* in the Two Recensions of the Atharvaveda

If we concentrate on the 53 occurrences of the compound *páñcaudana-*, a term which to the best of my knowledge only occurs in the Atharvaveda, the correspondences between the Śaunakīya and the Paippalāda recensions of this supposedly

On the contrary, there is evidence that theosophic ideas and formulas had to some extent worked their way into the very tissue of its composition."

11 It is noteworthy that the *Kauśika-(Gṛhya-)Sūtra* might be older than both the *Vaitāna-(Śrauta-) Sūtra* and than the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* – see Bloomfield (1899: 102), Patyal (1969: XIV–XX) and the bibliography there quoted.

unique *sava* are represented in Table 1. Occurrences with no correspondences are shown at the end:[12]

Table 1: Occurrences of *pañcaudana-*.

ŚS 26 x	PS 27 x	Syntax
ŚS IV 14.7	PS XVI 98.10	Acc.
ŚS IX 5.8	PS XVI 97.6	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.9	PS XVI 97.10	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.10	PS XVI 98.2	Nom.
ŚS IX 5.11ab	PS XVI 97.8ab	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.12	PS XVI 98.1	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.18		Nom. + *ajá*
ŚS IX 5.21cd	PS XVI 99.8ab	Nom. + *ajá*
ŚS IX 5.22	PS XVI 99.8cd	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.24		Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.25		Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.26		Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.27	PS VIII 19.10	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.28	PS VIII 19.11	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.31 (2x)	PS XVI 100.3	Nom. + *ajáḥ* (and Acc. + *ajáṃ*)
ŚS IX 5.32 (2x)		Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.33 (2x)		Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.34 (2x)		Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.35 (2x)		Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
ŚS IX 5.36 (2x)		Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS VIII 19.1	Nom.
	PS VIII 19.3	Nom. + *ajáḥ*
	PS VIII 19.4, PS III 38.11 (2x)	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS VIII 19.7	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS VIII 19.8	Nom. + *ajáḥ*
	PS VIII 19.9	Nom.
	PS XVI 97.8cd	Nom.
	PS XVI 97.9, 10 (2x)	Nom.
	PS XVI 99.6	Nom. + *ajá*
	PS XVI 99.8 (2x)	Nom. + *ajáḥ* and Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS XVI 99.10	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS XVI 100.2	Acc. + *ajáṃ*
	PS XVI 100.10	Acc. + *ajáṃ*

12 My thanks to Moreno Dore for helping me in preliminarily collecting and comparing these parallels.

In line with the aforementioned simplification, the main ritual action here is also very simple. It is explained in the following verse and a half, which is almost identical in both recensions, where verse ŚS IV 14.6 is a close match for PS III 38.5, and ŚS IV 14.7ab, for PS XVI 98 10ab respectively (Table 2).[13]

Table 2: The main ritual actions.

ŚS IV 14.6		**PS III 38.5**	
ajám anajmi páyasā ghṛténa divyáṃ suparnáṃ payasáṃ bṛhántam | téna geṣma sukṛtásya lokáṃ svàr āróhanto abhí nákam uttamám ‖	With milk, with ghee, I anoint the billy-goat, the heavenly eagle, milky, great. Through it, may we go to the world of merit, ascending to the shining heaven, towards the highest firmament!	*odanam anajmi śavasā ghṛtena divyaṃ samudraṃ payasaṃ bṛhantam ‖ tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṃ saroruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamam ‖* [read: *svar ruhāṇā*]	= I anoint the mashed rice, the divine vessel full of milk, large.
ŚS IV 14.7 ab		**PS XVI 98.10ab**	
páñcaudanaṃ pañcábhir aṅgúlibhir dárvyód dhara pañcadhaitám odanám |	Take up [the billy-goat] with its five portions of mashed rice by means of the five fingers, by means of the ladle that mashed rice in five portions.	*pañcaudanaṃ pañcabhir aṅgulībhir darvyod dhara pañcadhaudanam etam*	=

I have translated the accusative *páñcaudanaṃ* in this passage as a *bahuvrīhi* conveying the sense "endowed with five portions of mashed rice" referring to the *ajá-* mentioned in the previous verse, because of the accent that complies with rule *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 2.1 (the first constituent retains its original accent in the *bahuvrīhi*).[14]

13 Henceforth the underlining serves to highlight the most important differences between the two recensions, compared in two parallel columns. When the PS recension is significantly different, it is also translated in the rightmost column.

14 According to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* II 1.51–52 a *dvigu* can be used when the sense conveyed is that of a *taddhita* affix, of a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*) or of a collective noun (the so-called *samāhāra dvigu*). If it were a singular neuter *samāhāra* (i.e. a neuter singular compound, as is taught *in Aṣṭādhyāyī* II 4.1, 17), conveying the sense of "group of five portions of mashed rice", it should have a final pitch, in accordance with the general rule for compound accentuation *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 1.223 (because the exceptions VI 2.29–31 do not apply to our case), while *páñcaudanaṃ* has the initial vowel pitched (see also Whitney 1899^2: 505, 512). On the other hand, the meaning of a *taddhita*, e.g.

Within a bloodless sacrificial context, this compound might also have conveyed the sense of a substitute for the billy-goat, i.e. "[a billy-goat actually] made of five portions of mashed rice". Nonetheless, here an effective chiasmus seems to be realised by the two instrumental cases (denoting 5 items and 1 item respectively) and the two accusative cases (*vice versa* denoting 1 and 5 items respectively). On the one hand, a single agent of the verb *dhṛ-* "to take up" (*dárvyā* "by means of the ladle") is linked to a fivefold object (i.e. *pañcaitám odanám* "that mashed rice which is divided into five portions"). On the other, five agents (*aṅgúlibhiḥ* "by means of the five fingers") are presumably linked to a single object, i.e. to the billy-goat (mentioned as the *páñcaudana-* [*ajá-*]), and not to the five *odaná*s representing/replacing it.

It is clear that a billy-goat is supposed to be a real offering in this performance, and that this is supplemented in a concrete way by five portions of mashed rice. It is, however, just as clear that the purpose is quite far from the fulfilment of material desires in life, because it is instead inspired by a specific eschatological doctrine, depending on the gained merits. In fact, the sacrificer aims to reach heaven and, according to PS III 38.11, he is confident in the efficacy of this special performance, due to a successful mythic antecedent, when this special cooking of a billy-goat and of five rice-dishes was an action performed by the gods in order to master their worlds:

> *ajaṃ ca pacata pañca caudanān | ajaṃ pañcaudanaṃ paktvā devā lokān sam ānaśuḥ*
>
> Cook (pl.) the billy-goat and five rice-dishes. Having cooked the billy-goat of five rice-dishes, the gods have attained the worlds.[15]

A couple of other ritual details emerge from ŚS IV 14.7cd–9, and from the matching PS XVI 99.1–3, i.e. the specific way of positioning the several limbs of the victim and the care given to preserving its integrity, by enveloping all its parts in its skin (Table 3).[16]

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in the sense explained by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 3.120 (*tasyedam* "this is his/its") could be assumed, because a LUK zero-replacement (i.e. the most generic substitution of an affix with zero, where the zero-replaced affix does not condition any operation on the pre-affixal base) of *taddhita*-affixes is taught for *dvigu* compounds in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 1.88. But once again, a final accent should instead be expected according to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI 1.223. Cf. *pañcakapālá-* "prepared in five vessels" where the taddhita affix *-á* taught by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 2.16 in the sense of *bhakṣa- saṃskṛta- tatra* "food prepared here" is zero-replaced. Furthermore, the compound *páñcaudana-* is used 41 times out of 53 as a qualifier, agreeing 27 times with the accusative *ajám* and 14 with the nominative *ajáḥ*. This stem is used as an isolated noun in only 8 occurrences, in 7 of which it is a nominative masculine singular, which however excludes the *samāhāra dvigu*, which has to be singular neuter.

15 Translation by Lubotsky 2002: 98 n. 23.

16 This second detail also emerges from ŚS IX 5.4 and PS XVI 97.3 (see below).

Table 3: Positioning the limbs of the victim.

ŚS IV 14.7 cd–8		**PS XVI 99.1–2**	
prắcyāṃ diśí śíro ajásya dhehi *dákṣiṇāyāṃ diśí dákṣiṇaṃ* *dhehi pārśvám* || *pratī́cyāṃ diśí bhasádam asya* *dhehy* *úttarasyām diśy úttaraṃ dhehi* *pārśvám* | *ūrdhvā́yāṃ diśy àjásyā́nūkaṃ* *dhehi* *diśí dhruvā́yāṃ dhehi* *pājasyàm antárikṣe* *madhyató mádhyam asya* ||	In the Eastern quarter set the head of the billy goat, in the Southern quarter, its right side! In the Western quarter set its rump, in the Northern quarter, the left side; in the upward quarter set the goat's back-bone; in the stable quarter, set the region of its belly; in the middle part of the intermediate space, its middle part.	*prācyāṃ diśi śiro ajasya dhehi* *dakṣiṇāyāṃ diśi dakṣiṇaṃ dhehi pārśvam* | *pratīcyāṃ diśi bhasadam asya* *udīcyām diśy uttaraṃ dhehi pārśvam* || *ajasyānūkam ūrdhvāyāṃ diśi dhehi diśi* *dhehi pājasyaṃ dhruvāyām* | *antarikṣe madhyato madhyam asya* *padbhiś caturbhiḥ prati tiṣṭha dikṣu*	= = + Stand well-grounded on the quarters by means of your legs!
		PS XVI 98.10cd	
		prācīṃ diśaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ pratīcīm *udīcīṃ dhruvām ūrdhvāṃ diśam* *ā kramasva*	Step towards the Eastern quarter, the Southern, the Western, the Northern, the stable, the upward quarter!
ŚS IV 14.9		**PS XVI 99.3**	
ṛ́tám ajáṃ ṛ́tayā prórṇuhi *tvacā́ sárvair áṅgaiḥ* *sáṃbhṛtaṃ viśvárūpam* | *sá út tiṣṭhetó abhi nā́kam* *uttamā́ṃ padbhíś catúrbhiḥ* *práti tiṣṭha dikṣú* ||	Envelop the boiled goat in its boiled skin, brought together with all its limbs, representing all visible appearances. Rise from here up to the highest firmament: with your four feet stand well-grounded in the quarters!	*ṛ́tam ajaṃ ṛ́tayā prorṇuhi tvacā sarvair* *aṅgaiḥ saṃbhṛtaṃ viśvarūpam* | *sa ut tiṣṭha prehi nākam uttamaṃ padbhiś* *caturbhiḥ prati tiṣṭha dikṣu*	= <from here>

It is also noteworthy that in PS XVI 98.10cd a closely similar group of lexemes conveys a different scenario.

Despite the emphasis placed on the concrete preparation of the billy-goat as a victim, and despite the mention of its four feet, a detail that is certainly more appropriate for a goat than a human being, the overall image in my opinion favours the reading of the sacrificial event described as a prefiguration of the sacrificer's post-mortem destiny. First of all, the imagery of the goat's legs firmly planted in several cardinal points aims at stressing the importance of mastering all the faculties – matching with the cardinal points – on the part of the sacrificer, who has to reach his goal safely.[17] The care taken to avoid losing any part of the goat, i.e. to protect all the limbs of the goat, which is also a common issue, for instance, in the major Soma sacrifices and in the cremation rituals,[18] here plausibly prefigures the sacrificer's final purpose of distributing all his faculties all around and finally redeeming them.[19]

2 Eschatology in the Hymns Where the *páñcaudana- ajá-* is Mentioned

Indeed, if due attention is paid to the specific lexicon employed in these hymns, the ritual framework somehow seems to be downplayed. In fact, it appears to effectively support an eschatological doctrine just as a frame supports the canvas for a painting. According to both ŚS IX 5.8 and its almost matching verse PS XVI 97.6 (Table 4), a movement in five directions is desired for the goat,[20] which neverthe-

17 Gonda (1965: 248–249) notices that "The sure-footed animal was in any case believed to be able to find the passage to the next world" and connects this belief to both the sacrificial horse in ṚVS I 162.2–3 and the dead body in ṚVS X 16.4–7. This role of guide is also attributed to the *śarabha* (which is also a standard for the billy-goat in ŚS IX 5.9), i.e. to the markhor (a large wild goat with very long twisted horns, also called *Capra falconeri*), in TS IV 2.10.4 and VSM XIII 51 – see Slaje 2017: 332–333.

18 See e.g. ṚVS I 162.18–21 and ṚVS X 16.1; 4 respectively. I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for suggesting this comparison.

19 In PS XVI 98.10cd, the imperative form *ā kramasva* "step towards!" and indeed the imperative (*ud dhara*) found in the previous hemistich (PS XVI 98.10cd – see above) have the same addressee, presumably the sacrificer himself, who has to move within the sacrificial arena in all directions. It is tempting to interpret this behaviour as a sort of ritual mimesis of the sun, which sheds light in several directions during the day, since this *sava* is commonly interpreted as aiming at the identification of the sacrificer with the sun and at the sacrificer's securing the world of the light after death (Shende 1985: 194, 196).

20 As for these cosmographical directions mentioned in the Atharvaveda passages devoted to the sacrifice of the billy-goat, see Rossi 2023: 67–72; 80.

less is going to finally reach heaven, by means of paths that once again converge towards that heaven. The final beneficiary of the action performed with the goat is the sacrificer, but such a double level of roles played by the apparent offering and the sacrificer is managed in a different way in the two recensions.

Table 4: The final goal of both god and sacrificer.

ŚS IX 5.8		**PS XVI 97.6**	
páñcaudanaḥ pañcadhā́ ví kramatām ākraṃsyámānas trī́ṇi jyótīṃṣi | *ījānā́nāṃ sukṛ́tāṃ préhi mádhyaṃ tṛtī́ye nā́ke ádhi ví śrayasva* ||	With five portions of mashed rice, let it (i.e. the billy-goat) step out in five directions, about to step up to the three lights, go forward (2nd sg. p.) among the well-doers who performed sacrifices, spread out (2nd sg. p.) upon the third firmament!	*pañcaudanaḥ pañcadhā vi kramasvākraṃsyamānaḥ pañca jyotīṁ̓ṣi* | *ījānānāṃ sukṛtāṃ prehi madhyaṃ jyotiṣmantam abhi lokam jayāsmai*	= step out (2nd sg. p.) in five directions, up to the five lights! = conquer the celestial world for him!

On the basis of the two variant readings ŚS *trī́ṇi jyótīṃṣi* vs. PS *pañca jyotīṁ̓ṣi*, it is important to establish what these lights are, seeing that they are the final goal for both goat and sacrificer. It goes without saying that *pañca jyotīṁ̓ṣi* could be a *lectio facilior* because of the close occurrence of the numeral "five" repeated twice in the same verse, and also because one might casually or mechanically expect that a movement in five directions has to reach five destinations, rather than three.[21] By contrast, the different verbal prefixes *vi-* and *ā-* combined with the same verbal base *kram-* seem to sketch a different trajectory in that space, in my opinion a centrifugal motion and a centripetal one respectively. Consequently, the billy-goat has to finally return to a supreme light, often envisioned as a "third light". But what is more important is that precisely the number "three" associated with bright lights (*jyótis-*) or with the vault of heaven (*náka-*) often recurs in these hymns where the *páñcaudana- ajá-* is mentioned.[22] The relevant passages are collected in Table 5, where the parallels in the two recensions and their differences are highlighted.

21 Nonetheless, in VSM XVII 67, the sky is actually imagined as fivefold.

22 I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for encouraging me to compare this image with that of the famous Ṛgvedic myth of the three steps of Viṣṇu, whose last step leads to the highest heaven. See ṚVS VII 100.3ab: *trír deváḥ pṛthivī́m eṣá etā́ṁ ví cakrame śatárcasam mahitvá́* "Three times the god stepped across this earth with his greatness".

Table 5: Reaching the third firmament.

ŚS IX 5.1		**PS XVI 97.1**	
á nayaitám á rabhasva sukṛ́tāṃ lokám ápi gachatu prajānán | tīrtvā́ támāṃsi bahudhā́ mahā́nty ajó nā́kam á kramatāṃ tṛtī́yam ||	Lead him here! Take hold! Let him go, foreknowing, to the well-doers' world! After crossing the darkness which extends in several directions, let the goat step up to the third firmament!	*ā nayaitam ā rabhasva sukṛtāṃ lokam api gacchatu prajānan |* *tīrtvā tamāṃsi bahudhā vipaśyann ajo nākam ā kramatāṃ tṛtīyam ||*	= After crossing the darkness, let the goat looking in several directions step up to the third firmament! (= **ŚS IX 5.3** cd)
ŚS IX 5.3		**PS XVI 97.2ab**	
prá padó 'va nenigdhi dúścaritaṃ yác cacā́ra śuddhaíḥ śaphaír á kramatāṃ prajānán | tīrtvā́ támāṃsi bahudhā́ vipáśyann ajó nā́kam á kramatāṃ tṛtī́yam ||	Wash his feet of the ill-conduct he had! With cleansed hooves[23] let him step on, foreknowing! After crossing the darkness, let the goat looking in several directions step to the third firmament! (= PS XVI 97.1cd)	*pra pado nenigdhi duścaritaṃ yac cacāra śuddhaiḥ śaphair ā kramatāṃ prajānan |*	=
ŚS IX 5.4		**PS XVI 97.2cd-3**	
ánu cchya śyāména tvácam etā́ṃ viśastar yathāparv àsínā mā́bhí maṃsthāḥ | mā́bhí druhaḥ paruśáḥ kalpayainaṃ tṛtī́ye nā́ke ádhi ví śrayainam	Cut up that skin by means of the dark sword along the joints, o slaughterer, do not be harmful, seek to not injure it, prepare him joint by joint; set him up in the third firmament!	*jyotiṣmantaṃ sukṛtāṃ lokam īpsan tṛtīye nāke adhi vi kramasva || anu chya śyāmena tvacam etāṃ viśastar yathāparv asinā māti maṃsthāḥ | mābhi druhaḥ paruśaḥ kalpayainaṃ sukṛtāṃ madhye adhi vi śrayemam*	Striving to reach the well-doers' world which is full of light, step out up to the third firmament! = in the middle of the well-doers

23 Das (2011: 161 n. 82) underlined the fact that this detail of a billy-goat's hooves, together with the prohibition of splitting its bones or sucking its marrow in ŚS IX 5.23 and the injunction to cook it in ŚS IX 5.37, is evidence that the hymn actually refers to a billy-goat.

ŚS IX 5.6		**PS XVI 97.5**	
út krāmātaḥ pári ced átaptas taptā́c carór ádhi nā́kaṃ tṛtī́yam | *agnér agnír ádhi sáṃ babhūvitha jyótiṣmantam abhí lokám jayaitám*	Step up from here, if you have been completely heated, from the heated pot, on to the third firmament! You, a fire, have come into being out of fire. Conquer the world full of light!	*ut krāmātaḥ pari ced ataptas taptāc caror adhi nākaṃ tṛtīyam* | *agner agnir adhi saṃ babhūvitha jyotiṣmān gaccha sukṛtāṃ yatra lokaḥ* ||	= Full of light, come where the well-doers' world is!
(ŚS IX 5.9cd)		**≈ PS XVI 97.9ab**	
páñcaudano brahmáṇe dīyámānaḥ sá dā́tā́raṃ tṛ́ptyā tarpayāti || (= PS XVI 98.2cd)	He who has been given to the *brahmán* together with five portions of mashed rice, he shall make the giver satisfied with satisfaction.	*pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamāno 'jo nākam ā kramatāṃ tṛtīyam* |	May the billy-goat who has been given to the *brahmán* together with five portions of mashed rice, step towards the third firmament!
ŚS IX 5.10		**PS XVI 98.2**	
ajás trināké tridivé tripṛṣṭhé nā́kasya pṛṣṭhé dadivā́ṃsaṃ dadhāti | *páñcaudano brahmáṇe dīyámāno viśvárūpā dhenúḥ kāmadúghāsy ékā*	The goat sets him who has given on the back of the firmament, which is made of three firmaments, three heavens and three backs. You who have been given to the *brahmán*, together with five portions of mashed rice, you are the sole milch-cow representing all the visible appearances that grants every object of desire.	*ajas trināke tridive tripṛṣṭhe sukṛtāṃ loke dadivāṃsaṃ dadhāti* | *pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamānaḥ sa dātāram tṛptyā tarpayāsi* (= ŚS IX 5.9cd)	= within the well-doers' world, which is . . . Given to the *brahmán* together with five portions of mashed rice you shall make the giver satisfied with satisfaction.
ŚS IX 5.11ab		**PS XVI 97.8a**	
etád vo jyótiḥ pitaras tṛtī́yaṃ páñcaudanaṃ brahmáṇe 'jáṃ dadāti |	O fathers, he gives this third light of yours, a billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice to the *brahmán*.	*etad vo jyotiḥ pitaras tṛtīyaṃ pañcaudanaṃ brahmaṇe 'jaṃ dadāti* |	=

This comparative survey of passages shows that

– the well-doers' world (*sukṛ́tāṃ loká-*) is equivalent to the third firmament *tṛtī́ya- nā́ka-* (ŚS IX 5.1, 6, 11, PS XVI 97.1, 5, 8–9);[24]
– in order to attain such a world, it is mandatory to have previously overcome darkness (*támas-*: ŚS IX 5.1, 3, 7, 11; PS XVI 97.1, 7–9), to cleanse oneself of ill-conduct (*dúścarita-*: ŚS IX 5.3, PS XVI 97.2) and to be complete in all parts (*sárvair áṅgaiḥ*: ŚS IV 14.9, PS XVI 99.3);
– the bright light (*jyótis-*) characterises both this world and the individual who attains it, so that the billy-goat itself is called "third light" (*tṛtī́ya- jyótis-*: ŚS IX 5.11, PS XVI 97.8 – see also ŚS IX 5.7 below);

A well-known occurrence of this collocation *tṛtī́ya- jyótis-* is included in a hymn in the Ṛgveda, which Brereton (2016) has brilliantly explained as a funeral text devoted to a human being, who will enter the gods' world, as a god among gods, after his body has been transformed through fire into light.

> ṚVS X 56.1:
> *idáṃ ta ékam pará ū ta ékaṃ tṛtī́yena jyótiṣā sáṃ viśasva* |
> *saṃvéśane tanvàś cárur edhi priyó devā́nām paramé janítre* ||
>
> Here is one (light) of yours, and far away is another. Merge together with the third light. In the merging of your body (with that light), be the one cherished, beloved of the gods in your distant birthplace (Brereton 2016: 168)

It is precisely with this third light that the body of the deceased should finally merge, after this body has first been the light coming from the funeral fire (i.e. the first light) and then the light which accomplishes the journey from the earth to heaven (i.e. the second light).[25] And what might this third light actually be? I assume that it is constituted by the light which arises from the sacrificial fire, called

24 The reward that comes to the sacrificer is expressed in a comparable form in ŚS IX 5.10ab, ṚVS 1.125.5ab (*nā́kasya pṛṣṭhé ádhi tiṣṭhati śritó yáḥ pṛṇā́ti sá ha devéṣu gachati* "The one who grants, stands fixed on the back of the firmament: indeed he goes among the gods", and in ṚVS IX 113.9abc (*yátrānukāmáṁ cáraṇaṁ trināké tridivé diváḥ loká́ yátra jyótiṣmantas tátra mā́m amṛ́taṁ kṛdhi* "Make me immortal where circulation is at will in the one made of three firmaments, three heavens, where there are worlds endowed with light!"). I owe the first and second parallels cited here respectively to the two anonymous reviewers.

25 Not much information is given about this second light: here it is assumed that it corresponds to the bright path travelled from earth to heaven by the deceased. The path trodden many times in the past by all the offerings made in life by a man and taken to heaven by the god Agni should plausibly be trodden by the man himself after his death.

aja- "goat",[26] when it ascends to heaven, beyond all the darkness, where the gods make it available to the sacrificers when they die. It is a fire, which has come into being out of fire (*agnér agnír ádhi sáṃbhū-*), and which attains the world of merit which is full of light (*jyótiṣmat*) or attains it as a being full of light (see above ŚS IX 5.6, PS XVI 97.5). This third light might match the so-called *iṣṭapūrtám* "something granted by a sacrifice" / *iṣṭáṃ pūrtám* "rewarded sacrifice", i.e., "something which gods guarantee to human beings after death as a result of the sacrifices they performed during their life,"[27] as it is also overtly explained in ŚS IX 5.13:

> *ajó hy àgnér ájaniṣṭa śókād vípro víprasya sáhaso vipaścít* |
> *iṣṭáṃ pūrtám abhípūrtaṃ váṣaṭkṛtaṃ tád devā́ ṛtuśáḥ kalpayantu* ||
>
> The goat indeed was inspired – born from the flame of the inspired, mighty, wise fire;
> let the gods arrange what is sacrificed, granted, fulfilled, accompanied with *vaṣat-* in due order!

It is self-evident that every sacrifice was linked to the successful actions of the sacrificer, inasmuch as it depended on the booty gained during expeditions and so on.[28] Thus, the *iṣṭapūrtá* was accumulated by the sacrificer during his life every time he gained the privilege of patronising a sacrifice, but such a "store or treasure-house of good deeds",[29] i.e. his merit, was made available to him after his death, after the last journey of his sacrificial fire towards heaven was brought about (until the so-called "third light") and after his funeral fire had finished burning. In my opinion, the Atharvavedic *páñcaudana- ajá-* should also be inscribed within the imagery of the *tṛtī́ya- jyótis-* in ṚVS X 56.1, but in a broader – not exclusively funerary – sense. This billy-goat should indeed represent the sacrificer himself, who is reborn from the fire, being a fire coming into being from another fire, in order to generate a third light in heaven. In fact, in all these Atharvavedic hymns related to the *páñcaudana- ajá-*, the thematic role of agent attributed to the billy-goat, which is born from the fire and actively moves in several directions, deviates from its more common role of the offering in the sacrifice, i.e. from its syntactic function of object with respect to the actions performed by the officiant priest in the sacrificial

26 In ŚS IX 5.7a, the billy-goat is explicitly identified with *jyótis: ajó agnír ajám u jyótir āhur* "The billy-goat is *agní*: they call it 'light'."

27 See Pontillo 2019b: 48–50 and bibliography quoted there, in particular Windisch 1888 and Sakamoto-Goto 2000.

28 As regards this, see Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 24–36; 42–60.

29 I am quoting an expression used by Collins (1982: 54) to define the *iṣṭāpūrta.*

arena.[30] Particularly telling is the prevalence of active verbal forms in ŚS IX 5.1/PS XVI 97.1 (*gacchatu, tīrtvā́, ā́ kramatāṃ* – see above) and the emphasised image of the birth of fire, i.e. its coming into being from the sacrificial fire and its movement starting from it, both in ŚS IX 5.6/PS XVI 97.5 (*út krāmātaḥ, sáṃ babhūvitha* – see above), and in Table 6, referring to a mythical past:

Table 6: Attaining a god-like state.

ŚS IV 14.1		**PS III 38 1**
ajó hy àgnér ájaniṣṭa śókāt *só 'paśyaj janitā́ram ágre* | *téna devā́ devátām ágrā āyan* *téna róhān ruruhur médhyāsaḥ* ||	Indeed, the billy-goat has been born from the heat of the fire. It saw in the beginning him who begot himself. Through it in the beginning the gods came to god-like state. Through it, those fit for the sacrifice ascended to the ascents.[31]	= *arohann upa medhīyāṃsaḥ*

As far as the human sacrificer is concerned, only at the end of his life is he supposed to be ready to share a god-like state, after accumulating merit throughout his life, especially through sacrifices, and merit is envisioned as a newly attained body entirely made of light:

> ṚVS X 14.8 (= ŚS XVIII 3.58 = PS XVIII 75.1):
> *sáṃ gachasva pitṛ́bhiḥ sáṃ yaméneṣṭāpūrténa paramé vyòman* \|
> *hitvā́yāvadyám púnar ástam éhi sáṃ gachasva tanvà suvárcāḥ* \|\|
>
> Unite with the forefathers, unite with Yama, with what has been bestowed due to the sacrifice, in the highest distant heaven. Having left behind imperfection, come home again. Unite with your body in your full luster. (tr. Jamison, Brereton 2014: 1392 modified).

The billy-goat arising from the sacrificial fire might have been a fitting image for "the sacrificer's new body" acquired in the highest heaven, within the framework of the idea of a body's recovery after death, as reconstructed by Fujii (2011: 108–109, 2012: 108–113) with the help of ṚVS X 14.8 and some other Ṛgvedic passages (ṚVS X

30 As noted above (§ 1 fn. 14), the stem *páñcaudana-* is more often used as a qualifier agreeing with the accusative *ajám*. See e.g. ŚS IV 14.6: *ajám anajmi páyasā ghṛténa* "With milk, with ghee, I anoint the billy-goat".

31 Gonda (1965: 248) notices that this stanza was used (with slight variation) in MS II 7.17, KS XVI 17, TS IV 2.10, VSM XIII 51, ŚBM VII 5.2.36, which mention the sacrificial action of removing the head of the billy-goat during the ceremonies connected with the so-called great fire-altar.

15.14, 16.5). Indeed, rather than purely being asked "to return to his body"[32] in ṚVS X 14.8 the dead man seems to be invited "to wear a new body", which I assume to be the body of light stored in heaven and recovered after one dies. This image of a garment to be changed is in fact employed in the following verse:

> ŚS XVIII 2.57 (≈ PS XVIII 68.6):
> *etát tvā vā́saḥ prathamáṃ nv ā́gann ápaitád ūha yád ihā́bibhaḥ purā́ |*
> *iṣṭāpūrtám anusáṃkrāma vidvā́n yátra te dattáṃ bahudhā́ víbandhuṣu ||*
>
> This is the garment (i.e. the body) which indeed first came to you; remove the one you were wearing before: reach what is granted by sacrifices (*iṣṭāpūrtá*) by knowing where it was given to you, in many ways, among people having no relations![33]

The permanent nature of such an achievement emerges from ŚS IX 5.20–22 and PS XVI 99.6–8 (Table 7), where the intriguing expression *áparimita- yajna-* seems to hint at endless merit gained by means of such a sacrifice, confirmed by the consistent phrase *aparimitaṃ lokaṃ* denoting the target attained, namely a world to be enjoyed forever.

In the collection of hymns analysed here, the *tṛtī́ya- jyótis-* appears to be the kernel of a specific eschatological doctrine and this image in particular might have been the original insight, which instead seems to become slightly more fuzzy when the passages use the apparently alternative phrase *tṛtī́ya- nā́ka-* "third firmament". The inspiring idea could plausibly have originated from the real experience of watching what happened to the victim or to the body of the deceased man, transformed by fire into light when they were burned in the sacrificial fire or put on the funeral pyre respectively.

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32 See e.g. *Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya* on ṚVS X 14.8, which paraphrases *tanvà* of the phrase *sáṃ gachasva tanvà* with *svaśarireṇa.*

33 Whitney & Lanman 1905 translated *víbandhuṣu* "among them of various connections", but they placed a question mark in brackets next to this noun. The translation proposed here is based on the assumed sacrificer's fear of not being able, after his death, to recognise his individual or familiar merits, as highlighted by Sakamoto Gotō 2000. This risk might have arisen when the sacrificer started depending 'on a number of ritual specialists to perform the sacrifice for his benefit', because indeed he 'realized the results of the sacrifice indirectly' (Tull 1990: 35). In other words, there was the risk that the merits gained by the sacrifice were stored in a wrong place, belonging to people with no relation to him.

Table 7: unlimited sacrifice.

ŚS IX 5.20		**PS XVI 99.6**	
ajó vấ idám agre vy àkramata tásyóra iyám abhavad dyaúḥ prṣṭihám | *antárikṣaṃ mádhyam díśaḥ pārśvé samudraú kukṣí*	The billy-goat, indeed, in the beginning[34] stepped out of this. This [earth] became its breast, the sky its back, the intermediate space its middle, the cardinal points its sides, the two oceans its belly.	*ajaḥ pañcaudano vy akramata* | *tasyora iyam abhavad udaram antarikṣaṃ dyauḥ pṛṣṭhaṃ diśaḥ pārśve*	The billy-goat, with its five portions of mashed rice, stepped out of this. This [earth] became its breast, the intermediate space its womb, the sky its back, the cardinal points its sides.
ŚS IX 5.21		**≈ PS XVI 99.7**	
satyáṃ ca rtáṃ ca cákṣuṣī víśvaṃ satyáṃ śraddhấ prāṇó virấṭ śíraḥ | *eṣá vấ áparimito yajñó yád ajáḥ páñcaudanaḥ* ||	Truth and cosmic order were its eyes, all truth and faith, its breath, the *virấj* its head; this indeed was the unlimited sacrifice, which was the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice.	*ditiś cāditiś ca śṛṅge satyaṃ ca rtaṃ ca cakṣuṣī* | *viśvaṃ rūpaṃ śraddhā prāṇo virāṭ śiraḥ* ||	Diti and Aditi were its horns, truth and cosmic order were its eyes, All visible appearances and faith were its breath, the Virāj its head.

34 In other words, according to Gonda (1965: 248): "'before or beyond phenomenal time', in the mythical past which is the prototype (Urbild) of the reality which is known to us and in which we live".

ŚS IX 5.22		**≈ PS XVI 99.8**	
áparimitam evá yajñám āpnóty áparimitaṃ lokám áva runddhe | yò$_3$ 'jáṃ páñcaudanaṃ dákṣiṇājjyotiṣaṃ[35] *dádāti* ||	Indeed, he who gives the billy-goat with its five portions of mashed rice, whose light is the *dákṣiṇā*, gains an unlimited sacrifice, he takes hold of an unlimited world.	*eṣa vā aparimito yajño yad ajaḥ pañcaudanaḥ | aparimitaṃ lokaṃ jayaty aparimitaṃ lokam ava rundhe ya evaṃ viduṣe 'jaṃ pañcaudanaṃ dadāti* ||	Indeed, since the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice is an unlimited sacrifice, he conquers an unlimited world. He who gives the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice to one who is aware of this takes hold of an unlimited world.

35 In all these Atharvavedic hymns related to the *páñcaudana- ajá-*, there are 9 occurrences of this intriguing compound *dákṣiṇājyotis-* in ŚS IX 5.22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 35, PS VIII 19.11. The compound has been analysed in Candotti, Neri & Pontillo 2021: 49–53, who put forward a new proposal to interpret *dákṣiṇā-* in the earliest Vedic texts and in the Suttapiṭaka as "magnificence". Within the framework of the present proposal to identify the *páñcaudana- ajá-* with the sacrificer, whose merits are accumulated in heaven until the day he dies and wears a new body entirely made of light, this compound *dákṣiṇājyotis-* seems to confirm that such a heavenly "light" is gained by the sacrificer through his actions (sacrificial actions included) thanks to his "magnificence".

3 Solar Imagery in the *páñcaudana- ajá-*

The imagery of the 'dramatic' fiery pillar of fire and flames which arise when milk is added to the heated Gharma-pot during the Pravargya-ritual was already studied in ṚVS I 164 by Houben (2000) as a plausible 'laboratory' (the term is specifically used in Houben 2000: 529) of some speculative reflections on the possibility of humans gaining an immortal state. "In fact the Gharma-milk becomes a sort of inverted lightning, unexpectedly directed at heaven, and represents the initiated man, whose identification with the sun is ritually targeted" (Pontillo 2019a: 256).[36] Such an image is also at the core of an Atharvavedic stanza (Table 8), which according to Selva (2019: 374) "explicitly describes the *vratins'* path of the *gharmasya vrata* as modelled after that of the gods (*devắḥ),* as a spiritual path ("having abandoned the body"), and as aiming at the world of merit (*sukṛtásya lokáṃ*), which is regarded as the abode or the location of immortality [. . .]."

Table 8: The abode of immortality.

ŚS IV 11.6		**PS III 25.6**	
yéna devắḥ svàr āruruhúr hitvắ śárīram amṛtắsya nắbhim | *téna geṣma sukṛtásya lokáṃ gharmásya vraténa tápasā yaśasyávaḥ* ||	May we go to the world of merit, desiring glory, by means of the observance of the *gharmá-*, by means of austerities, by means of which the gods, after quitting the body, ascended to heaven, to the navel of immortality.	= *amṛtasya dhāma* | = *yaśasā tapasyayā* ||	= to the establishment of immortality by means of glory, by means of the practice of austerities

As Lubotsky (2002: 31) pointed out, it is noteworthy that the formula *téna geṣma sukṛtásya lokáṃ*, i.e. the prayer aimed at attaining the world of merit, present in both recensions, is also employed in the very first passage quoted above (ŚS IV 14.6, PS III 38.5 – § 1), where it is just the *páñcaudana- ajá-* which plays the role of the *gharmá* by ensuring ascent to that highest world. Furthermore, our starting quotation already contained a possible poetic hint at the *gharmá* in ŚS IV 14.6, where the billy-goat is depicted by means of words belonging to the Vedic solar imagery, such

36 In Pontillo 2019a, I assumed that ṚVS X 181 might have hinted at the same notion. See in particular ṚVS X 181.3: *tè 'vindan mánasā dī́dhyānā yáju ṣkannám prathamáṃ devayắnam* \| *dhātúr dyútānāt savitúś ca víṣṇor ấ sū́ryād abharan gharmám eté* "By focusing their minds on it, they found the first sprinkled formula which goes to the gods. They brought here the *gharmá-* from Sūrya who is the Founder, the Flashing one, the Vivifier, the All-pervasive one."

as "the heavenly eagle, milky, great" (*ajám* [. . .] *divyáṃ suparnáṃ payasáṃ bṛhántam* [. . .]).[37] Dore (2015a: 57–64, Dore 2015b) has clearly explained the importance of the solar imagery broadly used in Atharvavedic and Ṛgvedic texts (e.g. in ṚVS X 136, ŚS II 1, IV 11, XI 15, XIII 1, XV 1, XV 18) to depict the renowned figures of the *keśín*, *róhita*, *ekavrātyá* and *brahmacārín*, all of whom are connected to a so-called Vrātya cultural matrix and aim at an esoteric knowledge shared by men and gods, who finally enter the sun. We also discover that the final aim in the *páñcaudana- ajá- savá-* is precisely to win the world of the sun in ŚS IX 5.18:

> *ajáḥ pakváḥ svargé loké dadhāti páñcaudano nírṛtiṃ bā́dhamānaḥ* |
> *téna lokā́nt sū́ryavato jayema* ||
>
> The cooked billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice, eliminating corruption, sets [us] in the heavenly world: may we conquer worlds that possess the sun!

Malinar (see e.g. 1996: 335, 2007: 38) taught us long ago that it is difficult to overestimate the importance in Vedic and Sanskrit sources of the recurring emphasis placed on the desired identification with the sun, which is also the final immortal location for the deceased man's body, mentioned in e.g. ṚVS X 14.8 (see above, § 2), when the dead man is invited to unite with it (*sáṃ gachasva tanvà̀ suvárcāḥ* "Unite with your body in your full luster!"). The solar image is crucially used in the soteriological context which Malinar insightfully called the "law of heroism", in which the greatest human achievement, man's immortality, is depicted as a vision of solar light, as demonstrated especially in ŚvU III 8 and BhG VIII 9–10.[38] This solar imagery might date back to several centuries earlier than these sources (Pontillo 2016: 236–238), since ŚvU III 8 exactly matches ṚvKh 4,11.9a:[39]

> *vedāhaṃ etaṃ puruṣaṃ mahantam ādityavarṇaṃ tamasaḥ parastāt*
>
> I know the immense divine *puruṣa* coloured like the Sun, beyond darkness.

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37 See also "the heated pot" (*tápta- carú-*) in ŚS IX 5.6 (§ 2).

38 ŚvU III 8: *vedāhaṃ etaṃ puruṣaṃ mahantam ādityavarṇaṃ tamasaḥ parastāt* "I know the immense divine *puruṣa* coloured like the Sun, beyond darkness;" BhG VIII 9–10: *kaviṃ purāṇam anuśāsitāram* [. . .] *anusmared yaḥ* | *sarvasya dhātaram acintyarūpam ādityavarṇam tamasaḥ parastāt* [. . .] *sa taṃ paraṃ puruṣam upaiti divyam* "The sage and Preceptor primordial, [. . .] creator of all, of form unimaginable, hued like the Sun. At the back of the night – who thus thinks of him [. . .]. Attains to the Person Supreme and Divine." (tr. Van Buitenen 1981: 103). Cf. MuṇḍUp II 2.6; 9; PS V 27.8; TS IV 2.5.2; MS II 7.12; KS XVI 12. See also the relevant comments by Ježić (2009: 243–246).

39 As is well known, the Ṛgveda Khilāni – which are still quoted as a genuine part of the Ṛgveda in the *Anukramaṇī* (5th–3rd BCE) – may date back at least to the age of the Yajurveda Saṃhitā and cannot be later than the Brāhmaṇas (9th–6th BCE) – see Scheftelowitz 1906: 11–16, Sontakke-Kashikar 1933–1951, Vol. 4: 903, Bhise 1995: 8.

The lexicon used in our *páñcaudana- ajá-* collection seems to be close to these solar passages. We have already examined three passages where the theme of the darkness (*támas*) to be crossed is emphasised (see above, *tīrtvā́ támāṃsi* "after crossing the darkness" in ŚS IX 5.1, 3, PS XVI 97.1). Elsewhere (Table 9), instead of the verb *tṝ-* "to cross", the compound verb *apa-han-* "to smite away" is used, as follows:

Table 9: Smiting the darkness away.

ŚS IX 5.7cd = ŚS IX 5.11cd = PS XVI 97.7b		**Cf. PS XVI 97.8cd–9**	
ajás támāṃsy ápa hanti dūrám asmíṃl loké śraddádhānena dattáḥ	The billy-goat given in this world by one who has faith smites the darkness away.	*ajas tamāṃsy apa hanti dūraṃ pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamānaḥ ‖ pañcaudano brahmaṇe dīyamāno 'jo nākam ā kramatāṃ tṛtīyam |vicakramāṇaḥ sukṛtasya loke sa jyotiṣā tamo apa hanti dūram ‖*	The billy-goat with its five portions of mashed rice, when it is given to the *brahmán* smites the darkness away. May the billy-goat who has been given to the *brahmán* together with five portions of mashed rice, step towards the third firmament! Stepping out in the world of merit, he smites the darkness away**.**

The billy-goat sacrificed in the fire with five portions of mashed rice, bursting like the *gharmá* in the Pravargya, allows the sacrificer to attain the third firmament, i.e. it is a path towards the enjoyment of immortality as an effect of ritual merits. And it is tempting to assume that some other sacrificial images like that of the white-footed sheep with its five cakes of flour (*páñcāpūpa- śitipā́d- avi-* ŚS III 29.4)[40] might have been an analogous image of the achievement of a permanent stay in heaven, as the unlimited fruit of sacrifices (and indirectly of actions). This leads one to wonder what specific notion has inspired the imagery of the *páñcaudana- ajá-*, for instance in comparison with the *gharmá* image.

40 *páñcāpūpaṃ śitipā́dam áviṃ lokéna sáṃmitam | pradātópa jīvati pitṝ́ṇā́m loké 'kṣitam |* "The giver subsists on the white-footed sheep with its five cakes of flour, which is commensurate with his world and which does not decay in the world of the ancestors."

4 The Self with Its Five Faculties

The aforementioned journey of a fire born from the sacrificial fire towards the place where merit is stored as light, more than representing a purely spiritual path, seems to be a journey (from the earth upward) accomplished by the body with its five faculties of perception, to attain a deathless state through the sacrificial fire. I believe that such an image sheds light on Keith's (1925: 423) reading of cremation:

> The exact idea connected with the burning seems to have been that the whole self was burned, soul as well as body, in order to convey it, in a refined form but still unaltered in essence, to the regions of heaven.

Thus, from a soteriological perspective, I assume that the billy-goat represents the psychophysical self, endowed with all its faculties, which is burnt to ensure that the sacrificer gains a new permanent self among the gods. This sacrifice might have symbolically represented the ascetic and heroic self-immolation of the sacrificer, which, at least in its prototypical version, is assumed to be a part of the *sattra* (see e.g. Lévi 1898: 133; Tull 1990: 55; Malamoud 2002: 21). Such self-immolation of the sacrificer is an accepted practice in the so-called *sattra*-culture (see above § 0. Premise) and it has plausibly to be read within the framework of a society grounded in the institution of brotherhood such as the *vrātya* society (as suggested by Heestermann 1987: 98), where the *sthapati* as *primus inter pares* plays the role of an ascetic who sacrifices himself by carrying out the observances (*vrata-*) for the whole group (Dore & Pontillo 2016: 12; Pontillo 2023).

This offering of one's psychophysical self instead of any other material oblation could have been considered the best way of fulfilling human desires, among which the greatest was the permanent enjoyment of a new individual entity, exempt from any decay, in the afterlife. The pun built on the homophony between *ajá-* "goat", and *a-já-* "unborn, ever existing"[41] may have suggested this interpretation of the goat's offering as a means of achieving the permanent existence of the self. This self, envisioned as the *ajá-* arisen from the fire, merges with the body gained by the sacrifice by means of merit, which is stored in heaven until the death of the sacrificer. Thus,

41 See Gonda (1965: 65): "I would [. . .] suppose the divinization of the he-goat – whose name may also be understood as the 'unborn one' i.e. 'he who exists from all eternity' – to have been facilitated by the speculations on that divine being whose name, it is true, occurs in the AV (19, 11, 3), but not in the relevant sutras", i.e. *ajá ékapad.*

it is consistent that the following two parallel stanzas (Table 10) insist on the idea of a new *rūpá-*, i.e. of a new visible appearance assumed by one who sacrifices the *páñcaudana- ajá-* and the main action is always conveyed by the verb *sam-gam-* "to come together/to unite". In the Paippalāda version, the word *akṣiti-* "non-decay/imperishableness" clearly confirms that the new individual entity which will be permanently enjoyed in the afterlife will be exempt from any decay.

Table 10: A new visible appearance.

ŚS IX 5.24		**PS XVI 99.10**	
idám idam evā́sya rūpáṃ bhavati ténainaṃ sáṃ gamayati | íṣaṃ máha ū́rjam asmai duhe yò$_3$ 'jáṃ páñcaudanam dákṣiṇājyotiṣaṃ dádāti ||	This and this become its visible appearance; by means of this, one makes it unite. It yields strong greatness and strength to him who gives the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice, whose light is the *dákṣiṇā.*	*idam idam asya rūpaṃ tenainaṃ saṃ gamayati | svadhām ūrjam akṣitiṃ maho asmai duhe ya evaṃ viduṣe 'jaṃ pañcaudanaṃ dadāti* ||	This and this are its visible appearance; by means of this, one makes it unite. It yields inherent power, strength, non-decay, greatness to him who gives the billy-goat with five portions of mashed rice to one who is aware of this.

And how can this access to heaven become a permanent destiny? I shall attempt to answer by means of an intertextual comparison, relying on the lexicon involved here. The non-decay (*akṣiti-*) of what is granted by sacrifices (*iṣṭāpūrta-*) is indeed a crucial notion in a passage from the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* text (Table 11), within the esoteric teaching given by the controversial figure[42] of the Pañcāla king Keśin Dārbhya to a deceased king of the same tribe. According to *Vādhūlasūtra* 37, the need for such a teaching depended on the fact that this deceased king (Yājñasena) was precisely afraid of the expiry of his *iṣṭāpūrta* (*iṣṭāpūrtasya kṣityai bibhayāṃ cakāra*).[43]

42 See e.g. Sarma 1968: 241, Amano 2013: 18, Kulkarni 2016.

43 See also Caland 1928: 149. The same risk is recorded in KB VII 4, where the compound *iṣṭāpūrta-* is replaced by *sakṛd iṣṭa-* literally "once sacrificed" and in AB VII 21, where *kṣiti-* is replaced by *parijyāni-* literally "not falling into decay". The idea of fear appears in KB VII 4, where the golden wild goose declares: *sakṛd ayaje tasya kṣayād bibhemi. sakṛdiṣṭasyāho tvam akṣitiṃ vettha tām tvaṃ mahyam iti* "Once I was a sacrificer: I am afraid of the perishableness of that. You know the imperishableness of that which once has been offered. Oh! May you [explain] this to me!" Lévi (1898: 108) interpreted *sakṛd* as "une fois pour toutes", so that the fear that the fruit of sacrifices might be impermanent might here have been compared with and opposed to the desire that this fruit might instead become permanent.

Now, Caland (1931: XIX) considered the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* to be older than the other available Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa, i.e. the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, on the basis of a collection of generally ignored rites included in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*. The Jaiminīya school is generally considered older than the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyaṇīya Śākhā, due to its accordance with the surviving Nambudiri Ṛgveda and Yajurveda traditions.[44] On the contrary, Keith decided in favour of the anteriority of the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, especially because of linguistic evidence.[45] However, several portions of the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* are often quite conservative in terms of contents. This may be due to its (ritual and narrative) eclectic prolixity, which has evidently led this text to voraciously incorporate ideas borrowed from different schools and thus at least partially retain them.[46] However, more generally speaking, it might overall have been one of the most recently fixed Brāhmaṇa texts, perhaps only earlier than the *Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Bodewitz 1973: 13).

Thus, I shall resort to this late source, in order to try to understand what the five *odana*s might have represented in their association with the billy-goat. In fact, JB II 53–54, where no goat is mentioned, explains how the individual faculties given

44 See Witzel 2016: 69.

45 See Keith 1932a: 700, 1932b: 1049. Renou (1947: 101) endorsed Keith's evaluation. The chronological problem is amplified by the assumed existence of a third Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa, mentioned as *Śāṭyāyanakam brāhmaṇam* or *Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa* or *Śāṭyāyanakam* in several Kalpasūtras or by commentators (see Ghosh 1935: 98–101 fragments 55–66, Parpola 1973: 9–10, Bodewitz 1973: 11–12, Gonda 1975: 349, Witzel 1989: § 5.2).

46 See Keith 1932b: 1048, Renou 1947: 101–102, Gonda 1975: 348, Fujii 2012: 112.

during the sacrifice match the relevant gods and divine worlds and how these can finally be "redeemed".

Table 11: The impershableness of the *iṣṭāpūrta-*.

JB II 53–54	
keśī ha dārbhyo darbhaparṇayor[47] *didīkṣe | atha ha sutvā yājñaseno*[48] *haṃso hiraṇmayo bhūtvā*[49] *yūpa upaviveśa |* [. . .]	Keśin Dārbhya was indeed consecrated on Darbha[-grass] and Parṇa[-leaves]. Then Yājñasena, who had performed Soma sacrifices in the past, assumed the semblance of a golden wild goose, sitting on the sacrificial post. [. . .]
iṣṭāpūrtasya tvam akṣitiṃ vettha | dīkṣām ahaṃ veda saṃprabravāvahā[50] *iti |*[51] [. . .]	You know the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices, I know the consecration. 'Let us explain [these two objects of knowledge] to one another!' [. . .]

47 As noticed by Koskikallio (1991: 314 n. 43), "The correct sitting base should have been a black deerskin (*kṛṣṇājina*)" – see also Caland (1919: 138 n. 6) who refers to ŚBM I 1.4.3. In JB II 100 the story is told of how Pañcāla children mocked Darbha (Śatānīka's son), by addressing him with the words *darbha darbha*, but, in the end, he was actually honoured as a king by all the Pañcālas because he had performed the Apaciti sacrifice. In BŚS XVIII 38–39, after King Keśin Dālbhya's Apaciti sacrifice, the Pañcālas changed the word for grass from *darbha* to *kuśa* and created a new word for hair, namely the plural noun *śīrṣanyāḥ*, which literally means "those on the head" (*śīrṣaṇyā iti keśān ācakṣate*) – for further links between *darbha*-grass and Vrātyas, see Dore & Pontillo 2013. According to Caland (1903: 25) and Witzel (1989: 101 n. 6), the king himself might have consequently been called *Śairṣaṇya Kauśa*. However, Heesterman (1962: 16) has also connected the *vrātya* epithet *keśin* with the name Śirṣaṇya and with the well-known Pañcāla clan name *Śīrṣādi*, which literally means 'whose name begins with [a reference to the] head'.

48 At the beginning of the KB (and of the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*) versions there is no mention of this name: *taṃ ha hiraṇmayaḥ śakuna āpatyovāca* "To him flew up a golden bird and said" (KB 7.4). *sutvan* is here interpreted as a common noun which might qualify Yājñasena as a man who pressed the Soma, i.e. someone who had been a patron of Soma sacrifices in the past, in accordance with A III 2.103, especially because in the VādhS version (fragment 37 Caland 1928: 148) a sort of synonym, i.e. *bahuyājin-* "who performed many sacrifices" also occurs. Nonetheless Caland (1919: 138, 1928: 148) considers *sutvan-* as a proper name and in AB VIII 28 it is actually used for another character.

49 For the hypothesis that "royal and demigodly roles" might have assured a supermundane, Gandharva-like bird state in Vedic and post-Vedic sources, see Koskikallio 1999: 314 n. 44; 352–356.

50 Ehlers (1988: 10) prefers a first dual form instead of a first person plural form on the basis of the following paragraph (JB II 54). The context itself supports this emendation. The plural form is instead given by both Caland (1919: 137) and Vira-Chandra (1954: 178) – the latter with a misprint in the vowel of the verbal base (*saṃprabruvāmahā iti*).

51 In KB VII 5 the two characters are said to "explain together" (*saṃprocate*) and in VādhS XXXVII the reciprocity is underlined by the symmetry of the following two sentences: *tāṃ tvam asmabhyaṃ brūhi, vayaṃ tubhyaṃ vakṣyāma iti bhagava iti*, "May you explain this to us (i.e. the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices) and we shall explain [the sacrificer's consecration (Dīkṣā)] to you."

Table 11 (continued)

JB II 53–54	
atha hetara uvāca[52] | *brahmane dadad*[53] *brūyād brahman manas te dadāni tad anena niṣkrīṇāni brahmann idam dadānīti yad dāsyan syāt*[54] | *sa yan mano dadāti candramā vai manaś candramasam evāsmai tad dadāti* | *tad yāvac candramā na kṣīyate tāvad asya tad dattaṃ na kṣīyate* | *hotre dadad brūyāt dhotar vācaṃ te dadāni tām anena niṣkrīṇāni hotar idam dadānīti yad dāsyan syāt* | *sa yad vācaṃ dadāty agnir vai vāg agnim evāsmai tad dadāti* | *tad yāvad agnir na kṣīyate tāvad asya tad dattaṃ na kṣīyate* | *adhvaryave* [. . .] *prāṇaṃ* [. . .] *vāyur vai prāṇo* [. . .]| *udgātre* [. . .] *cakṣus* [. . .] *ādityo vai cakṣur* [. . .] | *sadasyāya* [. . .] *ātmānaṃ* [. . .] *ākāśo vā ātmā* [. . .]| *hotrakebhyo* [. . .] *śrotram* [. . .] *diśo vai śrotram* [. . .]|	54. Then the other one (Keśin) replied: "When giving to the *brahmán*, one should say: 'O *brahmán*, may I give you my faculty of thinking! Let me redeem this by means of that (i.e. a gift)! O *brahmán*, let me give you this!' i.e. that which he is going to give him.' Since he gives him his faculty of thinking – indeed the faculty of thinking is the moon – this gives the moon to him. As long as the moon is not consumed, that which he has given is not consumed. When giving to the *hotṛ*, one should say: 'O *hotṛ*, may I give you my faculty of speaking! Let me redeem this by means of that! O *hotṛ*, let me give you this!' i.e. that which he is going to give to him. Since he gives him his faculty of speaking – indeed the faculty of speaking is the fire – this indeed gives him the fire. As long as the fire is not consumed, that which belongs to him and has been given is not consumed. [. . .] to the *adhvaryu*, [. . .] my breath! [. . .] indeed breath is the wind [. . .]. [. . .] to the *udgātṛ*, [. . .] my faculty of seeing! [. . .] indeed the faculty of seeing is the sun [. . .].
prasarpakebhyo [. . .] *lomāni* [. . .] *oṣadhivanaspatyo vai lomāni* [. . .]|[55] *saiṣeṣṭāpūrtasyākṣitiḥ* | [. . .]	[. . .] to the s*adasya*, [. . .] my *ātman*! [. . .] indeed *ātman* is the ether [. . .]. [. . .] to the *hotraka*s, [. . .] my faculty of hearing! [. . .] indeed hearing is the cardinal points [. . .]. [. . .] to the *prasarpaka*s, [. . .] my hair! [. . .] indeed hair is plants and trees [. . .]. This is the imperishableness of what is granted by sacrifices. [. . .]

52 Caland (1919: 138) translates this sentence as "Darauf der andere:" and puts the name "Sutvan" in brackets, but – in agreement with Kulkarni (2016: 76) – I consider that this passage openly focuses on the concept conveyed by the verb *kṣi-* "to perish" just as the term *akṣiti-* is used to define the special object of Keśin's knowledge.

53 Caland (1919: 138) interprets this verb as meaning "to give a Dakṣiṇā"

54 As pointed out by Caland (1919: 138 n. 5), this passage corresponds to ĀpŚS XIII 6.4–6. See also AB VII 21.

55 The majority of individual faculties and body parts which are mentioned in this section match those found at the beginning of this work (JB I 1). Five elements, namely the sacrificer's breath and

Only the words conveying the elements that change have been quoted from this lengthy formularised passage, which is entirely devoted to perfectly parallel explanations of how one can achieve this non-decay (*akṣiti-*) of merit by giving a specific officiant all of one's faculties in order to be compensated with the gift of some permanent elements of nature, namely fire, wind, sun, ether, cardinal points, plants and trees. To sum up, this giving of individual faculties and body parts that allows one to gain a new impermanent body brings to mind a comparison between the sacrificial way to gain access to heaven and the ascetic way, perhaps also symbolically represented by the two interlocutors who are two kings from two subsequent generations of leaders of the same tribe, one named after the sacrifice itself (*yājñasena-* and perhaps *sutvan-*) and the other for whom the *vrātya* epithet *keśin* is used. The explanation Keśin Dārbhya gives of this sort of "self-offering" pattern of sacrifice is, however, consistent with the common logic of the sacrificial arena including all the officiating priests and the patron of the sacrifice, and in particular a specific priest as a single recipient of each given faculty. Of course, the mere sacrificial mechanism is replaced by the ascetic effort to offer and then redeem oneself at the end of one's life by attaining a permanent divine state through the merits gained by means of sacrifices.

Hence, it is not unreasonable to wonder whether an ancient doctrine aimed at achieving a deathless state with a permanent body is perhaps kept alive in late Vedic passages, and indeed better explained there than in earlier sources. Thus, the *páñcaudana- ajá-* might also have been a poetic hinting at such an early eschatological belief, aimed at envisioning the (ascetic) offering of oneself with one's own five faculties of perception which are supposed to be given back to the respective worlds and then redeemed by means of the sacrifice itself, so that all of the merit can be redeemed.

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his faculties of thinking, seeing, hearing and speaking "form the object of the rite" instead of "some external gods" in the Agnihotra "viewed as an *ātmayajña*" (the bracketed words are borrowed from Bodewitz 1973: 19). The purpose is to create a new immortal body (JB I 2): [. . .] *so 'ta āhutimayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaś | śrotramayo vāṅmaya ṛṅmayo yajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo | hiraṇyamayo 'mṛtas saṃbhavati | amṛtā haivāsya prāṇā bhavanti | amṛtaśarīram idaṃ kurute* [. . .] "He (arises) from this (fire) and becomes immortal in the form of an oblation, mind, breath, sight, hearing, speech, ṛc, yajus sāman, brahman and gold. His lifebreaths become immortal. He makes for himself an immortal body here" (tr. Bodewitz 1973: 20). The same five elements are used by Keśin's interlocutor in the KB VII 4 version of the Kaiśinī Dīkṣā and they are all singled out as the *dīkṣita*'s gods.

5 Conclusions

Bearing in mind the contents of the above-quoted *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* passage, the following quotation might hint at a comparable mechanism of giving and redeeming all one's own faculties, like Keśin Dārbhya's teaching. It comes just before one of the clearest stanzas explaining the billy-goat's twofold motion outwards and inwards (quoted above, ŚS IX 5.20, PS XVI 99.6).

> ŚS IX 5.19 = PS XVI 99.5:
> *yáṃ brāhmaṇé nidadhé yáṃ ca vikṣú yá́ viprúṣa odanā́nām ajásya* |
> *sárvaṃ tád agne sukṛ́tasya loké jānītā́n naḥ saṃgámane pathīnā́m* ||
>
> That which he puts before the *brahmán* and among people, the drops scattered, belong to the rice-portions, to the goat: all that of ours, O Agni, you later know in the world of merit, at the meeting of the ways.

The billy-goat comes from and comes back to the *saṃgámana*, i.e. from the meeting point of the several ways (note the recurring verbal base *sam-gam-* e.g. above ṚVS X 14.8 = ŚS XVIII 3.58 = PS XVIII 75.1; ŚS IX 5.24 = PS XVI 99.10). A sort of circularity of the way trodden by the self is depicted especially in the incipit of hymn IV 14, where it is explained that the billy-goat saw the one who begot himself.

Furthermore, the two emphasised ritual details (see above, § 1), i.e. the specific way of positioning the several limbs of the victim and the attention paid to preserving its integrity, also gain a different meaning that is not purely ritualistic in that they do not merely comply with the rules of orthopraxy peculiar to a sacrificial arena dominated by the technical competence of the officiant. In the background emerges the aim to safeguard all the limbs to be redeemed as parts of a new permanent body. As Tull has noticed (1990: 25), the "idea that the rebirth process entails the individual's integration into the constituents of the cosmos" also emerges in ṚVS X 16.3ab (*sū́ryam cákṣur gachatu vā́tam ātmā dyā́ṃ ca gacha pṛthivī́ṃ ca dhármaṇā* "Let the eye go to the sun, the breath to the wind, go to the sky and to the earth in due order!"), as the reversal of the myth of the origin of the whole cosmos from the limbs of the primeval anthropomorphic being (ṚVS X 90). The "correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities" is also taken for granted in some renowned Upaniṣadic reflections on man's destiny after death that are outside the Brahmanical cultural mainstream, such as the eschatological questions Ārtabhāga asks to Yājñavalkya in BĀU III 3.13.[56] This is a concept linked to

56 [. . .] *yátrāsya púruṣasya mṛtásyāgníṃ vā́g apyéti vā́taṃ prāṇáś cákṣur ādityáṃ mánaś candráṃ díśaḥ śrótraṃ* [. . .] *kvā́yáṃ tadā́ púruṣo bhavatī́ti* "[. . .] When a man has died, and his speech disappears into fire, his breath into the wind, his sight into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters [. . .] what then happens to that person?" (Olivelle 1998: 81).

that of the "deceased's new body after death" and to the "making of the self (*ātman*) in the rituals", dating back to the same sources and to ŚS XIX 43, along with some other later sources, as indicated by Fujii (2012: 108–110). Even the *brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ* in AB VIII 28 and the *daivaḥ parimaraḥ* in KU II 12–14, which explain "the dying around of the powers", i.e. the cyclical death and rebirth of the faculties of perception (often called *deva*s), might have been inspired by the same belief, as a counterpart of the cycle of cosmic powers i.e. of the deities, in accordance with Bodewitz's interpretation (2002: 38 n. 129).

The accumulation of numerical equivalences on the basis of the number "five" especially proposed in the final part of ŚS IX 5, i.e. the mention of five plus one seasons (vv. 31–36), five golden discs (*páñca rukmā́*), five new garments (*páñca návāni vástrā*), five milch-cows (*páñca* [. . .] *dhenávaḥ*) in vv. 25–26, contribute to making it difficult to grasp the assumed reference to the five organs of sense (plus one, i.e. *manas*), unless one makes use of a lexically grounded intertextual comparison, as I have attempted to do here.[57] Nonetheless, the consistency of the quest for the permanent enjoyment of a new body made of light in all the *páñcaudana-ajá-* passages and the opposition between the centrifugal and centripetal motion of fire/billy-goat, which steps out from heaven and then steps back into it again in the same stanzas, call for cautious analysis, before uncritically accepting that the analysed hymns are mere *savá* hymns, paving the way for an easy sacrificial offering. It is rather important to emphasise that the permanent stay in heaven described in these texts is different from that described in more brahmanically oriented texts, because the role played by officiating priests is marginal and more attention is paid to the meaning of rituals than to their technical details. The *páñcaudana- ajá-* imagery might thus have conveyed a noteworthy step in the history of reflections on the afterlife, perhaps destined to remain forever at the periphery of Brahmanical doctrines, like the majority of the Atharvavedic and Upaniṣadic theoretical issues.

57 The reference to the remarried woman in ŚS IX 5.27 and the list of relatives in ŚS IX 5.30 could also be puzzling at first glance, but they are indeed consistent with the reflection on what the sacrificer keeps after death and with the collective clan-based dimension of merit.

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BĀU *Bṛhadāraṇyaka–Upaniṣad* (1958). *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣad* edited and translated by V.P. Limaye & R.K. Vadekar. Vol. 1, Poona: Vaidika Samshodana Mandala.

BhG *The Bhagavadgītā* (1945). *The Bhagavadgītā* Being reprint of relevant parts of Bhīṣmaparvan from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's edition of the Mahābhārata, for the first time critically edited by S. K. Belvalkar. Poona: Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute.

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KU *Kauṣītaki–Upaniṣad* (1958). See BĀU.

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MuṇḍU *Muṇḍaka–Upaniṣad* (1958). See BĀU.

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ṚvKh *Ṛgveda-Khilāni* (1906). *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda: Khilāni* critically edited by J. Scheftelowitz, *Indische Forschungen* 1, 1–191.

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Robert Leach

Some Remarks on Apsarases, Dogs and Gandharvas

Abstract: In the following, I explore several possible meanings of the epithet *śvànvant-*, attributed to the Apsarases in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās but not found outside these texts. While it is extremely difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions, I highlight the fact that this epithet only occurs in passages where the Apsarases are depicted as being threatening and harmful. With this in mind, I suggest that the 'dogs' (*śván-*) that accompany the Apsarases are most likely a metaphorical reference to either death or the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of the latter metaphor, I propose, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology.

1 Introduction

The word *śvànvant-*, attested only in the feminine (*śvànvatī-*) plural, is an epithet attributed to Apsarases in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās but found nowhere else in Vedic or indeed in later Sanskrit literature.[1] There is no unanimous agreement as to the meaning of the term. In the *Petersburger Wörterbuch* (PW VII), Böhtlingk and Roth (1875: 411) settle for the non-committal "Bein[ame]. einer Klasse von Apsaras". Elsewhere, Henry (1896: 128) renders *śvànvatīr apsarásaḥ* at Śaunaka-Saṁhitā (ŚS) 11.9.15a as "[l]es Apsaras déguisées en chiennes"; Griffith (1896: 86) translates the same pāda as "Apsarases with dog-like mates", providing the gloss "wedded to Gandharvas who are described as hairy like dogs and monkeys",[2] and *śatáṁ śaśvanvátīnām*[3] at ŚS 19.36.6c as "[a] hundred of dog-mated nymphs" (Griffith 1896: 294); for Bloomfield (1897: 125), it is the Apsarases rather than their mates that are

1 On the unexpected svarita accent on the first vowel, Whitney and Lanman (1905: 653) write: "The accent of *çvànvatīs* seems certainly wrong, but it is read by all the mss., and avouched by the commentary to Prāt. [= ŚS-Prātiśākhya] iii.73." On the latter, see Deshpande (1997: 446).

2 Griffith cites ŚS 4.37.11 in support of this interpretation, on which more below.

3 This can now be emended, following PS 2.27.6c, to *śatáṁ śvanvátīnām* (Zehnder 1999: 81–82; Griffiths 2009: 385).

Note: I am very grateful to Thomas Zehnder and Oliver Hellwig for their comments on an earlier draft of this article, and for much else besides, and to Angelika Malinar and Paul Widmer, the directors of our wonderful project.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-009

"dog-like"; Whitney and Lanman (1905: 653) opt for "[d]og-accompanied",[4] and this has been since taken up by Renou (1965: 30 "accompagnées de chiens"), Zysk (1996: 112 "accompanied by dogs"), Zehnder (1999: 81–82 "von Hunden begleiteten"), and Griffiths (2009: 383–396 "dog-accompanied"). Spiers (2020: 304–305) also takes the "dérivé d'appartenance" *śvāvanta-* m., occurring only at Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS) 3.17.2d, as "proche des [Apsaras] accompagnées de chiens"/"a relative of the dog-accompanied [Apsaras]"), while allowing that it could alternatively mean "apparenté à ceux qui se comportent en chiens".

It should be noted at the outset that of the two interpretations of the adjectival *-vant-* suffix summarised above, namely the possessive ('dog-accompanied' etc.) and the comparative ('dog-like' etc.), possessive *-vant-* occurs far more commonly in Vedic, and the validity of the comparative in cases such as *śvànvant-* has several times been called into question.[5] Indeed, the scarcity of comparative *-vant-* in old Vedic, other than when attached as a suffix to pronominal stems, alone tips the balance in favour of the possessive allomorph *-vant-* in this instance. As will be proposed in the following, the same conclusion is also suggested from a semantic point of view. Although Apsarases are commonly likened to various animals,[6] and indeed possess a shape-shifting ability to embody multiple animal forms,[7] they are, with one possible exception,[8] nowhere likened to dogs, whereas cogent arguments can be made for their being accompanied by them.

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4 As Griffiths (2009: 385) notes, this is "perhaps influenced by Sāyaṇa's gloss *śunā krīḍārthena sārameyeṇa sahitāḥ*". At ŚS 19.36.6c, Whitney and Lanman (1905: 956) revert to "doglike ones" (see next note).

5 See especially Debrunner (1954: 876 §706a) who, citing Whitney and Lanman's (1905: 956) translation of ŚS 19.36.6c *śvanvátīnām* as "doglike ones", asserts that *-vant-* with comparative value is, other than when attached to pronominal stems, "nicht gesichert". Zysk (1996: 112) responds to the same translation with the curt dismissal "quite wrong". See also Barth (2018: 24) on comparative, or in her words "pronominal 'equative'" *-vant-*: "Adnominals of this type and with this meaning are exclusively built to pronominal stems". Cf. Bender (1910: 69–70): "In a number of the *vant* possessives (less than 1%) the suffix expresses resemblance or similarity . . . Most of these words, especially those in use in the earlier language, are formed from pronominal stems". Note here Pinault's (1985: 349–350) point that the possessive suffix *-vant-* and the comparative suffix *-vant-* are "deux suffixes, qui n'ont pas la même histoire" (p. 350).

6 See especially RV 10.95, wherein Apsarases are likened to, for instance, a startled gazelle (8c *tarásantī ná bhujyúḥ*: on *tras* see Mayrhofer 1992: 678; on *bhujyú-* 'gazelle' see Geldner 1951: 301 and Mayrhofer 1996: 265), to mares (8d *nā́śvāḥ*; see Knobl 2009: 198 [60]), and to ducks (9c *ātáyo ná*). Apsarases also appear as ducks (*ātí-*) in the other classic Vedic account of the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī (ŚBM 11.5.1.4).

7 On Apsarases as shape-shifters, see e.g. RV 10.95.16a; ŚBM 11.5.1.4; Rām 4.65.8; KūP 1.22.36.

8 See PS 15.19.8a. This pāda is edited by Bhattacharya (1997: 830) as *yā antarikṣa īrayanti*. However, Lelli (2020: 208) proposes that we adopt the reading of the Kashmirian manuscript (*yā an-*

While the basic meaning of the nominal stem *śván-* 'dog(s)' has not led to such disagreements as have been elicited by the suffix, it gives rise in turn to a new set of questions, and principal among these are those which motivate this article, namely: what exactly is meant by 'dog(s)' in the word *śvànvatī-*, and what do Apsarases have to do with dogs? Before proceeding to address these questions, I first list the six verses in the Atharvaveda wherein the word *śvànvant-* (Ś) occurs:

Ś1. *yā adharād ācaranti jihmā mukhā karikratīḥ* |
āhatā apa tā ito naśyantv ataḥ śvanvatīḥ[9] || PS 1.29.2

Those who approach from the south, constantly contorting their faces, [let] them [go away] from here, beaten. Let those dog-accompanied ones disappear from here (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024)

Ś2. *śataṁ jahy apsarasāṁ śataṁ śvanvatīnām* |
gandharvapatnīnāṁ śatasyendro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 1.89.2

Slay a hundred Apsarases, a hundred of the dog-accompanied ones. Indra shall cut off the head of a hundred wives of the Gandharvas (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024)

Ś3. *śatam ahaṁ durṇāmnīnāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁ śatam* |
śataṁ śvanvatīnāṁ śatavāreṇa vāraye || PS 2.27.6 (~ ŚS 19.36.6)

A hundred of those with an evil name, a hundred Gandharvas and Apsarases, a hundred of the dog-accompanied ones I repel with the Śatavāra [amulet] (translation by Zehnder et al. 2024, comment on PS 1.89.2ab)

Ś4. *yāsām ārād āghoṣāmo vātasyeva pṛthag yataḥ* |
tāsāṁ śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 7.13.1

Of whom we hear [the noises] from afar, as of the wind going in various directions: of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head (translation by Griffiths 2009: 383)

Ś5. *yā gachanti janaṁjanam ichantīḥ prayutaṁ bahu* |
tāsaṁ śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chiraḥ || PS 7.13.14

Those who go from man to man, easily seeking out the unsuspecting person: of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head (translation by Griffiths 2009: 396)

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tarikṣe rayanti) and emend (following Barret 1930: 67) to *yā antarikṣe* **rāyanti* 'Those (Apsarases) who bark in the intermediate space' (pāda b reads *vātena raṣmaṇā saha* 'together with wind and storm'). I do not read too much into this single pāda, at least insofar as the meaning of *śvànvant-* is concerned – both the "animal nature" (Knobl 2009: 197 [59]) and the general noisiness of Apsarases are common tropes in the Atharvaveda (see Griffiths 2009: 384–385; Lelli 2020: 209), and indeed they are described as 'like snorting cows' (PS 15.19.10b *aghnyāḥ śvasatīr iva*) just two stanzas later.

9 Pāda d *ataḥ śvanvatīḥ* is a reconstruction from Orissa *ataścinvatīḥ* and Kashmir *atassutanvati* (see Zehnder et al. 2024).

Ś6. *śvànvatīr apsaráso rúpakā utárbude* |
antaḥpātré rérihatīṁ riśáṁ durṇihitaiṣíṇīm |
sárvās tấ arbude tvám amítrebhyo dṛśé kuru . . . || ŚS 11.9.15

The dog-accompanied Apsarases and the phantoms, o Arbudi, the *riśấ*, constantly licking the inside of the vessel, seeking out what is badly stored, all those, o Arbudi, make appear to [our] enemies . . . (translation by Griffiths 2009: 385)

In addition to these six occurrences of the adjective *śvànvant-*, we also encounter the aforementioned single attestation of the vṛddhi derivative *śvāvanta-*:

Ś7. *tasyāṁ vedādhi bheṣajaṁ daśaśīrṣo daśajihvaḥ* |
yas te prathama ādade śaṁ śvāvanta oṣadhe yam adād vīrayug bhiṣak || PS 3.17.2

The ten-headed, ten-tongued one knows the medicine on this [earth], the one who first took the health in you, O herb, which he gave [to the patient], the doctor, companion of heroes, a relative of the dog-accompanied [Apsaras] (translation by Spiers 2020: 304)

2 Does 'Dog' Mean Dog?

There are several exocentric compounds in Vedic which contain the word *śván-* 'dog' as their first member. Examples include *śvaghnín-* m., which designates the winner in a game of dice, and which Falk (1986: 100–101) derives from the reconstructed nomen agentis **śvaghná-* 'dog-killer', thus meaning literally 'one who has the dog-killer [on his side]';[10] *śvápad-* m. 'wild animal' (literally 'having feet like those of a dog, dog-footed'), its vṛddhi derivative *śvấpada-* m./n., which according to Selva (2021: 143–144) underwent a semantic development from "ravenous (like a wild animal)" (in nominal use > "the ravenous one") to, in the language of Atharvavedic "*yajus*-style prose", "carrion-eating", from which comes that word's deadjectival substantive *śvấpada-* m./n. "scavenger"; and *śvāvídh-* m. 'porcupine' (literally 'dog-piercer'). The addition of the derivational suffix *-vant-* to the stem *śván-* is not an instance of compound formation,[11] but it is nonetheless worth asking in this case too: even if the *śván-* in *śvànvant-* retains the sense of 'dog(s)', are dog(s) also its referent?

10 Falk (1986: 101) argues as follows: "Der 'Hundetöter' **śvaghná-* muß jene Gottheit sein, die für das Gewinnergebnis *kṛtá* zuständig ist".

11 Griffiths (2009: 385) states that the word *śvanvatī-* (*śvànvant-*) is "to be compared formally with *śvanín-* 'dog-leader (in a hunt)' (found in two parallel mantras i.a. at TS 4.5.4.2, TB 3.4.3.1, VSM 16.27 and 30.7)". However, this meaning for *śvanín-* presumably follows Renou (1952: 166 §216), who marks the term as "glissement pour **śvanī́* . . . 'qui conduit des chiens'" (cf. Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930: 278–279 §146c), rather than understanding the word as *śván-* + possessive suffix

If the *-vant-* suffix were comparative, it is difficult to see how *śván-* could refer to anything other than 'dog'. If we take the more promising course and interpret *-vant-* as possessive, *śván-* is more likely to denote plural 'dogs',[12] but beyond this there are a range of possible interpretations. In what follows I distinguish between three of these. Firstly, the word *śván-* could refer simply to dogs, and so we will need to explore why Apsarases might be accompanied by these animals. Secondly, it may refer to dogs the depiction of which alongside the Apsarases is conveyed solely in order to highlight one or other aspect of the latter's character. In other words, the dogs' presence may be justified purely by their symbolic value, and so we will need to establish what this value could be in relation to the Apsarases. And thirdly, *śván-* may refer to an entity or entities other than dogs which are called dogs metaphorically. We might differentiate these three alternative readings in the following manner:

– 'dogs' as dogs (as dogs)
– 'dogs' as dogs (as symbols)
– 'dogs' as symbols

In what follows, I analyse each of these possible interpretations in turn, before going on to explore whether 'dogs' could refer, metaphorically, to the Gandharvas. One way of making sense of such a metaphor, I contend, is to view the figure of the Gandharva alongside related figures from other branches of Indo-European mythology, such as the Centaur and the werewolf. I take up the subject of the relatedness of these figures, and their shared association with dogs, in section §6.

3 'Dogs' as Dogs (as Dogs)

Why should Apsarases be accompanied by actual dogs? It is instructive here to turn our attention to the mountainous regions of the Central and Western Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. Several of the traditional cultures in these regions worship, or interact otherwise, with fairy-like supernatural beings, some of which display marked similarities (including an association with dancing and with sexual promiscuity, an ability to shape-shift, and a disposition that veers between benevolent and malign) with the Vedic Apsaras. In a jointly-authored article on "Fairy lore in

-ín-. The determinative compound *śvanī́-* (with final long *ī* replaced by short *i*, see Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930: 187 §96a) would not be comparable formally with *śvànvant-*.

12 See Debrunner (1954: 872 §704 b) *α*)): "Die häufigste Bedeutung ist 'mit dem betr. Nominalbegriff versehen' und zwar meist 'reichlich versehen', so daß der zugrunde liegende Nominalbegriff in der Mehrzahl zu denken ist".

the high mountains of South Asia", Zoller (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 88–89) reports on several of these "fairy-related traditions" and the supernatural beings at the centre of them. Among these beings are the Garhwali *ēṛi* (Airi) 'hunter',[13] a term that refers to both i.) a male forest deity who roams through the air at night accompanied by fairies (*pari*; cf. Avestan *pairikā-*, Persian *parī*, *peri* etc.) and dogs; and ii.) a troupe of female spirits or fairies ("huntresses"), also called *vanadeviyāṁ* 'forest goddesses'. Zoller's description of the male deity paraphrases the account given in Edwin Atkinson's *The Himalayan Gazetteer* (1981 [first published 1882]: 825), which is worth quoting in the original:

> He remains concealed during the day, but at night comes forth from the hills and forests and wanders about accompanied by the fairies (*pari*) who join him in dance and song. Their feet are turned backwards, not forwards like those of men. During his rambles, Airi is accompanied by his jhámpánis or litter bearers Sau and Bau[14] and a pack of hunting dogs with bells around their necks. Whoever hears the dogs bark is certain to meet with some calamity . . . Those who see Airi face to face die of fright at his awful appearance or are burnt up by a flash of his eye, or are torn to pieces by his dogs, or have their livers extracted and eaten by the fairies who accompany him.

The troupe of female spirits or fairies that Zoller also classifies as *ēṛi* are actually, according to his own account, more commonly referred to by the compound *ēṛi-ācharī*. The word *ācharī-* derives from OIA *apsarás-* (see Turner 1966: 23), and the Central Himalayan Ācharī as described by Zoller and others has much in common with the Vedic Apsaras: mention may be made here of their extraordinary beauty (Oakley 1905: 212; Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 98, 137), their sexual voraciousness and predilection for young men (ibid.: 94, 135, 138), their association with water, trees and the rays of the sun (ibid.: 98, 149 fn. 202), their proclivity for dancing (ibid.: 136), and their generally frightening and threatening nature (Traill 1851: 66; Oakley 1905: 212–213).

Many of these characteristics are also shared by fairy-like beings in other regions of the Central and Western Himalaya and the Hindu Kush. Principal among these we can list the Bangani[15] Mãtri alongside the fairies (*pari*, *bari*, *barai*) of

13 Garhwali *ēṛi* derives from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) *ākhēṭa-* 'hunting', *ākhēṭika-* 'huntsman, hunting dog' (on which, see Turner 1966: 47).

14 Elsewhere, Zoller (2017: 86 fn. 205) suggests that *sau* "may derive < OIA *śauva* 'a multitude or pack of dogs, relating or belonging to dogs, doggish, canine' (from *śvan* 'dog') or < etymologically related *śvaka* 'wolf' . . . and 'Bau' may derive < OIA (lex.) *bhavana* 'dog'."

15 Bangan is a hilly area in Uttarkashi district in northern Uttarakhand.

Nuristan and so-called Dardistan, including the Kalash Súči.[16] The Bangani Mãtris, which have also been studied by Zoller, present an especially striking case. They live in trees, are fond of dancing, are playful and promiscuous (according to some, they are the "*devadāsī*s of the gods"),[17] and they can be seen moving around with black dogs (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 98–99). According to Zoller (ibid.: 99 fn. 62), the fact "[t]hat fairies in Bangan and Garhwal can be accompanied by dogs . . . verifies the huntress nature of fairies in the Central Himalayas." This is corroborated by the Ācharīs, who are said to hunt at dawn or at midday (ibid.: 136), and by the fairy-like beings called *bharāṛī-*, who are also accompanied by dogs (ibid.: 148, 156). These beings hunt humans, mostly young men and women (ibid.: 138, 147), and according to Zoller it is this that distinguishes fairies in the Central Himalayan region from those further to the west in Nuristan and Dardistan (ibid.: 99 fn. 62). Although the Súčis, for instance, are intimately linked with human hunters, whom they assist and, according to some accounts, enjoy sexual relations with (Frembgen 1992: 609), they are depicted as herders rather than hunters,[18] and as fundamentally pure and benevolent rather than malicious (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 94; see also Robertson 1896: 413, and Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1989: 319).

Zoller (Bhatt, Wessler and Zoller 2014: 80) includes all of these so-called "fairy cults" within the Indo-European "nymph" traditions identified by West (2007: 284) as sharing "the belief in a breed of supernatural females who haunt the lonelier parts of the land, especially the waters, the trees, and the mountains." Within this broader compass, we encounter other fairy- or nymph-like beings that are accompanied by dogs – one thinks of the nymphs and dogs that escort Artemis,[19] or of the Welsh fairies Gwragedd Annwn together with the spectral hounds called *cŵn Annwn* (see e.g. Owen 1896: 134; Briggs 1978: 39). In each of these cases, the presence of dogs is indicative of hunting,[20] whether the prey be woodland animals (in

16 Witzel (2004: 605) likens the mountain-dwelling Súčis and their male companions – Kalasha *varōti*, Kalaṣa-alā (Waigali) *wötri* (Sanskrit *vātaputrī-*) – to the Apsarases and Gandharvas. Note that Śucikā is given as the name of an Apsaras in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 1.114.51a).

17 Cf. the characterisation of the Apsarases as *suragaṇikāḥ* 'the courtesans of the gods' in Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* (see footnote 31 below).

18 However, see Degener (2001) on the key role of the (Kalaṣa-alā) female Sučis and male Sučas in the Nuristani hunt, and on these fairies keeping 'dogs' (actually a bear and a leopard) according to a local story which Degener recounts (p. 332).

19 See especially the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 5.117–121 (see Rayor 2014: 79) and Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* 13–17 (Stephens 2015: 109, 117). Note also that Hecate, closely linked with Artemis – and witchcraft – from an early period (see e.g. Burkert 1985: 171; Ogden 2021: 36–38), is also accompanied by dogs.

20 Degener (2001: 331) claims as follows: "Hunters, the men who roam the mountains and forests and stay there alone, sometimes without meeting other human beings for several days, are – in

the case of Artemis and her entourage) or humans (as with the Himalayan and Welsh fairies).[21]

Apsarases are also associated with "the lonelier parts of the land", especially with the waters[22] and with trees.[23] As Parpola (1983: 55) has noted, they are also connected with the "northern mountains" in Sanskrit epic literature.[24] With the foregoing in mind, if we are to interpret *śvànvant-* at face value it seems promising to pursue the hypothesis that the Apsarases are accompanied by dogs in the Atharvaveda because they are, or because they were in some distant time, like their Himalayan cousins such as the Mã̃tris and the Bharāṛīs, linked to hunting, or were themselves hunters. However, although Apsarases are quite often depicted in the Atharvaveda as fierce and as threatening to humans,[25] and indeed are closely associated with forests,[26] there is not, to my knowledge, any clear textual evidence in Vedic literature to support the hypothesis that Apsarases were, in any specific sense, hunters. While this lack of textual corroboration does not, to my mind, rule out this reading of *śvànvant-*, it does leave it unsupported, and so we must move on.

4 'Dogs' as Dogs (as Symbols)

It may be that dogs accompany Apsarases in order to exert their symbolic rather than their practical value, in which case we need to determine what themes or functions dogs represented in ancient India, and which of these might also be pertinent to the Apsarases. Our task is made easier by the existence of several excellent modern studies that to a greater or lesser degree deal with the role and symbolism of the dog in early South Asia. Principal among these, Sontheimer (1984), Falk (1986) and Bollée (2006) may be cited. The themes which emerge from these studies which seem most conducive to the present concerns are two: sex and death.

Nuristan as elsewhere – most likely to experience manifestations of the supernatural world."

21 The cŵn Annwn are associated with the Wild Hunt, especially under the leadership of Gwyn ap Nudd.

22 See e.g. RV 9.78.3a; ŚS 2.2.3cd ~ PS 1.7.3cd; PS 1.29.3a; PS 7.13.11ab, 12ab & 13ab (= PS 15.19.9ab, 10ab & 11ab); PS 15.18.6b.

23 See e.g. PS 1.29.3b; ŚS 4.37.4 ~ PS 12.7.7; ŚS 14.2.9cd ~ PS 18.7.10cd.

24 See e.g. MBh 3.155.83a, MBh 6.17.16, MBh 12.319.20.

25 See, most pertinently, the stanzas containing the word *śvànvant-* listed above, as well as the sūkta ŚS 4.37 ~ PS 12.7, and e.g. ŚS 8.5.13 ~ PS 16.28.3.

26 See especially PS 1.29.3a, where certain Apsarases are identified as *yā vanyā* "who belong to the forests" (Zehnder et al. 2024). See also ŚS 4.37.4 ~ PS 12.7.7; ŚS 11.9.24 ~ PS 16.30.4–5; ŚS 14.2.9cd ~ PS 18.7.10cd.

4.1 Sex

It is hardly novel to point out that Apsarases are closely associated with sex. This connection is established already in the Rigveda, for instance when Purūravas fondly recalls the times when his lover, the Apsaras Urvaśī, was 'pierced by my rod day and night' (*dívā náktaṁ śnathitā́ vaitaséna*).[27] In the Atharvaveda, sex with Apsarases is promised as a reward for those who cook the Viṣṭārin rice gruel (on which, see Griffiths 2009: 230–231): PS 6.22.13ab *svarge loke apsarasa enaṁ*[28] *jāyā bhūtvopa śerate* 'as wives the Apsarases lie beside him in the celestial world.'[29] Apsarases are also linked to sex elsewhere in the Veda,[30] and in later literature they are depicted as granting sexual rewards to slain warriors, whom they also escort, like the Norse Valkyries, from the battlefield to heaven.[31] In the Sanskrit epics especially, Apsarases are noted for their sexual prowess and their "legendary promiscuity" (Oberlies 2012). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 3.33.16c), for instance, describes them as *krīḍāratividhijñā-* "skilled in the sports of lovemaking" (translation by Pollock in Goldman and Sutherland Goldman 2021: 302),[32] and as *sādhāraṇā-* (Rām 1.44.20d), which means common to or belonging to or shared by *all*. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Apsarases Menakā (MBh 1.68.75) and Pañcacūḍā (MBh 13.38.2d) are both called *puṁścalī-* 'whore, slut'. The literary trope of sages being distracted from

27 RV 10.95.4cd. In the following stanza (RV 10.95.5), Urvaśi remembers being 'pierced' by Purūravas' 'rod' three times a day, even when she was 'not seeking' it (*ávyatyai*), and acknowledges that Purūravas was then 'a hero, the king of my body' (5d *rā́jā me vīra tanvàs*).

28 I take the liberty of rejecting Griffiths' (2009: 244–245) emendation to accusative plural **enāñ* 'them', against the unanimous reading of the manuscripts, on the basis of the points made by Thomas Zehnder in his article in the present volume (see his notes on # (39) R740).

29 On this Paippalāda stanza see Griffiths (2009: 244–245), who draws attention earlier (pp. 233–234) to PS 16.96.1, which also appears to offer sex with Apsarases as a reward. The keyword in this second instance is the rare term *stráiṇa-*, on which Griffiths (2009: 234) writes "[i]n all Atharvavedic attestations, *stráiṇa-* 'women-stuff' may be taken as referring to sex with women", glossing the latter word with "Apsarases".

30 See e.g. JB 3.76; JUB 3.25.6–8; PB 12.11.10.

31 See especially Hara (2001) who cites, among other works, the *Mahābhārata*, Bhāsa's *Ūrubhaṅga*, and Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*. In this latter Mahākāvya, the Apsarases are called *suragaṇikāḥ* 'the courtesans of the gods'. I give here the translation of *Śiśupālavadha* 17.34 by Dundas (2017: 581): "When heaven's courtesans heard the thunder of the battle drums, they yearned to possess the warriors slain in combat, putting on long-unused finery suitable for a first passionate encounter." In an endnote, Dundas (ibid.: 753 n. 9) points to verse 15.87 from the same work, which he translates as follows (ibid.: 517): "Another woman jealously addressed her husband, who was eager for battle: 'You cheat! You just want to spend an eternity making love with apsarases in heaven. That's why you are so pleased to be off!'".

32 Cf. MBh 14.43.15cd, where it is said that among amorous women, Apsarases are foremost (*ratīnāṁ vasumatyas tu strīṇām apsarasas tathā*).

their ascetic practices by the sexual allure of Apsarases is already well established in these works.[33]

In one of his studies of the dog-accompanied hunter deity Mallāri, commonly known as Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra (the state where his worship is most prevalent today), Sontheimer (1984: 166) remarks that "[t]he dog is often a metaphor for sexuality and sexual licentiousness". In his more general study of the dog in ancient India, Bollée (2006: 85) concurs: "the dog is often a metaphor for 'shameless' sexuality". The analogy is not unfamiliar to speakers of modern European languages, wherein insults to women such as *bitch* and *chienne*, and expressions such as *avoir du chien*, abound.[34] Sontheimer (1984: 165–166) notes that "on special occasions" the devotees of Mallāri imitate dogs, behaviour which he likens to that practised by the Vedic Vrātyas, the Pāśupatas, and the ancient Greek Cynics (< Greek κυνικός 'dog-like'). In connection to the latter school of thought, Sontheimer refers to the Greek concept of 'shamelessness' (ἀναίδεια), a central pillar in the Cynics' rejection of the conventional mores (αἰδώς) of their day, and key to Diogenes' reappropriation of the intended insult κύων 'dog' (see e.g. Long 1996: 35). The link between dogs and 'shamelessness' in ancient Greece is worth mentioning here in light of Wackernagel's (1916: 160) proposal that *apsarás-* be analysed as privative *a-* + **psáras-*, a reconstructed Indo-Iranian word cognate with Avestan *fšarəma-* 'shame', *apsarás-* thus meaning 'without shame, shameless'.[35] Although not all scholars have found this proposal persuasive (e.g. Mayrhofer 1992: 89 "Nicht überzeugend gedeutet"), it has garnered some support (most notably Oberlies 1998: 228–229; see also Wright 1967: 534). As Wackernagel himself points out, the Apsaras Menakā is explicitly described as 'shameless' (*nirapatrapā*) in the *Mahābhārata*.[36]

Much of this is suggestive, and it may even be tempting to consider interpreting *śvànvant-* as sharing similar semantic scope with French *avoir du chien*, but this

33 The tale of the sage Viśvāmitra being distracted by the Apsaras Menakā is one of the better-known stories (see e.g. MBh 1.66.1–7 and Rām 1.62.4–8) but there are plenty of other examples (e.g. the sage Dadhīca being distracted by the Apsaras Alambusā at MBh 9.50.5–9).

34 While in modern English the insult *bitch* has come to primarily denote a nasty or malicious woman, its original power as an insult derives from its meaning "(originally) a lewd or lascivious woman" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition) whose behaviour is thought to resemble that of a bitch on heat. This original sense accounts, in turn, for the power of the insult *son of a bitch*, equivalent to French *fils de pute*, Spanish *hijo de puta* etc. French *chienne* retains a stronger sense of 'promiscuous woman' than does modern English *bitch*. The expression *avoir du chien*, applied to a woman, denotes something akin to 'sex appeal' (perhaps comparable to modern English *fox*), and has quite a distinct history.

35 Wackernagel (1916: 160) asks: "Sind die Apsarasen, weil verführerisch und sich frei hingebend, als die des Schamgefühls entbehrenden bezeichnet?".

36 See the star passage MBh 1.8.7b*0225_01.

reading, or indeed any reading of our epithet which foregrounds the Apsarases' sexuality, must remain highly speculative, not least because the evidence connecting dogs with sex in Vedic literature is in fact substantially weaker than might be hoped for.

4.2 Death

The Atharvaveda, more than any other text, focuses on the malevolent, hostile nature of Apsarases.[37] In the sūktas containing the first two instances of *śvànvant-* listed above (Ś1. & Ś2.), they are associated with the deadly disease called *yákṣma-* (probably tuberculosis, see Zysk 1996: 12–17). Elsewhere, it is revealed that they kill humans directly (e.g. ŚS 8.5.13a ~ PS 16.28.3a; PS 7.11.3), and as Griffiths (2009: 383) has observed, there are "thematic and verbatim correspondences" in the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā between Apsarases and female demonic beings such as the Sadānvās and the Kaṇvās. Together with the Gandharvas, they are also listed alongside demonic beings such as the Arāyas, the Kimīdins, the Piśācas and the Rakṣases (ŚS 12.1.50 ~ PS 17.5.8). In Ś1. listed above, dog-accompanied Apsarases are said to approach from the south, or from below (*adhara-*), a direction which represents the realm of Yama and the dead ancestors (*piṭ́-*).[38] Apsarases are also linked to Yama elsewhere in the Atharvaveda (e.g. PS 5.17.8; PS 17.24.10), while the Rigveda contains a fairly clear hint that an Apsaras (referred to merely as *ápyā . . . yóṣā*) is, along with 'the Gandharva in the waters', a near ancestor (possibly the mother?) of Yama and his twin sister Yamī.[39] In every stanza listed above wherein the epithet *śvànvant-* occurs, Apsarases are depicted as threatening. Might the dogs that accompany them be an external representation of this threat?

There is certainly ample testimony in Vedic literature that dogs are associated with death. This association is established already in the Rigveda (RV 10.14.10–12), when 'the two dogs of Saramā's breed' (*sārameyáu śvā́nau*, 10a), later called Śabala and Śyāma (see e.g. ŚS 8.1.9a ~ PS 16.1.9a), are introduced as the guardians (*rakṣitṛ́-*, 11a) and messengers (*dūtá-*, 12b) of Yama, king of the realm of the dead.[40] Falk (1986: 109) and Bollée (2006: 80) adduce further passages from (post-Rigvedic)

37 Indeed, these facets of their character are often not mentioned at all in other texts.

38 See Zehnder et al. (2024) on PS 1.59.5c and PS 1.104.1b.

39 RV 10.10.4c: *gandharvó apsv ápyā ca yóṣā . . .* Jamison and Brereton (2014: 1382) translate: "The Gandharva in the waters and the watery maiden". Cf. RV 10.95.10b, where Purūravas calls the Apsaras Urvaśī 'the watery one' (*ápyā*).

40 Bloomfield (1893: 169) calls Yama's dogs "destructive agents of death". As the guardians of Yama's realm, they correspond to Cerberus.

Vedic literature wherein dogs clearly represent death, and indeed this association is not limited to South Asian literary sources but is found across multiple Indo-European traditions.[41] This widespread link between dogs and death is undoubtedly complex in origin and nature, but a striking and persistent concern in ancient Indian literature, as for instance in ancient Greek literature and European Renaissance painting,[42] is of dogs as scavengers (thus *śvápada-*, see §2 above) and, in particular, as eaters of human corpses. We encounter representations of this theme in the *Mahābhārata* in particular,[43] but also in the *Atharvaveda*.[44] If murderous Apsarases leave human corpses in their wake, it would make good sense for dogs to accompany them.

In sum, even if we disregard the immediate contexts of the six occurrences of the epithet *śvànvant-* listed above, in the Vedic setting death in the shape of dogs appears to have greater symbolic currency than does sex.

5 'Dogs' as Symbols

As alluded to above (§2), it is not uncommon in Vedic literature for the word *śván-* 'dog' to be attributed to beings or entities other than dogs. In a somewhat speculative discussion on canine terminology in the ancient Indian dice game, Falk (1986: 108–111) suggests that the losing result, called *káli-*, where a single Vibhīdaka nut (*ákṣa-*) is left over, was also understood as the 'dog' (hence the term *śvaghnín-*, see §2 above). This persuades Griffiths (2009: 383) that the dog-accompanied Apsarases in PS 7.13 (see stanzas Ś4. and Ś5. listed above) are "probably those Apsarases which were thought to be involved in a bad outcome of the dice-game". Although Apsarases are certainly associated with the game of dice,[45] and although an indirect connection with dice might be apposite here (see §6.2 below), I do not find this proposal persuasive, at least when framed in this way. Not only would it counter the norm for possessive *-vant-* (i.e. that the nominal stem is understood as a plural, see footnote 12), it would also not conform to the way in which Apsarases' involvement with the game of dice is represented elsewhere in the Atharvaveda. Apsarases are described as *akṣákāma-* 'fond of dice' (ŚS 2.2.5b ~ PS 1.7.5b). In a

41 See especially Schlerath (1954), Kershaw (2000: 428–430), and Anthony and Brown (2017: 146).

42 See especially e.g. Homer *Iliad* (1.4–5; 22.335–354 etc.); and Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *The Triumph of Death* (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

43 See e.g. MBh 3.255.31; MBh 5.139.51; MBh 11.16.29; MBh 12.159.59.

44 See ŚS 11.2.2 ~ PS 16.104.2; ŚS 11.2.11 ~ PS 16.105.1; ŚS 11.10.23.

45 See especially Lüders (1940 [first published 1907]: 111–112) and Falk (1986: 116, 175–180).

Śaunaka sūkta (ŚS 4.38) that is used by the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS 41.13) for success in the dice game (Whitney and Lanman 1905: 214), the Apsaras is invoked for victory and is characterised as *sādhudevín-* 'playing successfully' (1b, 2b), as 'delighting in dice' (4a *akṣéṣu pramódante*), and as able to ensure the winning result (*kṛtá-*) in the *gláha-* 'grip, portion (of Vibhīdaka nuts grabbed by each player)' (1c). The ability of Apsarases to determine the outcome of a game is also depicted in another Atharvavedic sūkta, the speaker of which implores as follows: "Let them (Apsarases) unite our hand with the winning result. Let them make the rival player succomb to us" (translation by Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig, *Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*).[46] While it is true that in ensuring victory for one side, the Apsarases are inevitably involved in a "bad outcome" for the other, Atharvavedic poets never occupy this vantage point. They only speak from the perspective of victory (and in one instance, contrition at any *kílbiṣāni* 'offences' that may have occurred).[47]

Elsewhere, Bloomfield (1893: 163–172) presents the striking examples of the sun and the moon, each of which are referred to as dogs: in the Atharvaveda the sun is called 'the celestial dog' (*śúno divyásya*, ŚS 6.80.1, 3 ~ PS 19.16.12–13; *śvā divyaḥ*, PS 15.18.8), and the same designation is applied to the moon at e.g. ŚBM 11.1.5.1; elsewhere, sun and moon together are called 'the dogs of Yama' (*yamaśvā́*, e.g. MS 1.6.9:100.17). Might the sun be the singular 'dog' that accompanies the Apsarases? Stanzas such as PS 7.13.2, PS 15.18.7 and ŚS 4.38.5 might suggest that this is a possibility. The former, which immediately succeeds Ś4. listed above, is translated by Griffiths (2009: 386) thus: "They who approach from the East, together with the rays of the sun: (of those dog-accompanied [Apsarases] Indra shall cut off the head)".[48] PS 15.18.7 implores two Apsarases to "dance away into the distance, together with the dappled dog" (translation by Lelli 2020: 200). Lelli (ibid.) concurs with Griffiths (2009: 385), who suggests that the "dappled dog" (*sāraṅgeṇa śunā*) here is the sun. Finally, ŚS 4.38.5ab reads as follows: *sū́ryasya raśmī́n ánu yā́ḥ saṁcáranti márīcīr vā yā́ anusaṁcáranti* 'Those [Apsarases] that travel along the rays of the sun, or those that travel along its beams . . . '.[49] How convincing is it that Apsarases would

46 PS 4.9.5cd: *tā no hastau kṛtena saṁ sṛjantu sapatnaṁ naḥ kitavaṁ randayantu.* In place of PS *kṛtena* 'with the winning result', the parallel ŚS 7.109.3c reads *ghṛténa* 'with ghee', which Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig (Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition, comment on PS 4.5.9c) explain as a perseveration from ŚS 7.109.1c.

47 See ŚS 6.118.1–2 ~ PS 16.50.3–4. Cf. also TB 3.7.12.3.

48 PS 7.13.2 (= PS 15.19.2): *yāḥ purastād ācaranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ* (*tāsaṁ śvanvatīnām indro api kṛtac chiraḥ*).

49 It is worth bearing in mind here that, according to at least one ancient Indian hydrological theory, water on earth is absorbed by the sun's rays and travels upwards towards the sun before being released, also via the sun's rays, as rain (see Zehnder et al. 2024, comment on PS 1.2.2ab). In other

be given an epithet which means 'accompanied by the sun'? Of course, such an interpretation would also counter the norm for possessive *-vant-* (again, see footnote 12). Semantically, it also seems a little odd. Apsarases may accompany the sun, but would it really be said that the sun accompanies Apsarases? It should be noted that Apsarases do not come only from the east *with* the sun. At PS 1.29.1ab, the verse immediately prior to that quoted above as Ś1., they are described as coming from the east and *down from* (i.e. away from) the sun (*nīcaiḥ sūryāt*). What is more, they are also depicted as coming from the other three cardinal directions (see e.g. PS 15.19.3–5). Indeed, in Ś1. above, it is explicitly stated that dog-accompanied Apsarases come from the south, or from below (*adhara-*), an image which, as mentioned above, evokes the realm of Yama. At PS 15.19.4, the Apsarases that approach from the west are said to come "together with blind darkness" (*andhena tamasā saha*, translation by Lelli 2020: 205), which suggests the very absence of the sun.

In light of such discrepancies, I want to explore instead whether it is plausible that the 'dogs' that accompany the Apsarases might be beings that are proximate to the sun, and indeed to most of the themes discussed thus far, and which are, after all, the Apsarases' most natural companions, namely the Gandharvas. The Gandharvas are not *actual* dogs, and so strictly speaking they belong in the present section of this article ('Dogs' as symbols), but because I attempt to enquire into their dog-like character in greater depth than I have attempted with the themes addressed above, they deserve a section of their own.

6 Gandharvas

Given the intimate relation between Apsarases and Gandharvas, it is not altogether surprising that many of the themes advanced thus far are also closely linked to the complex figure of the Gandharva. As with the Apsarases there are not, to my knowledge, explicit descriptions of the Gandharvas as hunters, but their close association with weaponry,[50] and especially with the practice of archery,[51] is possibly suggestive. More appreciably, they are, like Apsarases, well known for their sexual voraciousness. Already in the wedding hymn of the Rigveda (RV 10.85), the Gandharva Viśvāvasu is pleaded with to 'seek some other girl, [an unmarried one]

words, accustomed as they are to a watery habitat, Apsarases will not be out of place travelling along the sun's rays.

50 See already RV 10.123.7.

51 See e.g. TS 3.4.7.11; ŚBM 3.3.311 and TĀ 1.9.3 (where the legendary archer Kṛśānu is identified as a Gandharva); MBh 1.158.6–23; MBh 4.22.13–14.

who [still] lives with her father . . . seek some other budding young girl' i.e. rather than the just-married one he is pursuing (this plea re-emerges in both Atharvaveda Saṁhitās).[52] Gandharvas are *strī́kāma-* 'desirous of women' (MS 3.7.3:77.16; TS 6.1.6.5; AB 1.27), *yośítkāma-* 'desirous of girls' (ŚBM 3.2.4.3, ŚBM 3.9.3.20), *strī́bhāga* 'enjoyers (or sharers?) of women' (ŚS 8.6.19c ~ PS 16.80.10c),[53] and are frequently associated with sex and virility.[54] They are also closely associated with death, not least through the singular Gandharva's involvement as progenitor (with "the watery maiden", see §4.2) of the twin mortals Yama and Yamī (RV 10.10.4). In the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (17.24.10), the Gandharvas and Apsarases are the parents of Sleep (*svapna-*), called 'Yama's helper' (*yamasya karaṇaḥ*), while in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (3.4.7.8, 11), Death (*mṛ́tyú-*) is explicitly identified as a Gandharva. Also like the Apsarases, they are a direct threat to humans, whom they sometimes kill, especially in the Atharvaveda.[55] They are less directly connected to the game of dice than are Apsarases,[56] but are very strongly associated with the sun, with which they are often identified, on occasion in the same breath that Apsarases are identified with its rays.[57] Gandharvas and Apsarases are, then, compatible spouses.[58]

Of all of the motifs I have discussed thus far, hunting, death and the sun have the strongest associations with dogs in Vedic literature. Gandharvas also have especially strong links with death and with the sun (as well as with sex). Given these

52 RV 10.85.21c, 22c: *anyám iccha pitṛ́ṣádam . . . anyám iccha prapharvyàm*. The Paippalāda parallel to the first of these stanzas (RV 10.85.21) is at PS 18.10.3 while the Śaunaka version at ŚS 14.2.33 combines RV 10.85.22ab with RV 10.85.21cd. In the Atharvaveda, the plea for the Gandharva to depart lasts a further three stanzas (PS 18.10.4–6 ~ ŚS 14.2.34–36).

53 Cf. ŚS, PS *hutábhāga-* 'enjoying, partaking of (sharing in) oblations'.

54 The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.42.50) tells us that Gandharvas, along with certain other beings, are 'wholly devoted to sexual pleasure' (*ratiparāyaṇa-*). Later, we learn (in the translation of Goldman and Sutherland Goldman 2021: 420) that "intense desire is natural for *gandharvas*" (Rām 4.58.9a: *tīkṣṇakāmās tu gandharvāḥ*). In the Atharvaveda (ŚS 4.4.1 ~ PS 4.5.1) it is told that the Gandharva provided a cure (*óṣadhiṁ śepahárṣaṇīm* 'a penis-erecting plant') for Varuṇa's erectile disfunction. At ŚS 4.37.7 ~ PS 12.7.9, an attempt to neutralize a threatening Gandharva involves castrating him. See also e.g. TS 5.7.15 and PB 19.3.2, and for further references Oberlies (2005: 106–107).

55 See e.g. ŚS 8.5.13 ~ PS 16.28.3; and ŚS 8.6.19 ~ PS 16.80.10, where Gandharvas are said to kill newborn babies.

56 However, see ŚS 7.109.5 ~ PS 4.9.4, where a gambler wishes to mark success in the dice game by feasting with the Gandharvas. See also, Mayrhofer (1992: 323) s.v. *kalí-*, and Norelius (2015: 41).

57 For identifications between the figure of the Gandharva and the sun, see e.g. RV 10.123 and ŚBM 6.3.1.19. See also the description of the Gandharva as *sū́ryatvac-* 'sun-skinned' at ŚS 2.2.2a ~ PS 1.7.2a. The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra (BaudhŚS 18.46) mentions a Gandharva named Sūryavarcas ('having the splendour of the sun'), who is also named elsewhere. The Gandharva is depicted as the sun, and the Apsarases its rays, at e.g. TS 3.4.7.2 and ŚBM 9.4.1.8.

58 Apsarases are identified as the wives of Gandharvas at e.g. PS 1.7.5c, ŚS 4.37.12a ~ PS 12.8.2a, and PS 1.89.2c.

links, and given that Gandharvas are, arguably, by far the most natural companions for the Apsarases, the question unavoidably presents itself: can the Gandharvas be understood as 'dogs'? How dog-like are they? It is these questions which will occupy much of the remainder of this article.

The obvious opening move is to point out that that the Gandharva is indeed explicitly identified as taking on the form of a dog in the Atharvaveda, the very text which describes the Apsarases as *śvànvatī-* 'dog-accompanied'. I give the text and translation as presented by Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*):

> *śvetīkṛṇvānaḥ puruṣaṁ viśvā rūpāṇi bobhuvat* |
> *śvevaikaṁ kapir ivaikaṁ kumāraḥ sarvakeśakaḥ* |
> *priyo dṛśe bhūtvā gandharvaḥ sacate striyaṁ tam ito nāśayāmasi* || PS 12.8.6 (~ ŚS 4.37.11)
>
> Turning man white, successively assuming all forms: one like a dog, one like a monkey,[59] [and one like] a youth with a full head of hair – having become nice to look at, Gandharva pursues women. We make him disappear from here.

This verse belongs to a sūkta (consisting of two kaṇḍikās in the PS, PS 12.7 and PS 12.8) that is concerned with driving away demonic (see PS 12.7.1–2 ~ ŚS 4.37.1–2) Gandharvas and Apsarases who constitute a threat to the speaker and his companions. In this sense it addresses a very similar theme and is spoken from the very same vantage point as each of the sūktas that contain the epithet *śvànvatī-*. In the Śaunaka version of this sūkta, shortly before the above verse, the Gandharvas are twice described as *haviradá-* 'libation-eating' (ŚS 4.37.8c, 9c).[60] In the proper course of events, the eaters of libations are the gods (*devá-*), as is repeatedly described in the Rigveda.[61] However, the Gandharvas are not mere substitutes for the gods here, since their eating of the libations is far from welcome – indeed, it is asked that

59 "One like a monkey": The monkey (*kapí-*), like the Gandharva, is renowned in South Asia for its libidinous character (the literary beginnings of this trope are at RV 10.86). There are also notable links between Gandharvas (and Apsarases) and monkeys in the Sanskrit epics. In the *Mahābhārata* (3.147.22), for instance, Vaiśaṁpāyana asks the semi-divine monkey Hanumān whether he is a Gandharva. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.37.29ab), the Vānaras, the troop to which Hanumān belongs, are identified as the sons of gods and Gandharvas. Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 4.65.8–10), the Apsaras Puñjikasthalā, also known as Añjanā, is described as a shape-shifter (*kāmarūpiṇī-*) who has turned into a monkey (*kapi-*).

60 On this term, which does not fit the metre, see Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (2024) on PS 12.8.3c.

61 See the use of the nominal form *havirádya-* at RV 1.163.9c, RV 5.1.11d, RV 5.4.4d, and RV 7.11.5ab. At RV 10.15.8–10, it is Yama and the ancestors (*pitṛ-*) that are described as 'libation-eating' (*havirád-*).

Indra push them away (8d, 9d: *vy ṛṣ*). The other creature that is notorious in ancient Indian literature for uninvitedly eating sacrificial oblations is of course the dog.[62]

There are, in addition, several other characteristics shared by Gandharvas and dogs. In an Atharvavedic sūkta (ŚS 8.6 ~ PS 16.79–81) concerned with protecting a pregnant woman from attacks by demons, the Gandharvas are depicted, in common with other demonic beings, as killing embryos or fetuses (*gárbha-*) and newborn babies (ŚS 8.6.18–19 ~ PS 16.80.9–10). It is presumably also the Gandharvas who are described a few lines later as follows: ŚS 8.6.23abc (~ PS 16.81.5abc) *yá āmáṁ mā́ṁsam adanti páuruṣeyaṁ ca yé kravíḥ | gárbhān khā́danti keśavā́ḥ . . .* 'The hairy ones that eat raw flesh and human carrion, that feed upon embryos (or fetuses) . . . '[63] I have referred above (§4.2) to dogs' predilection for necrophagy, and especially for human corpses. A passage in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 3.219.33–38) describes how Saramā, 'mother of dogs', along with the mother of the Gandharvas and the mother of the Apsarases all seize human fetuses from inside their mother's wombs. Gandharvas are further linked to anthropophagy through characters in the Sanskrit epics such as Virādha (described as *puruṣāda-* 'man-eating' at Rām 3.2.4d) and Kabandha.[64] Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is related that the Rākṣasa woman (*rākṣasī-*) called Saramā (namesake of Indra's dog) is the daughter of the Gandharva king Śailūṣa (Rām 7.12.22). In Vedic literature, the Gandharva arguably exhibits further dog-like traits: he is a protector and guardian (of soma in particular, see especially Kuiper 1996 and Oberlies 2005); as a group, the Gandharvas undertake a nocturnal raid to steal Urvaśī's lambs (ŚBM 11.5.1.1–4); they are quite often associated with the action of licking (*rih*).[65] However, I intend to scrutinize the dog-like nature of the Gandharvas from another angle, and to approach this angle by revisiting an old controversy.

62 See e.g. RV 9.101.1, 13; JB 1.353; MBh 2.34.19cd, MBh 3.253.19–20, MBh 12.15.45ab; Rām 6.26.26.

63 Wijesekera (1994 [first published 1945]: 182) writes of this verse: "[i]t is also certain that the *gandharvas* are meant".

64 Virādha is identified as the Gandharva Tumburu at Rām 3.3.18. The man-eating Kabandha (see especially Rām 3.65.22–26) is identified as the Gandharva Viśvāvasu at MBh 3.263.38. They are also both together identified as Gandharvas in the *Harivaṁśa* (HV 31.119). See also e.g. MBh 1.59.5, where Gandharvas are named, alongside other beings, as 'man-eaters' (*puruṣāda-*).

65 See e.g. RV 1.22.14; ŚS 7.73.3 ~ PS 20.13.1; ŚāṅkhŚS 5.10.23.

6.1 Gandharvas and Centaurs

The long-standing debate on the connections between Gandharvas and Centaurs was initiated by Adalbert Kuhn's (1852) postulation of an etymological link between Vedic *gandharvá-* and Greek κένταυρος and his accompanying discussion of the similarities between these two figures from a mythological perspective.[66] Kuhn's proposed etymological link has since been roundly rejected by scholars (see Kulikov 2021: 164–165), the consensus for some time being that both words are without an Indo-European etymology, shared or otherwise. Kulikov (2018; 2021) has recently reignited the debate by suggesting a common non-Indo-European origin for both terms. Pointing to the "abundance of hybrid half-animal creatures in Kassite mythology" (Kulikov 2018: 60; 2021: 175), apparent borrowings from Indo-Iranian in the sparsely attested Kassite lexicon,[67] and Kassite mythology as one of the "possible sources of the Centaurs" (2018: 60; 2021: 174), Kulikov suggests that this common origin may be the Kassite language. More pertinent to the present discussion, in agreement with Kuhn (1852), Dumézil (1929) and others, and in opposition to West's (2007: 285 fn. 14) claim that the Centaurs and Gandharvas "have virtually nothing in common mythologically", Kulikov (2021: 166–171) affirms multiple shared characteristics between the two mythical figures, which he lists and describes under the following headings:

Shape-shifting and hybrid or theriomorphic nature
(Semi-)equinal nature
Hypersexuality and lustfulness
Aquatic nature and association with water
Connection with alcoholic or intoxicating drinks
Expertise in healing plants
Musical skills

This list of commonalities between Gandharvas and Centaurs can be constructively elaborated upon and expanded. For instance, under "Hypersexuality and lustfulness" references could be added to, on the one hand, ŚāṅkhGS 1.19.2 (~ KauṣGS 1.12.2), which directs a newly-wed husband to touch his wife's vulva and to address it with the words 'You are the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu' (*gandharvasya viśvāvasor mukham asi*); and on the other, fragment 92 of the Athenian comic play-

66 Kuhn's approach was taken up by Dumézil (1929) among others.

67 Kulikov (2018, 60) refers to "numerous Kassite names borrowed from Indo-Iranian (or Indo-Aryan)", adapting this claim in his later publication to "a few Kassite names presumably borrowed from Indo-Iranian" (2021: 175). No references are given for this borrowing, but see e.g. Sassmannshausen (2014).

wright Theopompus, wherein the vagina is referred to as κένταυρος (see Storey 2011: 352–353).[68] Under "Aquatic nature and association with water", it could be pointed out that Cheiron, unquestionably the best-known Centaur if a markedly atypical one, is not only the child of an Oceanid, as Kulikov (2021: 170) reports, but is also married to a Naiad (a freshwater nymph, named Chariclo), just as the Gandharvas are husbands to the water-dwelling Apsarases. Moreover, further "shared characteristics" can be added to the above list. For instance, as noted already by Kuhn (1852: 531–532, 537), the Centaur Cheiron as well as certain Gandharvas including Viśvāvasu, Citraratha and Citrasena, are depicted as teachers of young heroes: in the case of the Gandharvas their heroic pupil is Arjuna;[69] in the case of Cheiron, his notable former students include Jason, Odysseus, Achilles, Actaeon, Asclepius and Aeneas.[70] In the Sanskrit epics especially, Gandharvas are described, just like the Centaurs, as having their homes in the mountains.[71] Centaurs are also depicted as eaters of raw flesh (e.g. Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 2.5.4) and are associated with cannibalism, or rather anthropophagy (Bremmer 2002: 146–147). Bremmer (2012: 29) notes that "Centaur names recur as the names of dogs already in the Archaic age".

Especially striking, and apparently overlooked by scholars thus far,[72] is that Gandharvas and Centaurs both play a very specific role as potential or actual violent aggressors towards the bridal party at weddings. In the wedding hymn ŚS 14.2 ~ PS 18.7–18.14, a few verses after the Gandharva Viśvāvasu has been pleaded

68 Bremmer (2012: 34) remarks: "even the vagina was called 'Centaur' in ancient comedy as it roused sexual lust".

69 According to MBh 3.89.13, Arjuna learnt from Viśvāvasu the arts of song (*gīta-*), dance (*nṛtta-*), melody (*sāman-*) and the playing of musical instruments (*vāditra-*), collectively called *gāndharvaṁ vedam* 'the Gandharva knowledge'. At MBh 1.158.38–44, Citraratha transmits to Arjuna the knowledge (*vidyā-*) called 'vision' (*cakṣus-*) which seems to be a form of clairvoyance or remote viewing. At MBh 3.235.6, Arjuna is identified as the pupil (*śiṣya-*) of Citrasena (see also MBh 3.164.54).

70 For references, see Bremmer (2012: 33). Cheiron is depicted as having taught medicine to Asclepius (not mentioned in Bremmer's list) in e.g. Homer's *Iliad* (4.219) and Pindar's *Third Nemean Ode* (54–55).

71 Bremmer (2012: 43) calls Centaurs "demons of the mountain wilderness", and remarks that "the mountains functioned as a kind of 'liminal space' between the civilised world and the world outside Greek civilisation". Gandharvas are described as living in the northern mountains at e.g. MBh 2.25.5–6, MBh 3.140.5 and MBh 3.155.83. It is perhaps worth noting here that Ctesias' famous Cynocephaloi ('dog-headed people'), characterised as hunters who are greatly skilled with weaponry, who eat animal flesh and wear animal hides, and who occupy a liminal space between "human and animal, civilized and savage" (Nichols 2011: 124), are also located in the northern mountains. For these descriptions, see Nichols (2011: 53–55).

72 This is despite the fact that several of the scholars (e.g. Kuhn 1852: 537–538; Dumézil 1929: 175–177) who have discussed the apparent links between Gandharvas and Centaurs have explicitly referred to the Lapiths.

with to seek another girl (specifically, one who is unmarried, see §6.), the Gandharvas and Apsarases who watch the wedding procession go by from their perches in the trees are entreated not to injure the bridal party: 'May they be well-disposed towards this bride, may they not harm the bridal procession as it passes by!'[73] In response to the stanza in which this line occurs, Vasilkov (1989–1990: 394–395) observes the following:

> [T]he mention of the Apsarases and Gandharvas hiding in the trees and threatening to attack the marriage procession reminds us of a custom known to many Indo-European peoples, the Balts in particular: unmarried boys from the bridegroom's age-group attack the marriage feast, feigning the "kidnapping" of the bride.[74]

As with ancient Indian literature,[75] Greek and Latin literature abounds in mythical tales of bridal abduction,[76] and it also contains references to mock abductions at weddings.[77] Several scholars have suggested that the latter were modelled on the former, in other words that the ritualised ('mock') abduction (or residual elements thereof) that appears to have sometimes formed part of the marriage ceremony took a mythical abduction as its prototype.[78] Indeed, this view itself goes back to antiquity – the Roman grammarian Festus (c. 2nd century CE) claims that the mock abduction of the bride (*rapi simulatur virgo*) at her wedding is performed in honour of Romulus, under whose leadership the famous rape (abduction) of the Sabines was conducted (Lindsay 1913: 364–365; see also Hersch 2010: 145).

The attempted abduction of Hippodameia, bride of Peirithous, at their wedding feast in Thessaly by the inebriated Centaur Eurytion, and the violent battle that ensues (the so-called Centauromachy) between the drunken Centaurs and the

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73 SS 14.2.9ef (~ PS 18.7.10ef): *syonā́s te asyái vadhvài bhavantu mā́ hiṁsiṣur vahatúm uhyámānam*.
74 As we will see below, Vasilkov proposes that the role of the Gandharvas in this marriage rite is taken on by the unmarried boys of the "men's house" (*sabhā́-*).
75 On 'abduction marriage' (*rākṣasa-*) in ancient Indian law, ritual and myth (as well as on its numerous Greek analogues), see especially Jamison (1994; 1996: 218–235).
76 It should be noted that the Centaur Cheiron plays a role in two of the best known of these abductions: that of Cyrene by Apollo, and that of Thetis by Peleus, both as told by Pindar, respectively in the *Ninth Pythian Ode* (29–66) and the *Fourth Nemean Ode* (61–62).
77 See especially Plutarch *Lycurgus* 15 (see Talbert 2005: 18–19). Cartledge (2004: 171) remarks that the Spartan marriage ceremony "began with a rape – normally a purely symbolic and ritualized rape, no doubt". Redfield (1982: 191) observes: "Virginity is precious and is not abandoned voluntarily. Hence the elements in the wedding ceremony which imply that the wedding is after all a rape, in particular the *thurōros*, the doorkeeper (mentioned by Sappho) who, as Pollux tells us (3.42) 'roars at the women trying to rescue the bride.'" On mock abductions at weddings in other parts of ancient Greece, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1973) and Jenkins (1983).
78 Again, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1973) and Jenkins (1983).

Lapiths does not follow the typical pattern of Greek bridal abductions. To begin with, the earliest extant version of the story does not take place at a wedding at all, but simply in Peirithous' home where Eurytion is a guest, and what is more, there is no mention of an abduction.[79] Secondly, in the canonical version of the story such as is found, for example, in Ovid and in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus,[80] Eurytion's attempted abduction of Hippodameia takes place at her wedding (as opposed to in advance of it) but is clearly not a 'mock abduction' as wedding abductions usually are.[81] And thirdly, the abduction fails, and many of the Centaurs, including Eurytion, are killed.

The Centauromachy usefully highlights several characteristics which the Centaurs share with the Gandharvas. Here we may cite their "hypersexuality and lustfulness" (encouraged by Eurytion's actions and the wine they have consumed, his Centaur companions proceed to sieze other girls at the marriage feast), and their connection with alcohol or intoxication. Their use of trees or branches as weapons is also worthy of note here. Depictions of the Centaurs armed against the Lapiths in this way can be found in e.g. Pindar (F 166), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 12.327) and Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.11.22), and are especially vivid in pictorial representations from the 6th century BCE Attic François Vase to Renaissance painting and beyond.[82] This motif is also common in South Asia: in general, the ability to uproot trees signifies superhuman strength in early Sanskrit literature.[83] The use of uprooted trees as weapons is attributed to Rāvaṇa among other demons,[84] but it is especially associated with the forest-dwelling, shape-shifting, honey wine-loving,[85] theriomorphic monkey warriors (*vānara-*) who assist Rāma in his retrieval of his abducted wife Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[86] It is also ascribed to Bhīma in the *Mahābhārata*, in a

79 Homer *Odyssey* 21.295–299. In Lattimore's (1991: 316–317) translation, Eurytion simply "went wild with drinking" and "did much harm in the house of Peirithoös". Cf. Pindar Fragment 166 (Sandys 1915: 600–603).

80 Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.210–535; *Bibliotheca* 3.11.21–22. See also Pausanias 5.10.8.

81 In other words, it is therefore of a different nature to other mythical abductions of brides, such as Hades' abduction of Persephone, or the Dioscuri's abduction of the Leucippides, or Apollo's abduction of Cyrene etc., all of which take place before (in anticipation of) the marriage ceremony, as well as to 'mock abductions' which are reported (by Plutarch etc.) as actually taking place *at* weddings.

82 See especially Piero di Cosimo's *The Fight Between the Lapiths and the Centaurs* (National Gallery, London).

83 It is attributed, for example, to Kṛṣṇa as a baby in the *Harivaṁśa* (HV 51.16–18).

84 See e.g. Rām 7.21.21. Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarṇa also uproots a tree and arms himself with it at e.g. Rām 6.55.14.

85 See Rām 5.59.11–60.26 for an account of the monkeys becoming drunk – and violent – on honey wine (*madhu-*).

86 See e.g. Rām 4.16.21; 5.42.11; 6.57.66; 6.63.31; 6.84.7–18; 6.85.12.

short episode in which he rescues his abducted wife Draupadī. In the passage MBh 4.22.15–24, Bhīma is repeatedly called a Gandharva, and is described as having 'the desire to kill' (*jighāṁsā-*, 17b), as being like a raging lion (*siṁham iva*, 21a), and like death (*antakam iva*, 22a), and as striking terror into Draupadī's assailants, who call out in alarm 'A mighty Gandharva is coming, furious and brandishing a tree!' (*gandharvo balavān eti kruddha udyamya pādapam*, 23ab).

The word that is used to identify the Vānaras, the brotherhood of monkey warriors[87] who are Rāma's allies in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as 'shape-shifters' is *kāmarūpin-* 'adopting [any] shape at will'.[88] It is surely not incidental that they are distinguished as such in the following manner: 'The Vānaras are the sons of Gods and Gandharvas, and can assume [any] shape at will' (*devagandharvaputrāś ca vānarāḥ kāmarūpiṇaḥ*, Rām 4.37.29ab).[89] Like the Vānaras and the Apsarases, Gandharvas are shape-shifters, and are explicitly identified as *kāmarūpin-* in both Sanskrit epics.[90] Although, as we have seen above, Kulikov (2021: 166–167) has drawn attention to this significant aspect of the Gandharvas' nature, many modern scholars have curiously ignored it.[91] Kulikov cites two consecutive (in the ŚS) Atharvavedic stanzas (ŚS 4.37.10–11abcd ~ PS 12.8.4, 6) as evidence for the shape-shifting identity of the Gandharvas. One of these is the aforementioned verse (ŚS 4.37.11abcd ~ PS 12.8.6cdef) in which the singular Gandharva is said to assume forms like a dog, a monkey, and a youth with a full head of hair etc. Although Kulikov (p. 167) cites this verse in its Paippalāda rendering as "AVP 12.8.6", he actually omits the opening two pādas of the Paippalāda stanza, which are peculiar to this version: *śvetīkṛṇvānaḥ puruṣaṁ viśvā rūpāṇi bobhuvat* "Turning man white, successively assuming all forms".[92] This is worth noting here because pāda b contains a clear echo of an indication that the shape-shifting nature of the (singular) Gandharva was acknowledged already in the Rigveda, at RV 9.85.12ab: *ūrdhvó gandharvó ádhi nā́ke asthād víśvā rūpā́ praticákṣāṇo asya* "The Gandharva has stood erect upon the vault, gazing upon all his forms" (translation by Jamison and Brereton 2014: 1320).

87 The Vānaras exhibit many of the typical characteristics of the Männerbund (on which, see the following section §6.2), though they are far greater in number than was the apparent norm for such groups (on which, see e.g. Widengren 1969: 88–90, 99).

88 On the shape-shifting abilities of Rāma's loyal Vānara companion Hanumān, see Goldman and Sutherland Goldman (1996: 43–47).

89 Cf. Rām 4.32.6ab. These statements seem to refer back to Rām 1.16.1–6, where Brahmā asks 'all the gods' to father the Vānaras with Apsarases, Gandharva women and others.

90 See e.g. MBh 3.236.9d; Rām 4.41.17.

91 No mention is made of the Gandharvas' shape-shifting character in such wide-ranging modern studies as for instance Oberlies (2012) and Norelius (2015).

92 PS 12.8.6ab. Text and translation by Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (2024).

In arguing for the shape-shifting nature of the Gandharvas, Kulikov (2021: 167) also draws attention to the "metamorphic" character of the cognate Iranian aquatic monster called Gaṇdarəβa (Middle Persian *gandarw*/*gandarb*), and to the survival of this word in modern Pamir languages, especially Shughni *žindūrv* (< **gandarba*-) 'werewolf' and *žindīrv*, (< **gandarbī*-), 'she-werewolf' (see also Panaino 2001). The Indo-European figure of the werewolf is itself identified as a shape-shifter via e.g. Latin *versipellis* (see Petronius *Satyricon* 62) and Old Norse *eigi einhamr* 'not of one shape (or skin)', a description also applied to *berserkir* warriors.[93] As Burkert (1983: 84–93) has shown, like the Gandharvas and the Centaurs, werewolves were also linked to cannibalism and necrophagy, in mountainous Arcadia and elsewhere.[94] Numerous scholars since Weiser (1927: 70–71) have connected the figure of the werewolf to ancient initiation rites, to which cannibalism and necrophagy have been similarly linked (Bremmer 2007: 73). The hypothesized groups to which young, unmarried males are granted membership via such initiatory practices are commonly referred to in the scholarly literature, following Schurtz (1902), as Männerbünde.[95] Members of such groups are attested cross-culturally to have engaged in warfare, hunting, cattle-raiding, and sexual license in wilderness areas away from the settled communities which raised them. The figure of the werewolf has itself been strongly linked to such groups,[96] and several scholars since Dumézil (1929) have also identified the Centaurs as representing something akin to a Männerbund.[97] As we will see, Dumézil's (1929: 140–152) view that the Gandharvas embody the same institution has also found support in subsequent scholarship,[98] and it is this view that brings Gandharvas closer to dogs.

93 See Guðmundsdóttir (2007, 281–282) and Korecká (2019: 71–77).

94 See also Buxton (1987) and Bremmer (2007: 73). Buxton (1994: 83–84) identifies the mountain (ὄρος) in ancient Greece as "an initiatory space" and as a place for hunting, among other pursuits. It is to be noted that Herodotus associates the Neuries, who reportedly become wolves for a few days each year, with their neighbours the Androphagoi ('Man Eaters'); see *Histories* 4.105–106, 125.

95 Alternative names include "sodalities", "warrior brotherhoods", "Bruderschaften", and "Jungmannschaften".

96 The literature is extensive. Aside from Höfler (1934) and Wikander (1938), see Burkert (1983: 83–184), McCone (1986) and Kaliff and Oestigaard (2022) among more recent studies.

97 Thus McCone (1987: 141) refers to "die männerbundartigen Kentauren . . . ", and Bremmer (2021: XVIII) remarks that the Centaurs suggest "a kind of men's society" from "hoary antiquity", while Marazov (2011: 142) claims that "the mythical centaurs are a reflection of the members of the male initiation alliances, the *Maennerbund*."

98 The figures of the werewolf, the Centaur and the Gandharva have all been linked, in addition, to the practice of wearing animal skins and to animal masking (on which, see e.g. Kershaw 2000: 40–55, 194–199).

6.2 The Gandharva, the Vrātya, and the Indo-European Männerbund

In an important essay, Vasilkov (1989–1990: 394) suggests that the tree-dwelling Gandharvas and Apsarases in the Atharvaveda's wedding hymn (ŚS 14.2 ~ PS 18.7–18.14) referred to above would have been impersonated during the marriage rite by other figures mentioned in the same sūkta, namely "the young people of the *sabhā*", which is to say the "sisters or playmates of the bride" (*jāmí-*, ŚS 14.2.61a) and the "long-haired boy-dancers" (see ŚS 14.2.59a: *keśíno jánāḥ*). This fits with Vasilkov's contention that "[i]n all probability the Apsarases and Gandharvas are nothing but the mythological 'heavenly counterparts' of the boys and girls of the Indo-Aryan 'men's house'" (p. 392).[99] The boys who frequent this *sabhā-* 'assembly hall' or "men's house" are identified by Vasilkov (p. 397) as being members of a Männerbund or "warrior brotherhood". The girls, according to this reading, belong to all or many of the boys there (see Vasilkov's discussion of the terms *bandhakī-* and *sādhāraṇī-*), and their presence is explained in terms of the sexual role they perform.[100] As such, they are effectively regarded as prostitutes, and they appear to be the only females who are allowed to enter this otherwise exclusively male domain.[101] These claims amount to a compelling argument,[102] and as Vasilkov proposes, this framework can help to explain why Apsarases and Gandharvas are, on the mythical plane, closely linked to music, dancing, sexual licentiousness and dicing (and in the case of the Gandharvas, the consumption of intoxicating drinks) – these are the activities which their human representatives, the young men and "promiscuous" women who frequent the sabhā, engage in there. It can also, I would argue, account for the Apsarases' tendency to abandon their children[103] (and is perhaps

99 Vasilkov routinely refers to the ancient Indian institution called *sabhá-* as the "men's house", which he characterises as "the residence of the age-group of the initiated unmarried boys" that "usually served as a centre of erotic life of the young people of the tribe, turning, as a rule, into a kind of 'common dormitory' for teenagers of both sexes" (1989–1990: 389).

100 Vasilkov (1989–1990: 395) argues that "the well-known idea that every girl before marriage belongs to the Gandharvas (or a Gandharva) now appears to be not a mythological fiction, but a reflection of social reality".

101 On this see also Falk (1986: 90–92). Vasilkov's and Falk's ideas are usefully brought together and summarised by Norelius (2015: 68–77).

102 It has been accepted by several scholars including Oberlies (1998: 229), who adduces ŚBM 13.4.3.7–8 as also identifying the beautiful young men (*yúvānaḥ śobhanáḥ*) and women (*yuvatáyaḥ śobhanáḥ*) who frequent the sabhā with the Gandharvas and Apsarases.

103 Examples include Urvaśī's abandonment of her son Āyu (suggested already at RV 10.95.13) and the Apsaras Menakā's abandonment of both Pramadvarā (e.g. MBh 1.8.4–10) and Śakuntalā (MBh 1.66.8–9).

linked to the Gandharvas' involvement in infanticide). Infant exposure or abandonment appears to have been fairly commonplace in ancient India (as elsewhere), especially among prostitutes.[104]

If the Apsarases are the celestial counterparts of the sexually promiscuous young women (recall the *Mahābhārata*'s description of Apsarases as *puṁścalī-* as discussed in §4.1) who frequent the "men's house", then the Gandharvas must be the celestial counterparts of the Vrātyas, the age-set group of initiated young men (as well as older, marginalised persons, see Falk 1986: 51–55)[105] that several scolars have identified as embodying the institution of the Männerbund in South Asia.[106] These links between the Gandharvas and the Vrātyas have been noted before now.[107] Falk (1986: 66–72) identifies a 'seasonal rhythm' ("jahreszeitlichen Rhythmus", p. 68) to the Vrātyas' life, which appears to have included a period frequenting the sabhā and engaging in sexually licentious behaviour at around the time of the winter solstice (pp. 96–97).[108]

There is a large body of scholarly literature on the Indo-European Männerbund (PIE **kóryos*) which does not need to be summarised here,[109] though I will highlight three points germane to the themes I have been discussing. First of all, it has been well established (already in the earliest scholarship, see e.g. Weiser 1927: 34–47, and Höfler 1934: 166–169 *et passim*) that members of such Männerbünde

104 The classic study of this phenomenon in pre-modern Western Europe is Boswell (1989). On the practice of child exposure in ancient India, see Silk (2007: especially pp. 303–305 on prostitutes abandoning their newborn children).

105 In this respect, as in several others, the Vrātyas can be usefully compared to the Irish *fían*a; see especially Nagy (1985: 20–21), and McCone (2012).

106 On this view of the Vrātyas, see especially Heesterman (1962), Bollée (1981) and Falk (1986). Selva (2019: 333–336) provides an excellent overview.

107 Norelius (2015: 78–81) gives a good summary of the scholarship. See already Hillebrandt (1927: 380) and Hauer (1927: 54), and more recently Witzel (1992: 618): "The gandharvas seem to form, together with the promiscuous *apsaras*, the counterpart of the *vrātya*s and their female companions." As Oberlies (1998: 229 fn. 386) points out, the compatibility of this idea with the concurrent scholarly consensus that the Maruts also form a celestial counterpart to the Vrātyas is a question that requires further investigation.

108 Held (1935: 291–293) and Bollée (1981: 174) had also connected the Vrātyas to the sabhā.

109 However, mention should be made of sceptical voices such as H. S. Versnel (see Versnel 1990: 44–59), Carlo Ginzburg (see Ginzburg 1990: 153–181; Ginzburg and Lincoln 2020 [first published 1989]: 50–56) and Bruce Lincoln (Ginzburg and Lincoln 2020: 150–151). Ginzburg's and Lincoln's unease with the Männerbund theory clearly fits the scholarly trajectory sketched by Harris (1993: 78): "As a concept for analysis for Old Germanic social groupings, the *Männerbund* fell into an undeserved disrepute as a result of reaction against the excesses of Otto Höfler's famous book *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* and of the generally positive reception of its theories and its author by the National Socialists."

were frequently symbolically linked to death, and specifically to the ancestral dead. It will be sufficient here to cite the prominent examples of Tacitus' Harii (*Germania* §43 *feralis exercitus* 'army of ghosts'), the (etymologically related) Norse *einherjar* (the army of slain warriors in service to Óðinn in Valhǫll) and their earthly counterparts the *berserkir*,[110] and the Irish *fían*-members (*féinnidi*) who are described in different sources as *maic báis* and *filiique mortis*, both meaning 'sons of death' (McCone 2012). Secondly, less discussed by scholars, the young warriors of the Männerbund liked to steal women as much as cattle: one of the best-known examples here is no doubt the aforementioned rape of the Sabine women by Romulus and his followers. According to the account of Livy (*Ab urbe condita* §1.9) this took place, like the Centauromachy, amid celebrations and festivities, not of a wedding, but at the Consualia harvest festival. Vassilkov (2019) adduces further examples in the Armenian epic *Sasna cŕer* (*Daredevils of Sassoun*), and there are multiple tales of women being abducted by *féinnidi* in the Fenian Cycle (see footnote 112 below), and no shortage of cases of Männerbund-like bands of young men abducting women elsewhere.[111] The Centaurs and Gandharvas provide further examples, as we have already seen. It is also worth noting here that the Gāndharva form of marriage recognised in the ritual and the legal literature, a marriage of mutual consent which does not involve the agreement of either partner's family (see e.g. ĀśvGS 1.6.5; VDh 24.23), is routinely listed and considered alongside the Rākṣasa marriage (marriage by forced abduction), and indeed the two are described as being conducted conjointly (MDh 3.26; MBh 1.67.13), a scenario which must entail (as Medhātithi would later point out) an abduction to which the woman consents.[112]

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110 On the relation between the *einherjar* and the *berserkir*, see Schjødt (2011).

111 See for example Duby (1977: 112–122) on the "life of vagabondage" of the aristocratic youth (the collective noun is *juventus*) of northwestern France in the 12th century. Duby (ibid.: 119) writes: "[T]he 'youth' found himself caught up in a band of 'friends' who 'loved each other like brothers'. This 'company' or 'household' (*maisnie*) . . . was sometimes formed, immediately after the ceremony of dubbing, by the young warriors who had received together the 'sacrament of knighthood' on the same day, and who remained together thereafter" (p. 114). Consisting, in large part, of younger sons exluded from patrimony by primogeniture rights, these bands of youths, "animated by hopes of marriage" (p. 119), are described by Duby as "a mob of young men let loose, in search of profit, glory, and female prey" (p. 122). In the earlier, Carolingian period the picture was much the same: "The few ninth-century texts that survive are full of cases of abduction. Widows, nuns, wives, daughters, whether betrothed or not, all appear as so many quarries pursued by packs of young men . . . from all appearances rites of abduction were practiced quite literally by the Carolingian aristocracy" (Duby 1983: 38–40).

112 See Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya* on MDh 3.26 (p. 219). As I intend to argue elsewhere, there are good reasons to believe that this so-called 'combined' (*miśra*-) Gāndharva and Rākṣasa marriage authorised by Manu, where the woman is willingly abducted by the man, was in fact the original form of the Gāndharva marriage. A cognate form of consensual abduction (called *lánamnas fox-*

The third and final, and for our purposes the most important point is that the youthful members of roving war-bands regularly referred to themselves as 'dogs' or 'wolves'. This is well attested in primary sources in multiple languages (Greek, Latin, Avestan, Old Irish, Old Norse etc.) and has been well documented in the scholarly literature.[113] In several Indo-European languages, the word for 'dog' also means 'wolf', and the two animals have frequently been used interchangeably in various Indo-European mythological traditions (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 505–506).[114] These warrior identifications as dogs and wolves, which often involved adopting 'dog' or 'wolf' as part of one's personal name (especially common in Germanic languages and in Old Irish),[115] have been explained by scholars as being linked primarily to a symbolic association with death, to a wolfish or 'mad dog' rage assumed in battle, to the wearing of wolfskins etc., and to the status of members of these groups as outlaws who, like dogs, live in packs apart from civilised society (McCone 1987: 114; Bremmer 1982: 141).

In his wide-ranging study of the Vrātya in Vedic literature, Falk (1986: 18–19) identifies several passages which link the Vrātyas, the South Asian representatives of the Indo-European Männerbund (Falk: "Bruderschaft"), to dogs. Falk (ibid.) remarks that, compared to Iran or Europe, there is little information on the "Hundewesen der Bundesmitglieder" to be found in South Asian literary sources,[116] and only a few passages which connect the terms 'dog' and 'Vrātya'. However, he does make, or draw out, several further important connections between the two. The most explicit of these is his hypothesis that the leader of the Vrātyas (*gṛhápati-* or *sthapáti-*) was chosen on the basis of the outcome of a dice game: it is the *loser* of this game (i.e. the one left with the single nut, called *káli-*, which is understood as 'the dog' and is identified with Rudra), who is thenceforth the Vrātya-leader, himself

ail) is found in Old Irish legal literature (see Kelly 1988: 70–71), and Irish myth provides several accounts of the phenomenon; see e.g. the abduction of the wife of Ailill by Fothad Canainne (discussed in Nagy 1997: 299–303), and the abduction of Eargna by Conán (MacNeill 1908: 95–98).

113 Aside from Weiser (1927) and Höfler (1934), see especially Bremmer (1982: 141), McCone (1987), Ivančik (1993), Kershaw (2000: 222–302), and Speidel (2004).

114 See also e.g. McCone (1987: 104–106) and Ivančik (1993: 312).

115 Old Irish *cú* 'dog, hound' is a very common component of Old Irish personal names, Cú Chulainn being merely the best-known example (see McCone 1987: 104–105).

116 Here, it is worth quoting Vassilkov (2015: 235): "It is quite natural to suppose that the Aryas brought this kind of warrior societies [*sic*] to South Asia from their northern homeland. However on the Indian soil the image of dog/wolf as a symbol of battle fury and an emblem of a warriors' gang began from the earliest times to merge with the image of the more dangerous and widespread local predator: tiger/lion, and was practically replaced by it."

'the dog', clad (like the Gandharvas) in a black antelope skin,[117] representative of the dead, and Rudra incarnate (Falk 1986: 108–133). Just as pertinent to my present concerns are Falk's observations on the identity between the Vrātyas and the Sattrins, the performers of the ritual called *sattrá-*, a sacrificial 'sitting' or 'session' consisting of at least twelve days of Soma pressing, performed in the wilderness (*áraṇya-*) for the benefit of the performers themselves (i.e. rather than on behalf of a *yájamāna-* 'patron'). Drawing and elaborating on the work of Biswas (1955) and Heesterman (1962), Falk (1986: 37–40) connects the Vrātyas, via the performance of the sattra, to rites involving cannibalism and necrophagy as detailed in e.g. the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (TS 7.2.10.2–5) and the *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā* (KS 34.11:44.14–18). The 'dog-like' nature of such practices is not a topic explored by Falk, but the continuities are, at this point, plain to see, and it is no surprise, therefore, to see the Sattrins referred to elsewhere as dogs.[118]

If we return to the question of how dog-like the Gandharvas are, in sum, we can affirm, with Griffith (1896: 86), that a good case can be made for understanding the 'dogs' that accompany the Apsarases to be Gandharvas.

7 Final Remarks

In his revolutionary work on Homeric formulae, Milman Parry (1987 [first published 1928]) argues that the use of epithets in Homer, and indeed in other forms of oral epic poetry, is determined by "the needs of versification", in other words that one epithet is chosen over another of the same stock not on account of any semantic considerations, but because of its "metrical convenience".[119] Whether such claims are applicable to Vedic poetry is of course subject to debate, and indeed Parry's main thesis has been treated cautiously by Gonda (1959) in his study of Rigvedic epithets.[120] Nonetheless, Gonda (1959: 254) does somewhat reluctantly acknowl-

117 Falk (1986: 69) notes that the Sattrins are similarly attired. Gandharvas are associated with the wearing of black antelope skins at e.g. Rām 3.18.12 and HV 44.9–10.

118 Falk (1986: 40) cites both the *Chāgaleya-Upaniṣad* (2: *śunaka-*) and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (1.12: *śvan-*).

119 On "the needs of versification", see Parry (1987: 9), and on "metrical convenience" p. 136. Parry (p. 118) makes the assumption that "to ascertain the reasons for the use of a fixed epithet in a given case there is no need to consider what it denotes. In our study of the various devices which fixed epithets make possible, the facility of versification which they afford the poet appeared the only factor determining their use."

120 Gonda (1959: 253–254) claims: "It is extremely difficult and in many cases impossible to state how far the exigencies of versification have been a factor of importance in the choice of epithets

edge that Parry's observations "seem to apply to the poets of the Veda as well", admitting that metrical considerations can in fact determine the choice of epithets in the Rigveda (p. 256), and even that "the occurrence of an epithet . . . was, indeed, not infrequently largely dependent on the metre" (p. 257). "In many cases", Gonda allows, "the right view of these metrically convenient elements seems to be to consider them as conditioned by sense and versification at the same time" (p. 254). In my view, Parry's insights into oral poetic formulae are certainly worth bearing in mind when we consider the semantic motivations behind the term *śvànvant-* in the Atharvaveda. As we have seen, all six occurrences of this epithet are found in contexts in which the Apsarases are depicted as being threatening and harmful. The epithet *śvànvant-* we must adjudge suitable to this context, and not to any other, but beyond this, the specific concerns and narrative structures of each sūkta which contains the term should not necessarily guide or limit us in our attempts to understand its meaning. This is worth stating here because, for instance, the fact that the Gandharvas are named alongside the Apsarases in Ś2. and Ś3. should have no bearing, to my mind, on the plausibility of their also being referred to by way of *śvànvant-* in the same verse.

As far as we are aware, the epithet *śvànvant-* was never employed by anyone other than the poets and reciters of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitās. We must presume that its use was limited to these works because it was not meaningful to the poets and ritualists of other Vedic traditions, and because it ceased to be meaningful even to those within the tradition of the Atharvaveda.[121] Perhaps this was the case because attitudes towards the Apsarases themselves changed, and they ceased to be regarded as so threatening and harmful. We do not and cannot know how meaningful *śvànvant-* was even to those who composed the sūktas in which the term is found, we can only surmise that they knew that its meaning was appropriate to the contexts in which they employed it. It may be that the epithet was very old, even to them. Perhaps the very most we can say is that certain among the meanings discussed above make better sense in these contexts than others and that the foregoing discussion suggests that death, understood in an abstract, general sense, and the Gandharvas seem to be the most likely designata of the term. There is little that is conclusive here, but at the least, given the Gandharvas' intimate relation with death in Vedic literature, we can say that there is no need to view these as two wholly separate solutions to the puzzle.

[in the Rigveda]". For this reason, Gonda (1959: 259) goes on to argue that any theory which asserts the "dominant and fundamental character" of "the influence of metre and versification" on the use of Vedic epithets "should be judged with great caution and criticism."

121 Hence its absence from later Atharvavedic works such as the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kauśikasūtra*.

References

Abbreviated titles of works in Sanskrit

AB	*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*. Theodor Aufrecht (ed.) *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Bonn: Adolf Marcus, 1879.
ĀśvGS	*Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra*. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (ed.) *Indische Hausregeln (I). Âçvalâyana. Erstes Heft: Text. Zweites Heft: Uebersetzung. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1864–1865.*
BaudhŚS	*Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra*. Chintaman Ganesh Kashikar (ed. and trans.) *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra. Critically Edited and Translated.* 4 vols. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
HV	*Harivaṁśa*. P. L. Vaidya (ed.) *The Harivaṁśa, Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata, for the First Time Critically Edited*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969.
JUB	*Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*. Hanns Oertel (ed.) "The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. Text, Translation and Notes", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 16: 79–260, 1896.
JB	*Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Candra (eds.) *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*. Nagpur: The International Academy of Indian Culture, 1954.
KauśS	*Kauśikasūtra*. Maurice Bloomfield (ed.) "The Kāuçika-Sūtra of the Atharvaveda. With Extracts from the Commentaries of Dārila Keçava", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 14, 1889.
KūP	*Kūrmapurāṇa*. Anand Swarup Gupta (ed.) *The Kūrma Purāṇa, Critically Edited.* Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1971.
KS	*Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*. Leopold von Schroeder (ed.) *Kâṭhakam. Die Saṃhitâ der Kaṭha-Çâkhâ.* 3 vols. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1900–1910.
MDŚ	*Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Gaṅgānātha Jhā (ed.) *Manu-Smṛti with the 'Manubhāṣya' of Medhātithi*. Allahabad: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1932.
MBh	*Mahābhārata*. V. S. Sukthankar, S. K. Belvalkar and P. L. Vaidya (eds.) *The Mahābhārata for the First Time Critically Edited*. 19 vols. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 1933–1966.
MDh	*Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Patrick Olivelle (ed.) *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. With the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
MS	*Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*. Leopold von Schroeder (ed.) *Mâitrâyaṇî Saṃhitâ. Die Saṃhitâ der Mâitrâyaṇîya-Çâkhâ*. 4 vols. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1881–1886.
PB	*Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*. Willem Caland (ed.) *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1931.
PS	*Paippalāda-Saṁhitā*. Kāṇḍa 1: Zehnder et al. (2024); Kāṇḍa 2: Zehnder (1999); Kāṇḍa 3: Spiers (2020); Kāṇḍa 4: Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*); Kāṇḍa 5: Lubotsky (2002); Kāṇḍas 6 & 7: Griffiths (2009); Kāṇḍa 12: Hellwig, Leach and Zehnder (*Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda, Online Edition*); Kāṇḍa 15: Lelli (2020); Kāṇḍa 16: Bhattacharya (2008); Kāṇḍas 17 & 18: Bhattacharya (2011); Kāṇḍas 19 & 20: Bhattacharya (2016).
Rām	*Rāmāyaṇa*. G. H. Bhatt and U. P. Shah (eds.) *The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition*. 7 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–1975.
RV	*Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*. Theodor Aufrecht (ed.) *Die Hymnen des Ṛgveda. Erster Theil, Maṇḍala I–VI* & *Zweiter Teil, Maṇḍala VII–X*. Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1877.

ŚāṅkhGS *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra*. Sita Rama Sehgal (ed.) *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtram (Belonging to the Ṛgveda)*. Second Revised Edition. Delhi: Kiran Mudra Kendra, 1987.

ŚāṅkhŚS *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*. Alfred Hillebrandt (ed.) *The Śāṇkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra together with the Commentary of Varadattasuta Ānarttīya*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1888.

ŚBM *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. Albrecht Weber (ed.) *The Çatapatha-Brâhmaṇa in the Mâdhyandina Çâkhâ with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sâyaṇa, Harisvâmin and Dvivedaganga*. Berlin/London: Ferd. Dümmler/Williams and Norgate, 1855.

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TĀ *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*. V. Ś. R. R. Bābāśāstrī Phaḍake (ed.) *Taittirīyāraṇyakam*. 2 vols. Poona: Anandasrama Press, 1897–1898.

TB *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Makoto Fushimi (ed.) *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*. Corrections by Matthias Ahlborn. Available at https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm

TS *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*. Albrecht Weber (ed.) *Die Taittirîya-Saṃhitâ. Erster Theil, Kâṇḍa I-IV* & *Zweiter Theil, Kâṇḍa V-VII*. 2 vols. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1871–1872.

VDh *Vaiṣṇava-Dharmaśāstra*. Patrick Olivelle (ed.) *The Law Code of Viṣṇu: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Vaiṣṇava-Dharmaśāstra*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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Jarrod Whitaker

Believing in Magic and Other Pitfalls with Interpreting the *Atharvaveda*

Abstract: Both recensions of the *Atharvaveda* contain extensive information on the liturgical resources that poet-priests could use to perform lifecycle rites marking birth, puberty, marriage, and death; rites for making protective amulets and talismanic armor; apotropaic rites for overcoming destructive or demonic forces; and rites for healing wounds, fever, diseases, and other ailments. As such, the *Atharvaveda* is a voluminous source for understanding various ideals, values, and practices of ancient Indians. Unfortunately, over the past 150 years, European and American scholars have uniformly interpreted the *Atharvaveda* as a text inherently containing magical rituals. Even today, it is common for conference papers to feature code words for magic in their titles ("medicinal magic," "magical," "spell," "charm," "sorcery," "incantation," etc.). This interpretative stance suggests that Vedic scholars still uncritically accept magic as a natural category of human behavior. Unfortunately, magic is above all a theoretical category with serious, if not bankrupt analytical conclusions about human motivations and behavior. What is more, the *Atharvaveda* played a central role in the development of the various theories of magic at the turn of the twentieth century, and this convoluted hermeneutical process negatively shaped our interpretation of the text. Since the broad concept of magic has fallen out of favor in the past three to four decades in the social sciences and humanities, this paper will challenge Vedic scholars to abandon it wholesale in favor of contemporary theories for understanding human behavior. This paper will thus highlight some generalizable and unifying theoretical ways to understand the hymns and rituals represented in the *Atharvaveda*, especially in terms of agency, performance, and identity formation. As a case study, the paper will examine a specific type of ritualized discourse whereby early Vedic ritualists lengthen their lives and the lives of their patrons.

> Magic is a dangerous word, more dangerous than magic itself, because it is such a handsome term to cover everything that we fail to understand. The term is used far too often as a vague kind of explanation, but in fact it explains nothing. – *Jan van Baal (1971: 55)*

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-010

1 Introduction

The *Atharvaveda* contains extensive information on the liturgical resources ancient Indian priests can employ to perform a host of rituals. Both recensions of the text include hymns for use in lifecycle rites marking birth, puberty, marriage, and death; rites for educating and protecting priests; for praising gods and other abstract concepts; for acquiring a partner or making protective amulets; for gaining wealth, knowledge, and prestige; for overcoming destructive or demonic forces; and for healing wounds, fever, diseases, and other ailments. The *Atharvaveda* is an invaluable source for understanding numerous values, practices, and ideals of ancient Indians who performed its rituals, patronized its specialists, and moved within the wider Vedic world circa 1000 BCE.

There is unfortunately a systemic problem in Vedic scholarship with understanding the *Atharvaveda*. Over the past 150 years or so, Western scholars have almost uniformly interpreted the text as containing magical rites.[1] In fact, it is frequently defined as ancient India's magical text par excellence. This view persists in recent scholarship on the text. For example, in his book *The Roots of Hinduism* (2015), Asko Parpola reproduces with little critical reflection the same ideas about magic, sorcery, and witchcraft in the *Atharvaveda* that date back a century or more (pp. 130–133).[2] In a similar vein, it is commonplace for conferences on ancient India to include multiple papers on the *Atharvaveda* that feature code words for magic in their titles ("spell," "charm," "sorcery," "incantation," etc.). My intention here is not to critique wholesale the value of the scholars' contributions, which are important for understanding the *Atharvaveda*, but simply to draw attention to the fact that the analytical category of magic stills persists in contemporary scholarship with little critical reflection.

The ubiquitous invocation of magic to explain Atharvavedic rituals – and all Vedic rituals for that matter – indicates that scholars still accept magic as a natural category of human behavior. Scholars utilize the concept with little critical reflection as if it is a settled method for describing ritual behavior and the quality of its practitioners' mindset. It is also telling that Vedic scholars rarely cite the exact theories of magic that inform their interpretations. The problem here is that when scholars invoke magic as an explanatory device they all too often fail to recognize that magic is above all a theoretical category that originated around the turn of the 20th century in Western intellectual circles in which the *Atharvaveda* played a

1 For a survey, see Patton 2005: 38–44. Cf. Cohen 2020: 7–9.
2 Cf. Lopez 2010: 1–6, Kubisch 2012: 4.

significant role.[3] The concept of magic was not invented at this point (more below), but the way cultural historians and textual anthropologists use it was.

Furthermore, the normalizing of magic ignores the fact that the category was hotly contested for over a hundred years with absolutely no settled agreement among scholars on how to understand it or if it was worth using in the first place. From roughly 1880 to 1980, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians, theologians, and even Sanskritists argued over the definition of magic, which was set in stark contrast with religion and science (with unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the non-scientific concepts into the equally problematic modifier "magico-religious").[4] With colonial certainty, social evolutionary theory, and the scientific rationalism of modernity, many of these thinkers systematically classified the behaviors and beliefs of non-Western peoples or non-educated Europeans as "less than" – as overly emotional, irrational, childlike, or primitive. At its heart, magic was false, mistaken, or misguided belief. To illustrate, in a patronizing tone, E. B. Tylor (1871: 101) judges the belief in magic to be "one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind." As one of its early and most influential theorists, James Frazer (1922: 11) articulates a similar condescending view: ". . . magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct; it is a false science as well as an abortive art." In other words, people who practice magic are immoral and erroneously attempt to transcend nature through misguided laws of sympathetic association;[5] or they use those laws to acquire metaphysical power (aka *mana*);[6] or such practices serve to alleviate anxiety in times of crisis (aka cathartic wish-fulfilment).[7]

From the outset, it is important to state that the concept of magic has been deployed historically in three ways. According to Jens Braarvig (1999: 30), magic was first used as an emic "intra-textual" term for internal practices in ancient Greek culture (although it was frequently used to deprecate the practices of for-

3 For example, the *Atharvaveda* was used to justify the theories of scholars like Marcel Mauss and Rudolf Otto, both of whom were trained Sanskritists. In addition, James Frazer (1922: 67) utilized the work of Hermann Oldenberg, who in turn was influenced by Mauss, Otto, and Frazer in developing his theory of Vedic magic as "prescientific science" (1919).

4 See e.g. Thite (2003: 131), who states "The Weltanschaung of the Vedic texts is magicoreligious rather than scientific." Cf. Thite 1982. For a critique of this viewpoint in the study of ancient Indian medicine, see Engler 2003.

5 Frazer 1922.

6 Mauss 1972 [1904]. Oldenberg (1919: 129ff.) argues that Vedic rituals were ultimately concerned with the acquisition and increase of magical power.

7 Malinowski 1955 [1925]. As a counter example, Evans-Pritchard (1929, 1937) expresses skepticism about the universal application of the concept of magic and argues for contextual analysis over general theories.

eigners).[8] Second, Christians deployed it throughout history as an "inter-textual" term for unchristian practices deemed abhorrent.[9] In Daniel Dubuisson's (2016: 1) forceful words:

> it is the Church, in the first place, as an organ of power, that came up with the malevolent, demonic conception of magic, in order to make of it its titled adversary as a living antithesis to religion. This means that its clerics created a "figure" that was quite original but entirely negative, which they disfigured and mutilated.

Finally, scholars used it as an "extra-textual" theoretical term to categorize types of behavior and belief that they deemed to fall outside the categories religion and science (Braarvig 1999: 30). In the last case, it is crucial to disrupt the space between the assumption that magic is a natural or universal category, on the one hand, and its scholarly creation, on the other. In other words, we should always differentiate between how ancient Indians would have understood their own concepts and practices (aka the emic level) and the theoretical impositions we employ to translate them (aka the etic level). We must therefore assess the worth of theorists and their theories, especially those we have all too readily naturalized, as a matter of course.[10]

The point should be self-evident but unfortunately needs repeating. The theoretical concept of magic has always been laden with fraught ethnocentric biases, as well as highly questionable conclusions about human psychology, behavior, and motivations. As Stanley Tambiah (1990) points out, scholars turned magic into a universal analytical category to underscore the superiority and civilized nature of Western European cultures. In a book-length study, Randall Styers (2004) unravels the theoretical history of the concept, while tracing its negative impact on our understanding of various cultural practices and ideas. He argues that magic persists as a hermeneutical category because it functions to offset and define the categories religion and science, often by exclusion or opposition. At its heart, it

8 For a critical examination of the use of the term *mageia* as a discursive category in ancient Greece, see Stratton 2007.

9 See Rage and Rider 2019.

10 Cf. Dubuisson 2016: 28–30. In the case of ancient India, consider the term *abhicāra*, which scholars all too often translate as "black magic, sorcery." This translation readily envelopes the term into a hermeneutical history distinct from its contextual use since *abhicāra* literally means "hostile move, aggressive rite" (from *abhí √car* "to move against, attack") and the tradition glosses it as *hiṃsākarman* or "harmful rite" (*Amarakoṣa* 3.2.265). To my mind, there is a significant difference between recognizing that some Vedic rituals are designed to harm (think of modern political attack ads) and interpreting such practices as evidence of sorcery or black magic. Indeed, the very notions of "white" and "black" magic carry problematic, if not racist undertones. See Grambo 1975: 82. Cf. MacDonald 1984–1986: 89 and 1995: 144–145.

is a polemical concept. In addition, magic served as a foil for modernity, which emphasized science and rationality. Consequently, cultures that practice magic were classed as thoroughly non-modern and an anathema to the West's intellectual and moral agenda. In this sense, magic reflects Western, Christian, and colonial ideals that define themselves in juxtaposition with an irrational and non-scientific other. In the words of Jonathan Z. Smith (2004: 218), the concept of magic creates a "shadow reality" that can only be defined by "the reflection of its opposite ('religion,' 'science') in a distorting fun-house mirror."

In the 1970s and 1980s, a major shift occurred as the concept of magic was all but expunged from the interpretative lexicon of ethnographers and social theorists due to its historical baggage. In contemporary social science theory, it is rare to see the concept discussed with any sincerity. We should take seriously Edmund Leach's (1982: 133) assessment that "after a lifetime's career as a professional anthropologist, I have almost reached the conclusion that the word [magic] has no meaning whatsoever." In my opinion, scholars have successfully replaced the concept with ritual because in truth "magical acts are ritual acts" (Tambiah 1985: 60), and the field of ritual studies offers fruitful ways to analyze human behavior in terms of embodied performance, discourse analysis, and the politics of ritualization, broadly put.[11] As Catherine Bell (1992: 6) aptly observes, "ritual has replaced terms such as 'liturgy' versus 'magic', which were used to distinguish high religion from primitive superstition or *our* ritual from *theirs*." Bell's point underscores an unavoidable problem with the concept: magic is what "they" do. It has always been used to qualify the behaviors of people coded in negative terms: as foreign, weak, immoral, primitive, ignorant, and in league with the devil or other corrupt forces.

The point here is that from a theoretical perspective, the concept of magic does not explain human behavior in a sophisticated manner, nor does it take into account the complex discursive worlds that people inhabit and the ways that such discourse inhabits and speaks through them. It is also not generalizable to the widest possible cultural or historical contexts, which is a hallmark of sound theory. Let me demonstrate this last point through a few hypothetical scenarios. If the theories of magic have any cross-cultural utility, we should be able to apply them fruitfully to modern advertising campaigns, political attacks ads, digital bullying, or calls for conference presentations.[12] Through complex metaphorical and metonymic analogies (though not as simple as Frazer's sympathetic laws) and through historically institutionalized values, each one of these practices is designed

11 For in-depth consideration of this issue, see Thomassen 1999.

12 Cf. Tambiah 1985: 61. See also "Performing Magical Capitalism" by Brian Moeran and Timothy de Waal Malefyt at https://www.epicpeople.org/performing-magical-capitalism.

to influence how people behave and how they should think about the behavior of others. As Barry Stephenson (2015: 68) observes "One way of defining magic is as the use of symbolic means to produce empirical effects. In this sense, magic is not restricted to 'traditional' or 'primitive' societies but is at work in the modern West, too: advertising ought to be proof of that." I suspect however that it would sound silly to talk about attack ads as dark spells aimed at destroying political careers; or internet trolls as modern-day sorcerers hurling curses at their enemies; or advertising campaigns as charms designed to instill consumers with desire. I am also sure academics would dislike thinking that an acceptance of a paper magically safeguards their livelihood, or that they wear protective talismans around their necks at conferences to radiate their power and privilege, while warding off hotel security. If the most basic definition of magic is a ritual designed to achieve a goal, then we perform magical rites every day.[13] Democracies are truly founded on the magic of voting, although the COVID-19 pandemic has counteracted the magic of handshaking. What is more, the phrase "you're fired!" carries a magical force unlike any other in the capitalist world, and the thaumaturgic power of "I now pronounce you married" can have everlasting effects.[14] If magic is a ritual that attempts to flout the laws of nature, then by implication all failed scientific experiments are examples of magic. This would also include the use of many nutritional supplements, exercise fads, and other health regimes. If magic is a ritual that attempts to influence the world through harnessing supernatural power, then all religious practices that invoke non-empirical realities for specific ends are forms of magic. I doubt modern day Christians (or any religious person) would appreciate this conclusion.[15] Finally, if we reduce magic to discrete, almost pathological, analogical thinking (so James Frazer), then what form of human thought is not magical?[16] As Douglas Hofstadter (2007) cogently argues, cognition cannot happen without complex analogical

13 The idea that magical practices reflect primitive, non-modern, irrational attempts to influence or overcome natural laws (killing enemies, healing diseases, securing love, expelling misfortune, etc.) are rampant throughout early theories. For example, luminaries like Tylor (1871), Frazer (1922), Mauss (1972 [1904]), and Malinkowski (1955 [1925]) all conclude in varying degrees that magic is a kind of false pseudo-science that seeks to achieve specific yet impossible goals.

14 Cf. Grimes 2014: 277–278.

15 For an in-depth presentation of competing Christian (Catholic versus Protestant) attitudes to the role of supernatural power and arguments about its legitimate (= church, priests; from God) or illegitimate (= common-folk, superstition, magic; from the Devil) use in 16th and 17th century England, see Thomas (1997: 25–277, 253–279).

16 Tambiah (1985) questions whether Frazer knew what metaphor and metonymy were since his laws of sympathy are just that. For a sustained critique of Frazer's theory of magic, see Evans-Pritchard's 1933, 1965, Wax and Wax 1963, and Beattie 1971. See also Ludwig Wittgenstein's sustained ridicule of Frazer's views (succinctly presented in Douglas 1978: 157–159 and Tambiah

processes at various neurobiological, syntactic, grammatical, semantic, and symbolic levels. The human brain makes analogies ceaselessly, relentlessly, and for the most part unconsciously at various levels of recursive abstraction. In Hofstadter's words, analogy is the "motor of the car of thought" and "the interstate freeway of cognition": it is the "fuel and fire of thinking."[17] Finally, Yuval Noah Harari (2015: 31) nicely corroborates my heuristic assumption about the similarities of human behavior cross-culturally:[18]

> People easily acknowledge that "primitive tribes" cement their social order by believing in ghosts and spirits, and gathering each full moon to dance together around the campfire. What we fail to appreciate is that our modern institutions function on exactly the same basis. Take for example the world of business corporations. Modern business-people and lawyers are, in fact, powerful sorcerers. The principal difference between them and tribal shamans is that modern lawyers tell far stranger tales.

The serious issues outlined above represent some, but not all, of the unavoidable problems with the concept of magic. It cannot do the theoretical work we need it to do to explain Vedic ritual behavior in a sophisticated manner because it cannot do the same work to explain why I am writing this paper, yet both practices have more in common than we are comfortable admitting. Both practices are public performances that marshal expert knowledge and training to convey an authoritative position that is designed to shape the quality of professional and interpersonal relationships for socioeconomic and political ends. I work my wizardry on a podium and with a keyboard, Vedic poets on a ritual fire and with hymns. What is more, magic reflects a history of ethnocentric and condescending perspectives. To put it differently, after 25 years of reading Sanskrit texts and thinking about early Vedic ritual culture, and equally reading just about everything I can get my hands on relating to magic, I have concluded that the concept of magic is analytically

1990: 54–64). For a sophisticated consideration of analogical thinking and practices deemed magical, see Janowitz 2002.

17 https://news.stanford.edu/news/2006/february22/hofstadter-021506.html. See also Hofstadter and Sander 2013, who state: "Intelligence . . . is the art of rapid and reliable gist-finding, crux-spotting, bull's-eye-hitting, nub-striking, essence-pinpointing. It is the art of, when one is facing a new situation, swiftly and surely homing in on an insightful precedent (or family of precedents) stored in the recesses of one's memory. That, no more and no less, is what it means to isolate the crux of a new situation. And this is nothing but the ability to find close analogues, which is to say, the ability to come up with strong and useful analogies." (126).

18 Similarly, Wittgenstein speculates on various modern practices that look analogous to practices scholars like Frazer deem magical (Tambiah 1990: 56–60). For a critical consideration of debates about similarities and differences between cultures, see Lukes 2000 and Dubuisson 2016: 75–96, 138–146.

bankrupt. Unlike the concept of religion, which has undergone a critical reassessment in the field of religious studies in the past few decades,[19] the concept of magic is unsalvageable as a theoretical category.[20] As far as I can tell, the interpretative utility of the concept cannot be divorced from its hermeneutic legacy and the negative baggage it brings to bear.[21]

My assessment is not radical by any means since Jonathan Z. Smith (2004) argues that magic should be jettisoned as an analytical category because it is value-laden, ambiguous, and insufficiently neutral. In a similar tone, Wouter Hanegraaff (2012: 157) states that magic and its synonym superstition are "wholly unsuitable as neutral instruments in scholarly interpretation: they belong to the category of value judgments and political *Kampfbegriff* (battle concepts), not of valid 'etic' terminology." In Vedic scholarship, several scholars have drawn similar conclusions. Laurie Patton (2005) argues that the concept of magic has been used in dubious, reductive, and unfruitful ways. Its use has prevented scholars from seeing the complex sociopolitical structures and epistemologies that Vedic ritualists negotiate and reinterpret. Drawing on theories from performance studies and cognitive linguistics, Patton argues that the goals of Vedic rituals and hymns should not be interpreted as magical in nature but as a forms of performative metonymical thinking or associational thought that connects an individual's sense of themselves – their body, memories, and desires – with communal, moral, and existential realities. Signe Cohen (2020) has recently surveyed the problems with magic and concluded that it is "an inadequate hermeneutic category" to understand Atharvavedic hymns. She argues that three so-called "women's love spells" in the *Atharvaveda* (AVŚ.6.130–132) are better understood as particular forms of ritualized discourse as exhibited by the interconnected meanings of the term *smará*, which is used repeatedly in the hymns to mean "memory," "desire," and "efficacious ritual speech." In this regard, the hymns function as "powerful utterances that ritually transform memory and desire into social reality." Lastly, in several of my own publications, I have gone to lengths to explain Vedic ritual practices in complex ways that other scholars have explained away as magic (aka false belief).[22]

19 See McCutcheon 1997, Fitzgerald 2000, Masuzawa 2005, and Schilbrack 2010.

20 It is certainly a viable concept to examine at the emic, discursive level in ancient Greek culture, medieval Christianity, or Neopaganism. See respectively Stratton 2007, Otto 2019, and Styers 2004: 214–215 (neo-pagan movements use the term magic in a positive yet countercultural sense).

21 For opposing views, see Braarvig 1999 and Dubuisson 2016.

22 See Whitaker 2004, 2011, 2016a, 2016b, and 2019.

2 The Problem with Belief

For the rest of this paper, I want to focus on one of the inescapable problems with the concept of magic. Questions about the cognitive capabilities of people who (are deemed to) practice magic have always been central to its history. So much so that debates over the rationality of magic – whether its practitioners are irrational because they believe what they do works – culminates in several edited volumes in the 1970s and 80s with titles like *Rationality* or *Rationality: The Critical View*.[23] Let me glibly summarize the conclusions of these works: people who perform magic are rational by their own standards, but are not rational by our own. I find this conclusion less than satisfying as if the vast majority of people, no matter where or when they live, are concerned with the logical criteria of analytical philosophers. As John Beattie (1971: 245) rightly observes, when people perform magic, they are "performing a rite, not applying laws of nature, however dimly apprehended." Similarly, Nicole Belmont (1982: 18) criticizes Tylor and Frazer's insistence that magic is false science: ". . . for agrarian rituals exist alongside agrarian techniques. People must therefore have been perfectly capable of telling technical effectiveness from magical effectiveness."[24] Finally, Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 115) offers us a weighty observation on the logic behind traditional rituals:

> Rites take place because and only because they find their *raison d'être* in the conditions of existence and dispositions of agents who cannot afford the luxury of logical speculation, mystical effusions, or metaphysical anxiety. It is not sufficient to ridicule the more naive forms of functionalism in order to have done with the question of the practical function of practice . . . But, contrary to appearances, scarcely more understanding is derived from a structural analysis which ignores the specific functions of ritual practices and fails to inquire into the economic and social conditions of the production of the dispositions generating both these practices and also the collective definition of the practical functions in whose service they function.

Such arguments have not however undermined the consensus that magic is the domain of the irrational and its practice signifies an inferior mental state. For example, in a passing assessment of the concept, George Thompson (2008: xxvii) defines Vedic ritual ideology, which utilizes complex sets of metaphorical and

23 See Wilson 1971, Horton and Finnegan 1973, Hollis and Lukes 1982, and Agassi and Jarvie 1987. For criticism of the use of the word "rational" in these debates, see Buchowski 1986 and Banner 1990.

24 Barnes (1979: 119) points out that magic practitioners readily defend their endeavors based on legitimate scientific knowledge. See also Grambo (1975) for a rich consideration of ways to understand magical practices.

metonymic analogies, as magical thinking.[25] For Thompson, its underlying logic is easy to understand if one reads Joan Didion's *The Year of Magical Thinking* (2005) wherein the author narrates the mental and emotional ways in which she dealt with her husband's sudden death and her daughter's life-threatening illness. She describes the process as a kind of insanity (so "magical thinking") since she tries to overcome unavoidable events by sheer willpower or repetitive ritual acts.[26] If we apply this model wholesale to Vedic ritual epistemology, are we to conclude that ancient Indians suffer from a similar mental condition, or to paraphrase Thompson, anguished bouts of magical thinking?[27] Unfortunately, over the past twenty years at conferences or seminars, I have heard colleagues articulate a version of this sentiment; namely, that magic represents a form of mistaken belief. That is to say, when I press scholars on their use of the term magic, and why ancient Indians are ritually doing what they do – and saying what they do will do what they say – I often hear some version of "because they believe in it." (I also get the sense that when scholars code practices or beliefs as magical, often as an afterthought, they do so as shorthand for "I don't know why these people think this works. It seems silly to me, but clearly magic explains it all.") In the face of physical laws, lived experience, and complex discursive ideals and sociopolitical structures that ancient Indians would have negotiated on a daily basis, the implication is clear: they are to some degree misguided, irrational, or primitive.[28] This conclusion is distressing because, as a Vedic scholar, I care deeply about how we represent people who lived thousands of years ago in north India. It is also troubling because ancient Indians are anatomically modern human beings with the exact cognitive capabilities to understand their world as any contemporary scholar of ancient India. It is not good enough for trained scholars to explain away the actions and ideas of people as irrational – as

25 In Vedic scholarship, it is common for scholars to define magic as symbolic or analogical thinking. While this conclusion is not wrong, it often goes undertheorized and stands for false belief. In contrast, see Witzel (1979), who presents a critical assessment of Vedic ritual epistemology, yet retains the concept of magic.

26 For a psychological analysis of this phenomenon, see Vyse 1997.

27 In relation to its medieval use, Kieckhefer (2019) recognizes that magic is a general ambiguous "aggregating term," constituted by various individual and contextually specific practices. Unfortunately, in terms of why people think what they do magically will be efficacious, Keickhefer invokes Freud's notion of an infantile confusion of will with reality (18).

28 For an illustrative version of this conclusion, see Bloomfield (1899: 61), who clarifies practitioners of the *Atharvaveda* as ". . . the natural semi-civilized man; rapacious, demon- and fear-ridden, hateful, lustful, addicted to sorcery." As Cohen (2020: 8) notes, "Modern scholars will distance themselves from Bloomfield's pejorative characterization of the *Atharvaveda* and of Vedic practitioners, but the distinction between religion and magic still lingers in recent work on South Asian religions."

magical – because they have failed to do the work to make such practices intelligible, meaningful, and ultimately rational in conventional terms. This interpretative strategy is the last resort of the uncritical. In this sense, magic and its adjective magical are just placeholders for further but unfurnished explanations.[29]

According to Catherine Bell (1992: 115), our primary question should not focus on how rituals do what people say they do, at least at a discrete literal level, but how each particular ritual is judged to be the appropriate activity to do in its specific context. This question illuminates the complex ways that people enact ritualized behavior to distinguish what they are doing as the best or right way to navigate particular dynamics of social empowerment over and against other potential ways of acting. In this vein, the literal goals of many rituals reflect a form of misrecognition in which people manage social relationships, economic realities, and political positions – or "schemes of privileged opposition" (98) – by metaphorically aligning them with ethical ideals, natural processes, and metaphysical truths.[30] As Jonathan Z. Smith (1982: 64–65) argues, rituals are supposed to be unlike reality or at least they create their own meta-reality. Rituals take place within predictable, even artificial, social arenas in which the potential exists for all the variables of life to be symbolically "factored out"; rituals are (often) unlike the hustle and bustle of everyday life.[31] This sheds some light on ritual practices that have been (unfortunately) deemed magical since anything is possible – at least, can be claimed to be possible – within the symbolically charged, ritualized, and "perfected" world of ritual performances. Conversely, such practices reflect a "realistic assessment" that rituals cannot literally do what people claim. In a more nuanced vein, William Sax (*et al.* 2010) argues that debates over the efficacy of rituals have always played a major role in any social or historical context and reveal a level of complexity and sophistication that scholars often overlook. Bourdieu (1977: 116) offers us another powerful observation in this regard when he argues that the metonymic relationships set up between humans, their desires, and the physical or supernatural world serve to foster specific and imitative modes of ritual and practical behavior or "mimesis." Bourdieu highlights this point by referring to a fertility rite, which connects cooking grain, pregnancy, and germination. Andrew Strathern (1996: 28) clarifies Bourdieu's point by citing an example from the fieldwork of Bronislaw Malinowski (1935) in Melanesia:

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29 For a similar assessment, see van Baal 1971: 74.

30 See also Schilbrack 2004.

31 As Smith (1982: 65) eloquently concludes, "It is not that 'magical' rituals compel the world through representation and manipulation; rather they express a realistic assessment of the fact that the world cannot be compelled. The ritual is incongruent with the way things are or are likely to be, for contingency, variability, and accidentality have been factored out."

> [W]hen a Trobriand garden magician mimics the actions of yams growing in a garden and says, "The belly of my garden swells," he transfers the scheme of pregnancy in the human body over to the scheme of garden fertility, thereby setting up a correspondence that reenergizes both contexts . . . What is involved here is not just symbolic action based on metaphor but also the bringing together of two separate spheres, which thereby become cosmically fused.

The point here is that a narrow focus on assessing (or dismissing) the literal veracity of any claim will overlook the complex sociopolitical relationships, discursive ideals, embodied dispositions, and metaphysical concepts that people consistently negotiate though ritualized acts. What is more, such practices may come with serious consequences. Consider the example presented by Michael Brown (1989), who underscores the deadly outcomes of performing shamanic rituals among the Aguaruna people in Peru. He describes a situation in which a local shaman-healer called Yankush was compelled to name the sorcerer who was suspected of killing an elderly villager, who had suddenly died. The shaman did so through a drug-induced vision and his fellow villagers subsequently killed the accused man. In Brown's (172) words,

> Because Yankush was widely known to have fingered the sorcerer, he became the likely victim of a reprisal raid by members of the murdered man's family. Yankush's willingness to accept the risk in order to protect his community from future acts of sorcery was a source of his social prestige, but it was also a burden. I rarely saw him leave his house without a loaded shotgun.

Vedic scholars could adopt a similar awareness of the complex social, economic, and political relationships that underlie any Atharvavedic ritual. We could call it the "shotgun rule." As Brown aptly concludes, "Belief in sorcery . . . may provide a system of rules and punishments in societies that lack a police force, written laws, and formal judicial system." In this vein, Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern (2004) have lucidly theorized the causal relationship between rumors and gossip and practices called "witchcraft" and "sorcery." In their words, "Rumor and gossip . . . are less a means of resolving disputes than a method of exacerbating tensions between people that can lead to the persecution of particular individuals perceived as being weak." (23) Accusations of sorcery or witchcraft thus reflect cultural, economic, or political changes that can lead to the redistribution of resources or even violence against accused groups. My point here is not to endorse the general use of the concept of sorcery, which frequently functions as a code word for magic or at minimum dovetails with it. I prefer the use of emic terms and categories as much as possible. We should only impose etic concepts if their utility is generalizable and informative to the widest cultural contexts. Nevertheless, Brown, Stewart, and Strathern underscore the imperative to analyze critically the ways in which ritualized hate speech ("sorcery" by another name) operates within and reflects complex lived sociopolitical worlds. The overwrought and violent language of the

Atharvaveda, like the *Ṛgveda*, underscores the serious nature of the kinds of relationships early Vedic ritualists may be negotiating. Atharvavedic specialists may be concerned with controlling the narrative ritually to avoid being perceived as performing nefarious acts, or at least walking a fine line between legitimate and illegitimate ways of ritually engaging their community. Consequently, Atharvavedic ritualists can be seen as professional negotiators of communal well-being and identity, yet their ritualized acts would have been embedded in tense social relationships with fraught interpersonal meanings and potentially deadly consequences.

3 Case Study

This brings us back to what I perceive to be the overriding and inescapable flaw with the concept of magic; namely, that it always implies false belief to some degree. This is painfully evident in contemporary English as the common semantic associations of magic signify something that is extraordinary, unbelievable, miraculous, beyond physics, even impossible, if not farcical. These connotations underlie the success of the category as a means of entertainment and its explosion in genres such as theater, novels, games, television, and movies. In short, magic sells. I suspect this is because magic creates an exciting form of escapism from the mundane world and allows for open-ended and fantastic world building. It also serves as a convenient way to shortcut character development and plot lines. As such, it functions as a cheap, yet compelling narrative device that can generate billions in revenue by gathering a legion of followers who want to be exhilarated by imaginative things.[32] In the modern world, magic is however still fiction. By its very nature, it represents a form of false belief in the face of cold hard science (or perhaps it merely requires a childlike mindset to participate). If someone cannot or will not differentiate between the two realms, we can readily diagnose them as suffering from "magical thinking," which signals a fatal flaw in someone's logic or understanding of reality. At this level, magical thinking is just another way of saying someone is irrational, if not crazy.

How then are we to understand the mindset of individuals who perform Vedic rituals and claim that they do things that rituals simply cannot do, at least not literally? For the rest of this paper, I would like to repurpose some of my conclusions from my article on lengthening life in early Vedic rituals (Whitaker 2011). The *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* are replete with statements in which a poet-priest lengthens the life of his patron, his community, and himself through his hymn and

32 Cf. Styers 2004: 121–217 on why magic persists in contemporary society.

the power of various gods. Poets typically express the desire for a long life, ideally for one hundred autumns, through the formula *prá √tr̥̄ áyus* ("to lengthen life") or a similar expression. For example (translations mine):

> *návonavo bhavati jā́yamānó*
> *'hnāṃ ketúr uṣásām ety ágram* |
> *bhāgáṃ devébhyo ví dadhāty āyán*
> *prá candrámās tirate dīrghám ā́yuḥ* || AVŚ.7.81.2/ṚV.10.85.19
>
> Constantly being born anew, as the banner of the days, he goes ahead of the dawns.
> As he comes here, he distributes a portion to the gods. The Moon prolongs his long lifetime.
>
> *mr̥̄tyóḥ padáṃ yopáyanto yád aíta*
> *drā́ghīya ā́yuḥ prataráṃ dádhānāḥ* | AVŚ.12.2.30ab/ṚV.10.18.2ab
>
> Effacing the footprint of Death, when you (gods) have come, establishing a longer more extensive lifetime.
>
> *úd īrdhvaṃ jīvó ásur na ā́gād*
> *ápa prā́gāt táma ā́ jyótir eti* |
> *árraik pánthāṃ yátave sū́ryāya-*
> *-āganma yátra pratiránta ā́yuḥ* || ṚV.1.113.16 (d=ṚV.8.48.11d/AVŚ.14.2.36d)
>
> Rise up! The living life-force has come here to us. Darkness has gone away; light draws near. She (Dawn) has left behind a path for the sun to travel. We have come to where they prolong life.[33]
>
> *yád ā́badhnan dākṣāyaṇā́ híraṇyaṃ śatā́nīkāya sumanasyámānāḥ* |
> *tát te badnāmy ā́yuṣe várcase bálāya dīrghāyutvā́ya śatáśāradāya* ||
> *naínaṃ rákṣāṃsi ná piśācā́ḥ sahante devā́nām ójaḥ prathamajám hy ètát* |
> *yó bíbharti dākṣāyaṇáṃ híraṇyaṃ sá jīvéṣu kr̥ṇute dīrghám ā́yuḥ* || AVŚ.1.35.1–2
>
> What gold (amulet) those with sacrificial skill, being favorable, bound to the one whose (missile) has a hundred facets,
> that (gold amulet) I bind to you for life, prestige, strength; for a long life of one hundred autumns.
> Neither monstrous threats, nor carrion-eaters overwhelm him, for this is the foremost born power of the gods.
> Who bears the gold (amulet) of those with sacrificial skill; he makes for himself a long lifetime among the living.

These stanzas were most likely sung in elaborate public rituals for wealthy patrons or in personal rites in which an amulet was bound on such individuals. We can clearly see the overlapping relationships between poet-priests, gods, and patrons, especially the desire for a long life, wealth, and others forms of social capital. In

33 For in-depth discussion on the meaning of the term *ásu* ("life, vital force, soul"), see Preisendanz 2005.

my own words (Whitaker 2004: 577), the ritualized creation of amulets reflects "a socio-religious exchange between elite ritually trained agents, their sources, and the recipients of symbolic capital, which highlights a dialectic of human relationships revealed in cosmological, ontological, and socio-political realms."

In terms of the goal to lengthen life, Ruprecht Geib (1975) offers an illustrative interpretation in relation to magic as he explains ancient Indians' desire for a long life in reductive psychological terms. That is to say, Vedic priests implicitly fear dying and use their rituals to lengthen their lives as a way to relieve their worries about perishing young, or death in general. Geib's conclusion owes its underlying reasoning to Bronislaw Malinowski (1955 [1925]), who was one of the paragons in the history of the interpretation of magic. Malinowski reduces ritual practices (aka magic) to a psychological device that alleviates stress and anxiety in times of uncertainty or danger. In this vein, the formula *prá √tr̥̄ áyus* ("to lengthen life") reflects an early Vedic form of cathartic wish-fulfilment. Mary Douglas (1966: 59) rightly criticizes Malinowski's presentation of magical practices as "a kind of poor man's whiskey, used for gaining conviviality and courage against daunting odds." The point here is that it is highly unlikely that ancient Indians were wracked with anxiety every time they performed rituals. As Jan van Baal (1971: 69) observes, pre-industrial people "know as well as we do that a wish is not fulfilled by wishing more ardently . . .", and in a mocking tone toward Malinowski's theory about garden magic, ". . . fair words butter no parsnips." While we could question whether people always exercise such knowledge, a Malinowskian interpretation of ritual efficacy fails to explain the complex discursive factors and relationships – symbolic, social, economic, and political – that give value and meaning to why early Vedic people sought to lengthen their lives through ritual practices.[34]

In my 2011 article, I concluded that the formula for lengthening life in ancient India reflects a particular ritualized way of talking and acting – a discursive strategy – wherein Vedic priests and patrons align themselves with institutional expectations and demonstrate performatively their commitment to participate in rituals throughout their entire lives. This conclusion allowed me to speculate on some of the underlying social and ritual processes implicit in the use of the term "life" (*áyus*). In particular, I asked the question: did ancient Indians *believe* that they could lengthen their lives through performing rituals? It is plausible to conclude that some people may very well have accepted this claim without doubt and with absolute conviction, as true and real, if this is what we mean by "believe." Nevertheless, if we draw on the work of Michel Foucault (1972, 1977), we can problematize this question from the outset and see any belief not as an object of good

34 For a critical reassessment of Malinowski's theories, see MacDonald 1984–1986 and 1995.

or bad, right or wrong knowledge, but as a subject of discourse, as a way of talking about and enacting social values and ideals. As part of a wider set of discursive formations, the process of lengthening life in ancient India works to circumscribe specific forms of knowledge, ways of knowing, and ways of enacting that knowledge. The proponents of early Vedic rituals would have been successful in ensuring that their ideologies and practices were dominant and normative if they and their clients accepted fully (that is, "believed") that their life was prolonged because of ritual participation.

With this said, it is insufficient to cite belief as the definitive explanation for an individual's or group's values and behavior (Ruel 2005: 261). It is too simplistic, if not analytically untenable, to identify belief and be done with it (as if belief is direct evidence of a person's brain structure). Beliefs certainly play important social, moral, and personal roles, but a statement of belief should immediately raise questions about how individuals come to hold such beliefs. This reframes the question in terms of the history of the institutionalization of specific beliefs and underlying processes and structures that make individuals fully internalize and embody them. Belief functions then as a performative statement about group allegiance and ideological commitment (Lopez 1998). We should thus identify the object of that belief, the status that object holds in society, and the ideologies and practices that lend authority and meaning to it in the first place. It is a mistake to think that belief is, in Ruel's (2005: 262) words, "fundamentally an interior state, a psychological condition." Sharf (1998: 114) puts it best when he states, "all attempts to signify 'inner experience' are destined to remain 'well-meaning squirms that get us nowhere.'" In other words, the problem with the concept of belief is that it all too easily backs you into an interpretative corner where the quality of a belief can only be assessed by your own standards. When people disagree with or cannot understand a given belief – especially when cornered intellectually – they usually judge it as irrational, wrong, crazy, or infantile because their own beliefs are not so. Furthermore, as Barry Stephenson (2015: 72) observes, "the notion of belief is today so laden with literalism and an objectivist epistemology" that it fails to account for rites "characterized by a subjunctive mood, ludic playfulness, and imagination . . . The implied ontology [underlying exactly what people believe] here lacks nuance and sophistication. Moreover, many ritual traditions emphasize participation or observance over belief." The point here is that a reductionist emphasis on what goes on in people's minds – which is all too often implied with the concept of magic – distracts from the primary task of explaining the complex social realities and relationships that affect, constrain, and give meaning to the identities of individuals and the circumscribed choices they can make. It also fails to explain the complex internal logic of such practices in their own terms. As Bell (1992: 190) forcefully states, "Not only is ideology *not* a matter of belief; in actuality it rarely demands belief. Ideologies

function as such by not requiring complete faith in each tenet or idea; all that is required is consent."

Let me defer once again to my 2011 article. In the case of lengthening life in ancient India, it may have been the case that a sacrificer was content with the ritual's outcome because, like his ritually active compatriots, he too continued to grow old. However, poets are quick to point out that various gods can threaten a sacrificer's life and throughout the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the warrior god Indra is instructed to kill individuals who do not perform rituals. In failing to do so, such people become legitimate targets for sustained violence. This is a powerful ethical and symbolic incentive for ritual participation. We can speculate then that when early Vedic Indians ritually lengthened their lives they would have "put themselves in the right" by creating an appearance of "ethical impeccability" (Bourdieu 1977: 22). The ritualized process of lengthening life thus constitutes a symbolically and ethically charged field of struggle. The fact that ritual participants misrecognize the arbitrary nature of these purposes (prestige, wealth, ethical/ritual correctness) supports and legitimizes a coherent, yet discursively self-interested worldview wherein life can be rhetorically and ritually lengthened.[35] Since no poet openly questions the stated goals of the ritual, this suggests that ritual participants are motivated by, in Bourdieu's words, a "*pure*, *disinterested* respect for the rule"; or to turn this formulation on its head, an unwavering performative commitment to the ritual's figurative efficacy to lengthen life. To appropriate Stoller's (1998: 252) useful concept of "embodied rationality" for the early Vedic context, it is not that ritual participants master life through ritualized practices, but rather that such practices directed towards prolonging life master ritual participants. Vedic Indians thus become the primary producers and enactors of a dominant ideology that reproduces their privileged identities and socioeconomic positions.

The ritualized process of lengthening life thus reflects a complex set of reciprocal relationships between poet-priests, patrons, gods, and the wider community. In lengthening life, all parties exercise their practical sense of how to monopolize, challenge, or capitalize on ethical, socioeconomic, and political advantages. It would

35 For Bourdieu (1977), misrecognition refers to an everyday, taken-for-granted process wherein behaviors of social empowerment, authority, and domination are not recognized for what they are. Because of learned, almost unconscious dispositions, people struggle to identify self-interested practices that control the flow of economic and symbolic capital. In addition, individuals and groups strategically attribute such behavior to other interpretative realms, often moral, cultural, or supernatural, which are themselves difficult to question without failing to meet group expectations, values, and standards. In projecting such behavior into these realms, in preventing people from recognizing their arbitrary nature (why such practices are deemed to have value in the first place), self-interested motivations are concealed – misrecognized – and inequities and uneven relationships of power can be maintained.

have been ritually and politically detrimental, if not absurd to question the rhetorical goals of the ritual because one would be jeopardizing one's access to various economic and symbolic benefits, if not undermining one's status and membership in Vedic society. The use of *áyus* in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* thus highlights a complex set of strategies at the micro-political level of early Vedic society; that is, in lived reality, in which ritual participants constantly embody, reproduce, and give value to their lives in a heavily ritualized way. Conversely, this discourse can be understood as deeply rational – as a form of practical logic – full of common-sense, and obvious to the point of being taken for granted, which is a conclusion about the mindset of ancient Indians that is well beyond what any theory of magic can tell us about their cognitive capacities, hopes, and lives.[36]

4 Conclusion

If we are to engage in judicious and theoretically informed analysis of the complex ideals, values, and practices that make early Vedic rituals coherent, compelling, and the right thing to do, we need to examine systematically the epistemological and metaphysical assumptions, the complex discursive formations and practices, and embodied forms of knowledge that the texts reveal. One way to do this is to abandon the concept of magic, which, to paraphrase Edmund Leach, says absolutely nothing meaningful at all. To extend J. Z. Smith's assessment of the concept of religion (1988), magic is not only the Frankenstein-like creation of scholars; it is a monster in need of grave exorcising. It is the ultimate weasel word. Consequently, I challenge Vedic scholars to update their theoretical horizons with contemporary theories for understanding human behavior that shun any notion of a discrete, deficient, or unevolved mindset. In contrast, such theories should interpret ritual practices and their non-empirical claims in terms of agency, performance, the body, and institutionalized forms of normative discourse, practice, and representation. In particular, the fields of cultural history, discourse analysis, gender studies, ritual studies, microsociology, and actor-network theory, to name but a few approaches, provide significant ways to understand the complex and coherent lived worlds

36 For the notion of practical logic, see Bourdieu 1977: 96–158, especially the quote from page 115, cited above. Practical logic is a kind of common-sense rationality. It refers to pre-determined and learned dispositions, values, and ideals (Bourdieu's habitus) that provide people with dominant and practical ways to understand and negotiate a nebulous social world based on everyday necessity. In this sense, practical rationality more closely approximates the various ways in which people rationalize their decisions based on shared values and truths, and thereby exercise a normative rationale for doing what they do.

in which all human beings inhabit. The field of cognitive linguistics also offers a fruitful way to map conceptual landscapes, particularly in terms of metaphor and metonymy, rather than in terms of the reductive category of false belief, cathartic wish-fulfilment, or Frazerian notions of similarity and contagion. Such an intellectual move would be truly magical for the field of Vedic studies.

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Carmen Spiers

The Marginality of the Atharvaveda in Its Historical Context

Abstract: This article attempts to sketch out an essential aspect of the Vedic ritual tradition commonly called "Atharvaveda": its marginality with respect to the Śrauta-tradition among the various ritual modes practiced by the community of Vedic, and later Brahmin, priests. This marginality has never truly wavered, from Vedic times until today, despite the late "canonization" of the Atharvaveda and various attempts at its promotion. The idea that the Atharvaveda is not on the same level as the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas is familiar to most, but we would add that the Atharvaveda has carried distinctively negative connotations within Vedic priestly culture from the beginning of its history. The evidence for this argument is organized in five sections: 1, the Atharvaveda's late inclusion in a closed group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas; 2, the derogatory designations, or the negative connotations which the various designations of the Atharvaveda have carried, and this tradition's history of attempts to rename itself; 3, the marginal and impure status of the medical profession, a specialty of the Atharvaveda, in the period of the Yajurvedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas; 4, the ritual inferiority of other groups associated with the Atharvaveda; 5, the persistent marginality and inferiority of the Atharvaveda in the post-Vedic period.

Although the hymns of the Ṛgveda and those of the extant Śaunaka and Paippalāda collections (*saṁhitā*) of the Atharvaveda can both be called "Vedic hymns", they are distinct in many ways. It is well known that they reflect different temporal, environmental, and social contexts: mid to late second millenium BCE vs. the beginning of the first millenium BCE, the Bronze Age vs. the Iron Age, North-West India vs. farther east, semi-nomadic cattle-herding vs. sedentary agriculture and animal

Note: I would like to thank the organizers of the conference for having given me the opportunity to participate in yet another highly rewarding event under the Swiss Paippalāda Project. The presentation I gave at the conference was entitled "The Draft-Ox as King: ŚS 4.11/PS 3.25 and the Gosava of the Brāhmaṇa texts," but Umberto Selva's 2019 thesis, defended a couple months before the date of the conference, masterfully covers the topic in question so there is no need for any further repetition here. I also thank my reviewers for their insightful discussion leading to a clearer focus in this paper.
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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-011

husbandry, loose-knit mobile clans vs. villages with increasing social hierarchy.[1] The newer hymns of the Atharvaveda never replace those of the Ṛgveda, central elements of the Śrauta ritual system till this day. So what, then, is the position of the hymns of the Atharvaveda and of the whole Atharvavedic tradition, within the Brahmanical milieu?

The old "religion vs. magic" binary distinction of the early social sciences, mapped onto Vedic culture as "Ṛgveda vs. Atharvaveda" and occasionally uncritically repeated, is sometimes opposed by taking the equally simplistic step of conflating totally the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, whereby their texts would equally represent one single, unitary "religion." Thus, as one scholar writes: "Whereas many Western scholars have regarded the Atharvaveda with suspicion and dismissed its contents as 'sorcery' or 'magic' as opposed to the pure 'religion' of the Ṛgveda, the Indian tradition itself does not express a similar anxiety over the contents of the fourth Veda, nor does the tradition distinguish between the religion of the Atharvaveda and that of the other Vedas" (Cohen 2020: 8). The truth of this statement cannot be maintained, as it involves ignoring the fact that Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic hymns have, from the ancient period until today, always been kept in different categories, used, and viewed differently within Indian culture. We can indeed affirm, as we shall see, that the Brahmanical tradition does "express anxiety" over the contents of the Atharvaveda.

Here I will try to sketch out an essential aspect of the Vedic ritual tradition commonly called "Atharvaveda": its marginality with respect to the Śrauta-tradition among the various ritual modes practiced by the community of Vedic, and later Brahmin, priests. This marginality has never truly wavered, from Vedic times until today, despite the late "canonization"[2] of the Atharvaveda and various attempts at its promotion. The success that the priests of the Atharvaveda attained among some political elites in India at certain points[3] should also not be overestimated: it did not change the fact of the Atharvavedic priests' continuously marginal position from the point of view of the community of Brahmin priests to which they belong. The idea that the Atharvaveda is somehow not quite on the same level as the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas is familiar enough to most, but I would add that the Atharvaveda has carried distinctively negative connotations within Vedic priestly culture from the beginning of its history. I will organize the evidence for this argument in five

1 These facts have resulted from the cross-referencing of archeological data and indications within the texts; see Witzel (2009) and, for a very basic overview supported with a bibliography, Kulke & Rothermund (2016: 11–26).

2 By this I mean its inclusion in a closed group of four with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur-Vedas: see section 1 below.

3 See Sanderson (2004) and (2007).

sections: 1, the Atharvaveda's late inclusion in a closed group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas; 2, the derogatory designations, or the negative connotations which the various designations of the Atharvaveda have carried, and this tradition's history of attempts to rename itself; 3, the marginal and impure status of the medical profession, a specialty of the Atharvaveda, in the period of the Yajurvedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas,; 4, the ritual inferiority of other groups associated with the Atharvaveda; 5, the persistent marginality and inferiority of the Atharvaveda in the post-Vedic period. I hope to put to rest any doubts concerning the Atharvaveda's marginal status, and perhaps convince readers of its negative reception in the Brahmanic priestly community over time.[4]

1 The Atharvaveda's Late Inclusion as a "Veda"

It is well known that the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas originally formed a closed group of three that did not include the Atharvaveda, which was to be added only at the end of the Vedic period (see Bloomfield 1899: 21–34; Renou 1947: 12–13; Gonda 1975: 8, 268; Holdrege 1994: 54, n. 5; Witzel 1997: 278; Bronkhorst 2016: 226). In Patton (1994), a volume dedicated to questions of the Vedic canon, the Atharvaveda is mentioned almost exclusively in footnotes.[5] We find references to the group of three together, *ṛ́caḥ* (strophes), *yájūṁ̐ṣi* (ritual formulas), and *sā́māni* (melodies), without any reference to something representative of the Atharvaveda, starting in the last book of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā[6] and continuing throughout Vedic literature,

4 The following makes use of some of the material in the first chapter of my PhD thesis, written in French (see Spiers 2020). However, the scope of this paper is narrower, although in some places the relevant passages are actually presented in greater detail than in the thesis, for instance in section 4 of this paper.

5 In one of the volume's articles, Holdrege writes (1994: 36): "The core *śruti* texts are the four types of mantras, *ṛc*s, *yajus*es, *sāman*s, and *atharvāṅgiras*es or *atharvan*s, which are collected in the Saṁhitās." However, the "fourth Veda" is not further discussed in her article, precisely because (p. 39), "In their discussions of the bounded textual manifestation of the Veda, the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads tend to focus almost exclusively on the three mantra collections, *ṛc*s, *yajus*es, and *sāman*s, which are generally designated as *trayī vidyā* ('threefold knowledge') or *traya veda* ('threefold Veda')." As she says in footnote 24 (p. 57) to this statement, "This prevalent emphasis in the Vedic texts on the threefold Veda, Ṛg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Sāma-Veda, suggests that it took some time before the Atharva-Veda was accorded an equivalent status as the fourth Veda."

6 Ṛgveda 10.90.9 (ed. Aufrecht 1877: 388): *tásmād yajñā́t sarvahúta ṛ́caḥ sā́māni jajñire | chándāṁ̐si jajñire tásmād yájus tásmād ajāyata ‖*.

including within Atharvavedic texts.[7] The first reference to the Atharvaveda as a fourth element next to the other three occurs in one of its hymns, under the compound name *atharvāṅgirásaḥ*[8] "the Atharvans and the Aṅgirases":

> ŚS[9] 10.7.20 (ed. Roth & Whitney 1924: 231):
> *yásmād ṛ́co apákṣan yájur yásmād apákaṣan* |
> *sā́māni yásya lómāny atharvāṅgiráso múkhaṁ skambhā́ṁ tám brūhi katamáḥ svid evá sáḥ* ‖
>
> They cobbled the Ṛc-stanzas from him, they scraped off the Yajuṣ-formula from him; his hairs are the Sāman-melodies, his mouth is the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirases. Tell [me], this Skambha-support, whoever is he really?[10]

The context indicates that *atharvāṅgirásaḥ* must designate oral ritual elements in line with *ṛ́c-*, *yájus-*, and *sā́man-*, and yet the compound is formed from the name of legendary poet-priests, *áṅgiras-*, and an antiquated priestly title, *átharvan-* (see section 2 below). Since these two are not originally words for liturgical elements, this in itself sets them apart from the first three.[11]

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7 A perusal of Bloomfield's concordance (1906: 285–286) should suffice: "*ṛ́k sāma yajur ucchiṣṭe* AV.11.7.5[a]; *ṛ́k sāma yajur vaṣaṭ svāhā namaḥ* TS.7.3.12.1; KSA.3.2 [. . .] *ṛ́ksāmābhyāṁ yajuṣā saṁtarantaḥ* (VS.KS.ŚB.MŚ. °*bhyāṁ saṁtaranto yajurbhiḥ*) VS.4.1[c]; TS.1.2.3.3c; 3.1.1.4; KS.2.4[c]; 23.6; ŚB.3.1.1.12; MŚ.2.1.1.6[c] [. . .] *ṛ́gbhiḥ sāmnā yajurvidaḥ* AV.12.1.38[d] [. . .] *ṛ́caḥ sāma yajur mahī* AV.10.7.14[b]; *ṛ́caḥ sāmātho yajuḥ* AV.11.8.23[d] [. . .] *ṛ́cā sāmnā yajuṣā devatābhiḥ* TB.3.7.6.13[b]; ApŚ.4.8.4[b] [. . .] *ṛ́co nāmāsmi yajū́ṁṣi nāmāsmi sāmāni nāmāsmi* VS.18.67 [. . .] *ṛ́co yajū́ṁṣi sāmāni* TB.3.12.8.1[a]." To this list I add *ṛ́caḥ sā́māni yájūṁṣi* from a prose section of the Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā: 2.4.3 (Schroeder 1883: 41, line 16); = Taittirīyasaṁhitā 2.4.12.7.

8 On this dvandva compound, of which the stem is *atharvāṅgirás-*, see Wackernagel (1905: 157, §66c). The thematic derivative stem *atharvāṅgirasa-* seems not to be attested in the Vedic corpus (Bloomfield 1899: 7–8). The only other occurrence of *atharvāṅgirás-* within the Atharvavedic Saṁhitās is found in PS 16.84.7, in a longer list of genres reminiscent of those from the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa that I cite further on. There is also an isolated case where only the Atharvans are mentioned in a reference to the Atharvaveda as a hymn collection, in the obviously late litany of praise for the different books of the Śaunakasaṁhitā, ŚS 19.23. The first line reads: *ātharvaṇā́nāṁ caturṛ́cebhyaḥ svā́hā* "Praise be to the [hymns] of four-stanzas (= book 1) of the Atharvans", and goes on similarly for the other books.

9 The names of the Śaunaka- and the Paippalāda-Saṁhitās of the Atharvaveda are abbreviated ŚS and PS respectively. All other text names are written in full. ŚS: edited by Whitney & Roth (1924), except for book 20, and by Pandit (1895–1898); PS: edited by Bhattacharya (1997–2016); concerning the passages listed in footnote 14, PS book 5 is also available in the edition with translation by Lubotsky (2002).

10 All translations in this article are my own unless otherwise specified. – In place of *sā́māni yásya lómāny atharvāṅgiráso múkham*, the Paippalāda parallel (PS 17.9.1c) has *chandāṁsi yasya lomāni* (ed. Bhattacharya 2011: 1160).

11 Atharvan and Aṅgiras and/or their patronymics are found together but uncompounded in ŚS 10.6.20/PS 16.44.3; ŚS 11.6.13/PS 15.14.6; ŚS 16.8.11–14/PS 18.52.9–12; ŚS 19.54.5/PS 11.9.4cd–5; PS

However, the first reference to the Atharvaveda as a fourth element *outside* of its own texts occurs in the Taittirīyasaṁhitā, a relatively late Yajurvedic Saṁhitā (Witzel 1997: 303, 305); this is also the only such reference in a non-Atharvavedic Saṁhitā:

> Taittirīyasaṁhitā 7.5.11.2 (ed. Weber 1872: 332)
> *ṛgbhyáḥ svấhā yájurbhyaḥ svấhā sấmabhyaḥ svấhấṅgirobhyaḥ svấhā védebhyaḥ svấhā gấthābhyaḥ svấhā nārāśaṁsíbhyaḥ svấhā ráibhībhyaḥ svấhā sárvasmai svấhā* ‖ 2 ‖
>
> Praise be to the Ṛc-stanzas, praise be to the Yajuṣ-formulas, praise be to the Sāman-melodies, praise be to the Aṅgiras-formulas praise be to the Vedas, praise be to the Gāthā-songs, praise be to the Nārāśaṁsī-songs, praise be to the Raibhī-songs, praise be to the whole!

The "Aṅgirases" refer here to liturgical material particular to the Atharvaveda in that it makes up half of the aforementioned compound *atharvāṅgirásaḥ*. However, we do not have here a closed group of four elements including one referring to the Atharvaveda, but rather a list of eight elements. It is hard to know if the mention of "Vedas" which follows the group of the first four is meant to sum them up collectively and put them on a higher level than the other four types of "songs" which follow. This occurrence sets the stage for the usage met with in the Brāhmaṇas and afterward, where "the *atharvāṅgiras*es or *atharvan*s are rarely mentioned along with the other three mantra collections" (Holdrege 1994: 57, n. 24); when they do appear after a reference to the first three collections, it is only as part of a longer list of all sorts of Vedic lore, "sacred" or not (see also Bloomfield 1899: 23). In Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 13.4.3.1–14,[12] the crowd during the Aśvamedha-festivities is regaled on subsequent days with music and performances from different "Vedas" (here the term *véda-* is in apposition to the following items): Ṛc the first day, Yajus the second, Atharvan the third, Aṅgiras the fourth, Sarpavidyā the fifth, Devajanavidyā the sixth, Māyā the seventh, Purāṇa the eighth, Itihāsa the ninth, and Sāman on the tenth. A parallel passage in the later ritual manual Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 16.2.9 (ed. Hillebrandt 1888: 198) describes the Aśvamedha-festivities in the same way, but uses compounds in °*veda-*,[13] including *atharva-veda-*, perhaps one of this word's first occurrences outside of the Atharvaveda's own literature. However, in both Śatapathabrāhmaṇa and Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra, the universal application of the term "Veda" to all the diverse elements in the enumeration, ranging from the Ṛc to

5.11.4; PS 16.94.5–8; PS 17.22.3; PS 17.28.22–25. In these passages they are not used as designations of types of ritual utterances, but act rather as semi-divine personalities, just as they do when found singly (just Aṅgiras or just Atharvan) in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Atharvaveda.

12 Text ed. Weber (1855: 984–986). Full translation in Eggeling (1900: 361–370).

13 For a study of early occurrences of such compounds and of lists of "Vedas," see Bronkhorst (1989).

Purāṇa, shows that this term here simply means "lore" and that we cannot conclude from such passages that the Atharvaveda belongs to an exclusive group with the Ṛg-, Sāma-, and Yajur- Vedas, just because it might also be called "Veda".

However, a similar list in Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 14.5.4.10 uses the compound form ending in °*vedá-* for the first three, but not for the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirases and the rest: *ṛgvedó yajurvedáḥ sāmavedò 'tharvāṅgirása itihāsáḥ purāṇáṁ vidyấ upaniṣádaḥ ślókāḥ sū́trāṇy anuvyākhyā́nāni vyākhyā́nāni* (ed. Weber 1855: 1064; the same list is also in Śatapathabrāhmaṇa [Mādhyaṁdina] 14.6.10.6). Similarly, the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛg- and Sāma- Vedas have a story about the creation of the three Vedas, grouped together without mention of the Atharvaveda, but this story is taken up by the late Atharvavedic Gopathabrāhmaṇa and modified to fit the idea of four Vedas. Let us first cite the story of three Vedas from the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa (belonging to the Ṛgveda; a parallel is found in the Sāmaveda's Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa, 1.357):

> Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 5.32 (ed. Aufrecht 1879: 154–155):
> *prajāpatir akāmayata: prajāyeya bhūyān syām iti. sa tapo 'tapyata, sa tapas taptvemāṁl lokān asṛjata: pṛthivīm antarikṣaṁ divaṁ. tāṁl lokān abhyatapat, tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi jyotīṁṣy ajāyantāgnir eva pṛthivyā ajāyata, vāyur antarikṣād, ādityo divas. tāni jyotīṁṣy abhyatapat, tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trayo vedā ajāyanta: ṛgveda evāgner ajāyata, yajurvedo vāyoḥ, sāmaveda ādityāt. . . .*[14] *sa prajāpatir yajñam atanuta, tam āharat, tenāyajata. sa ṛcaiva hautram akarod, yajuṣādhvaryavaṁ, sāmnodgīthaṁ. yad etat trayyai vidyāyai śukraṁ, tena brahmatvam akarot.*
>
> Prajāpati desired, "May I propagate myself, may I be more." He performed ascetic heat; having performed ascetic heat he emitted these worlds: earth, midspace, sky. He heated the worlds; from them when heated three luminaries were born. Agni was born from the earth, Vāyu was born from the midspace, Āditya was born from the sky. He heated the luminaries: from them when heated the three Vedas were born. The Ṛgveda was born from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, the Sāmaveda from Āditya. . . . Prajāpati extended the rite: he took it, he performed the rite with it. He performed the Hotar's office with the Ṛc, the Adhvaryu's with the Yajuṣ, the Udgītha with the Sāman. He performed the Brahman's office with that which the triple science has that is pure.

Here follows the modification of this story to fit four Vedas in the Gopathabrāhmaṇa:

> Gopathabrāhmaṇa 1.2.16 (ed. Gaastra 1919: 49):
> *prajāpatir atharvā devaḥ sa tapas taptvaitaṁ cātuḥprāśyaṁ brahmaudanaṁ niramimīta caturlokaṁ caturdevaṁ caturvedaṁ caturhautram iti. catvāro vā ime lokāḥ pṛthivy antarikṣaṁ dyaur āpa iti. catvāro vā ime devā agnir vāyur ādityaś candramāś catvāro vā ime vedā ṛgvedo*

14 An intervening passage on the birth of the three ritual exclamations is omitted for the sake of space.

> *yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmaveda iti. catasro vā imā hotrā hautram ādhvaryavam audgātraṁ brahmatvam iti.*
>
> The divine Atharvan is Prajāpati. Having performed ascetic heat, he fashioned out that four-portioned rice-gruel for the Brahmins, with four worlds, four gods, four Vedas, four priestly offices. Four are these worlds: earth, midspace, sky, waters. Four are these gods: Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Candramas. Four are these Vedas: Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Brahmaveda. Four are these priestly offices: that of the Hotar, that of the Adhvaryu, that of the Udgātar, that of the Brahman.

This passage is also a classic example of the Gopathabrāhmaṇa's pro-Atharvaveda propagandist style, which aims to secure the position of the Brahman-priest in Śrauta ritual for Atharvavedins (or "Brahmavedins"). Besides this passage and ŚS 10.7.20 cited above, I have not been able to find any closed enumerations of four elements wherein one refers to Atharvavedic formulas outside of the Gṛhyasūtras and the Upaniṣads; in the latter, the fourth element is still often called *atharvāṅgirasaḥ,* or *ātharvaṇam* (the Ātharvanic [collection]), even when the compounds in °*veda*- are used for the first three (Holdrege 1994: 57, n. 24, with text citations).

2 Derogatory Designations

We have mentioned above one of the oldest ways of referring to the hymns of the Atharvaveda, *atharvāṅgirásaḥ.* The variant *bhṛgvaṅgirásaḥ* "the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirases" is found from the Brāhmaṇas on, and is preferred in Atharvavedic ritual texts (Gonda 1975: 267).[15] Three entities, then, are contained in these names: Aṅgiras is present in both, combined with either Atharvan or Bhṛgu.[16] While Atharvan is a priest's title, Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu are the eponymous ancestors of families of Vedic priest-poets designated by the patronymics Āṅgirasa and Bhārgava (these *gotra*s are still met with today); with the founders of the different schools (Pippalāda, Śaunaka, etc.), they represent the traditional Atharvavedic sages in medieval Indian ritual literature (Griffiths & Sumant 2018: LVII). Here I will describe what each of these names represent by themselves, and then mention another, less common designation of the Atharvaveda: Yātu.

Despite their apparently respectable place as a family of Vedic poets and as legendary priests frequently invoked as ancient ritual role-models in the Yajurveda,[17]

15 An uncompounded version is found in the genitive sequence *bhṛ́gūṇām áṅgirasām* "of the Bhṛgus [and] the Aṅgirases" in Khila 3.15.30 to Ṛgveda 10.84 (ed. Scheftelowitz 1906: 102).

16 The three are found together in Ṛgveda 10.14.6 (repeated in the Atharvaveda as PS 18.63.1/ŚS 18.1.58).

17 See the study by Shende 1950.

the Aṅgirases are called "terrible" (*ghorá-*) from the latest, so-called "Atharvavedic" book of the Ṛgveda onwards,[18] and continue to be so characterized and connected with inimical violence in all periods of Vedic literature, within and without the Atharvaveda.[19] The Aṅgirases are even mixed up with Asuras in some late Vedic texts, when the latter had become the gods' enemies (see section 4 below). By medieval times, Aṅgiras is synonymous with *abhicāra* or hostile ritual: the Āṅgirasakalpa (*āṅgirasaḥ kalpaḥ*, *aṅgirasāṁ kalpaḥ*) of the Atharvavedic medieval tradition is also known as the Abhicārakalpa (Sanderson 2007: 202). We also find the concept of *praty-āṅgirasa* or "anti-Aṅgiras" ritual, that is, rites to defend against ritual attacks, developed in both the Atharvavedic and the Ṛgvedic ritual traditions.[20] The Aṅgirases' *purohita*-like role as Indra's aides in his battle against Vala[21] might suggest an ancient association with hostile ritual specifically in the service of a chieftain. At any rate, one cannot disregard the terrible side of the Aṅgirases, nor the antiquity of this aspect and of their intimate association with the tradition later called Atharvaveda.

"Atharvan" is an obsolete priest's title. The word *átharvan-*, like that for the physician *bhiṣáj-* (see section 3 below), is common to both Vedic and Avestan and might be a foreign loanword from the Oxus civilization languages of the Indo-Iranian substrate.[22] As can be seen by the use of the word in the hymns of the Ṛgveda (as well as in the Avesta), "Atharvan" originally designated a type of priest,[23] but no priest bearing this title appears in codified Vedic ritual. Like the title "Asura", "Atharvan" can be said of gods in the Ṛgveda but afterward goes out of style, to say the least. Heesterman (1993: 143–144) notes the Atharvan-priest's "somewhat peripheral position" in Vedic and Avestan texts; in ancient Iran the title was superseded by *magu* (which, I might add, is at the origin of the word "magician" in European languages, transmitted through Herodotus; see Boyce 1982: 15–19). Heesterman further remarks: "The Iranian *āthravan*, then, does attest to the early existence of priestly figures serving kings and magnates. But his status of a priestly servant in a

18 Ṛgveda 10.108.10, probably 10.92.3 as well; see Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1542).

19 For an overview of passages, see Bloomfield (1897: XIX–XXI).

20 See Bahulkar (2004). In medieval Tantric currents, the goddess Pratyaṅgirā is known as an Atharvavedic version of Durgā.

21 See, for example, the discussion of this well-known myth in Jamison & Brereton (2014: 22).

22 **atharwan*; in Avestan *āθrauuan-*/*aθaurun-*; see Lubotsky (2001: 303, 310).

23 See Mayrhofer (1992: 60): "Priester; Name des ersten Priesters des Vorzeit (ṚV+)." The word is translated "fire-priest" by Jamison & Brereton (2014) in several of its occurrences in the Ṛgveda (8.9.7, 10.87.12, 10.92.10), but as Heesterman (1993: 143) notes, all Vedic priests are fire-priests. The idea that Atharvan is a priestly title and not a family name was proposed already by Macdonell (1897: 141) after a discussion of all Ṛgvedic occurrences; see also Macdonell & Keith (1912: 17).

magnate's household does not speak for an autonomous state and certainly not for high status or spiritual authority." See section 5 for the royal connection in India.

According to the well-known opposition in Atharvavedic ritual tradition between a positive category referred to as *śānta-* "auspicious", *ātharvaṇa-* "Ātharvanic", or *bheṣaja-* "medicine", and a negative one referred to as *ghora-* "terrible", *āṅgirasa-* "Aṅgirasic", or *yātu-* "maleficent power/device" (Bahulkar 1994: 40), the name "Atharvan" should represent something positive in contrast to Aṅgiras. However, this is part of a later development:[24] In the Atharvavedic hymn collections, there is no correlation between Aṅgiras and hymns for causing harm nor between Atharvan and auspicious or healing hymns, as has long been noted.[25] There are in fact more passages that associate Aṅgiras with medicine than Atharvan.[26] In general, the so-called "medical" hymns blend in with hymns against enemies because of their violent exorcistic content and their portrayal of the physician as a ruthless warrior and the illness as a demon (Pinault 2004). Furthermore, medicinal practices were in no way viewed as "positive" or "pure" in the ancient period, as we shall see in section 3.

Bhṛgu, as I mentioned at the beginning of this section, was preferred to Atharvan by the post-Saṁhitā Atharvavedic ritual tradition, with the designation *bhṛgvaṅgirásaḥ* being more prevalent in this sphere. Bhṛgu at one point must have sounded better than Atharvan, as the names being pushed by the post-Saṁhitā

24 Perhaps occasioned by the emergence of the medieval ritual category of *śānti*, according to Geslani (2018: 30, note 41, and p. 40). The Kauśikasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra, both Atharvavedic ritual texts belonging to the end of the Vedic period, show only partial signs of the polarized ritual categories called *śānta*/*ātharvaṇa* and *ghora*/*āṅgirasa*. The Gopathabrāhmaṇa, which presupposes these two Sūtras, is the most explicit in its presentation of this distinction. See Bloomfield (1897: XVIII–XIX), Caland (1910: 14; comments to Vaitānasūtra 5.7.10), and most recently the discussion in Griffiths & Sumant (2018: LXI–LXIV), which also shows how the distinction has become standard in medieval Atharvavedic ritual texts like the Karmapañjikā.

25 Bloomfield (1899: 22); Henry (1909: 221); Macdonell & Keith (1912: 18); Shende (1950: 119) and (1952: 6).

26 Aṅgiras is explicitly connected with a medical practice, without mention of Atharvan, in six passages: ŚS 8.7.17/PS 16.13.8, ŚS 8.7.24/PS 16.14.3, ŚS 19.34.6/PS 11.3.6, PS 3.22.1, PS 5.30.9 and PS 7.19.6. The same goes for Atharvan only in four passages: ŚS 4.37.1/PS 12.7.1, ŚS 10.2.26/PS 16.59.9, PS 1.8.4 (ab: ŚS 2.3.4ab), and PS 1.38.4. Outside of the Atharvaveda, we do find some stray mentions connecting Atharvan to medicine, such as *bhesajaṁ vā ātharvaṇāni* "Ātharvanic [formulas] are medicine" in Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 12.9.10 (ed. Chinnaswami Sastri 1935: 463; similarly 16.10.10, 1936: 246). Moreover, according to the Anukramaṇī, the author of the hymn Ṛgveda 10.97 addressing medicinal herbs is called Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa, and this name is also given by the Mantrārṣādhyāya as the author of Kāṭhasaṁhitā 16.13, i.e. a full quotation of Ṛgveda 10.97 (see Weber 1855b: 459). Bloomfield (1897: XXI) followed by Macdonell & Keith (1912b: 106) misunderstands Weber's indication to mean that the name Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa appears in the text of the Kāṭhasaṁhitā itself, which is not the case.

Atharvavedic tradition reveal a desire to replace old associations.[27] Bhṛgu as a family name appears to have closer ties to a historic human reality than Aṅgiras. Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 2.2.3 designates specifically a Bhṛgu learned in the Atharvaveda as the best choice for the kings' *purohita* (Sanderson 2007: 205, n. 30). Bhārgava, and not Āṅgirasa, is found among the *gotra* names of Atharvavedic recipients of royal grants in the epigraphical sources presented by Schmiedchen (2007, appendices pp. 374–376). In the Vedic period, Bhṛgu seems to be rather neutrally charged compared to Aṅgiras; however, by the time of the Mahābhārata epic, the Bhārgavas along with the Āṅgirasas represent violent, wrathful Brahmins who are not to be crossed (Bronkhorst 2016: 237–240; see also Malinar's contribution in this volume on hostile ritual practices associated with the Atharvaveda in the Mahābhārata). As we know, Atharvan finally won out over both Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras in the name Atharvaveda, common today. This is mostly, it seems, because the other Vedic traditions never adopted the more modern or positive names involving "Bhṛgu" and "Brahman" with which the Atharvavedic tradition attempted to make a better name for itself.

Finally, it is worth noting that in one of its many passages that list Vedic genres, the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa appears to define the Atharvaveda as *yātú-*, for so it describes the fourth element coming after Ṛc, Sāman, and Yajuṣ:

> Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 10.5.2.20 (ed. Weber 1855: 795):
> *tám etám agnír íty adhvaryáva úpāsate | yájur íty eṣá hīdáṁ sárvaṁ yunákti sáméti chandogā́ etásmin hīdáṁ sárvaṁ samānám ukthám íti bahvṛcā́ eṣá hīdáṁ sárvam utthāpáyati yātúr íti yātuvída eténa hīdáṁ sárvaṁ yatáṁ viṣám íti sarpā́ḥ sarpá íti sarpavída úrg íti devā́ rayír íti manuṣyā̀ māyéty ásurāḥ svadhéti pitáro devajaná íti devajanavído rūpám íti gandharvā́ gandhá íty apsarásas táṁ yáthāyathopā́sate tád evá bhavati.*
>
> The Adhvaryu-priests worship that very one[28] as Agni [and] as the Yajuṣ-formula, for he yokes this whole [world]. The singers of verse [worship him] as the Sāman-melody, for in him this whole [world] is one and the same. The knowers of the many Ṛc-stanzas [worship him] as the hymn, for he sustains this whole [world]. The Yātu-experts [worship him] as Yātu-maleficent power, for by him is this whole [world] controlled. The snakes [worship him] as poison, the snake-experts as a snake, the gods as ambrosia, the humans as wealth, the Asuras as Māyā-power, the Fathers as the Svadhā-offering, the knowers of the Devajana as Devajana, the Gandharvas as beauty, the Apsarases as scent: however they worship him, just so does he become.

Of course, it is also possible that no particular reference to the Atharvaveda is meant at all in this multi-item list. However, the fact that the first four, concerning

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27 The promotional name Brahmaveda, which we saw in the Gopathabrāhmaṇa passage cited in the last section, never catches on: it is used solely in Atharvavedic ritual literature. See citations of texts in Sanderson (2007: 208, n. 39).

28 The supreme Puruṣa; see ŚBM 10.5.2.19, and Eggeling (1897: 373).

Yajuṣ, Sāman, Ṛc, and Yātu, are set apart from the rest by their explicative wordplay (*yātu-* is here suggested as deriving from *yam-* "to hold, control"), suggests that a fourth item is here starting to be recognized as a ritual tradition akin to the others but that its name is not yet fixed. The practitioners of *yātú-* are "praised" in association with the "Brahmins of death" in the Atharvaveda:

> ŚS 6.13.3/PS 19.5.3 (ed. ŚS: Roth & Whitney 1856: 108; PS: Bhattacharya 2016: 1414):
> *námas te yātudhā́nebhyo námas te bheṣajébhyaḥ | námas te mr̥tyo mū́lebhyo brāhmaṇébhya idáṁ námaḥ ‖*
>
> Homage to your wielders of maleficent power, homage to your medicines, O Death, homage to your roots (plant concoctions): this homage [is] for your Brahmins.

These Brahmins who know the techniques and formulas of death (both to bring and to repulse it) must be those of the Atharvaveda itself, because it is in this Veda that such techniques and formulas are recorded and transmitted. But aside from this passage, both in the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, *yātú-* is hated and feared as harmful, and its practitioner (*yātudhā́na-*) must be killed. Though the line between human and demonic is blurry in Vedic, *yātú-* is often associated with curses and aggressive rituals performed by humans, as shown already in the famous episode from ṚV 7.104 (ŚS 8.4/PS 16.9–11) in which the speaker (traditionally, the poet Vasiṣṭha), after cursing his enemies to die, vehemently swears his innocence before the god Agni perhaps in anticipation of accusations of engaging in *yātú-*. It is telling that the Atharvaveda could be associated with such an unambiguously negative notion.

3 The Marginal Status of the Medical Profession, a Specialty of the Atharvaveda

Among the canonical Vedas, the Atharvaveda is uniquely associated with physicians and with rites to banish disease, which are well represented in its hymns. But physicians are impure and excluded from mainstream Vedic ritual activity (Somarites) in the earliest Yajurveda accounts and elsewhere:

> Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā 4.6.2 (ed. Schroeder 1886: 79, line 19, to p. 80, line 7):
> *yajñásya vái sr̥ṣṭásya śíro 'chidyata. tásmai devā́ḥ prā́yaścittim aichann. átha vā́ etáu tárhi devā́nāṁ bhiṣájā āstām aśvínā ásomapau. tā́ úpādhāvan. yáthā bhiṣájam upadhā́vanty evám idáṁ yajñásya śíraḥ práti dhattam íti. tā́ abrūtāṁ. bhāgó nā astv íti. vr̥ṇā́thām. íty ábruvaṁs. tā́ abrūtā́ṁ. gráhaṁ nau gr̥hṇantu. somapīthám áśnavāvahā íti. tád vā́ aśvínau práty adhattāṁ. tásmād āśvinī́bhir abhí ṣṭuvanty. aśvínau hí pratyádhattāṁ. táu vái bahiṣpavamānénaivá*

pāvayitvā́ tā́bhyāṁ pūtā́bhyāṁ yajñíyābhyāṁ bhūtā́bhyāṁ gráham agṝhṇaṁs. tásmād bahispavamāné stutá āśvináu gṝhyete.

The head of the rite in progress was cut off. The gods sought a remedy for that. At that time those two physicians of the gods, the Aśvins, were not Soma-drinkers. They (the gods) resorted (to the Aśvins), just as one resorts to a physician, saying, 'Put back the head of the rite here!' The two (Aśvins) said, 'Let us have a share [of the rite].' – 'Choose!' replied the gods. The two (Aśvins) said, 'Let them draw a cup for us two. We would like to obtain Soma-drinking.' The Aśvins put back the [head]. That's why one sings with the Āśvinī-meters. For the Aśvins put back [the head]. Only after having purified them with the Bahiṣpavamāna does one draw the cup for the two (Aśvins) who have been [thus] purified, having become worthy of the rite. That's why the two [cups] for the Aśvins should be drawn once the Bahiṣpavamāna has been sung.

Taittirīyasaṁhitā 6.4.9.1–3 (ed. Weber 1872: 205–206):
yajñásya śíro 'chidyata; té devā́ aśvínāv abruvan: bhiṣájau vái stha idáṁ yajñásya śíraḥ práti dhattam íti, tā́v abrūtāṁ: váraṁ vṛṇāvahai gráha evá nāv atrā́ 'pi gṝhyatām íti; tā́bhyām etám āśvinám agṝhṇan, táto vái táu yajñásya śíraḥ práty adhattāṁ; yád āśvinó gṝhyáte yajñásya níṣkṛtyai. táu devā́ abruvann: ápūtau vā́ imáu manuṣyacaráu ‖ 1 ‖ bhiṣájāv íti, tásmād brāhmaṇéna bheṣajáṁ ná kāryàm, ápūto hy èṣò 'medhyó yó bhiṣák; táu bahiṣpavamānéna pāvayitvā́ tā́bhyām etám āśvinám agṝhṇan, tásmād bahiṣpavamāné stutá āśvinó gṝhyate. tásmād eváṁ vidúṣā bahiṣpavamāná upasádyaḥ, pavítraṁ vái bahiṣpavamāná ātmā́nam evá pāvayate. táyos tredhā́ bháiṣajyaṁ ví ny àdadhur, agnáu tṛ́tīyam apsú tṛ́tīyam brāhmaṇé tṛ́tīyam; tásmād udapātrám ‖ 2 ‖ upanidhā́ya brāhmaṇáṁ dakṣiṇató niṣā́dya bheṣajáṁ kuryād; yā́vad evá bheṣajáṁ téna karoti, samárdhukam asya kṛ́tām bhavati.

The head of the sacrifice was cut; the gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye are physicians; do ye replace the head of the sacrifice'; they replied, 'Let us choose a boon; let there be drawn a cup for us also herein.' For them they drew this cup for the Aśvins; then indeed did they replace the head of the sacrifice; in that (the cup) for the Aśvins is drawn, (it is) to restore the sacrifice. The gods said of these two, 'Impure are they, wandering among men [1] and physicians.' Therefore a Brahman should not practice medicine, for the physician is impure, unfit for the sacrifice. Having purified them by the Bahiṣpavamāna (Stotra) they drew for them this cup for the Aśvins; therefore (the cup) for the Aśvins is drawn when the Bahiṣpavamāna has been sung. Therefore by one who knows thus the Bahiṣpavamāna should be performed; verily he purifies himself. Their skill as physicians they deposited in three places, in Agni a third, in the waters a third, in the Brahman a third. Therefore one should put beside him a pot of water [2] and sit on the right hand of a Brahman when practicing medicine: all medicine he performs thereby, his remedy becomes effective. (translation by Keith 1914: 535).

Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 3.124 (ed. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra 1954: 406):
*sa *hovācāśvinau*[29] *vai tau darvihomiṇau bhiṣajyantāv idaṁ carato 'napisomau* |

He said, 'The two Aśvins go about here making herbal offerings and practicing medicine: they have no place by the Soma'.

29 Ed. *sa sahocāśvinau*; emendation by Gerhard Ehlers.

Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 4.1.5.13–15 (ed. Weber 1855: 351–352):
táu hocatuḥ | súkanye kénāvám ásarvau svaḥ kénā́samr̥ddhāv íti táu hárṣir evá práty uvāca kurukṣetrè 'mí devā́ yajñáṁ tanvate té vāṁ yajñā́d antár yanti ténā́sarvau sthas ténā́samr̥ddhāv íti táu ha táta evā́śvínau préyatus tā́v ā́ jagmatur devā́n yajñáṁ tanvānā́nt stuté bahiṣpavamāné ‖ 13 *‖ táu hocatuḥ | úpa nau hvayadhvam íti té ha devā́ ūcur ná vām úpa hvayiṣyāmahe bahú manuṣyèṣu sáṁsr̥ṣṭam acāriṣṭaṁ bhiṣajyántāv íti ‖* 14 *‖ táu hocatuḥ | víśīrṣṇā vái yajñéna yajadhva íti kathám víśīrṣṇéty úpa nú nau hvayadhvam átha vo vakṣyāva íti táthéti tā́ úpāhvayanta tā́bhyām etám āśvināṁ gráham agr̥hṇaṁs tā́v adhvaryú yajñásyābhavatāṁ tā́v etád yajñásya śíraḥ práty adhattāṁ tád adás tád divākī́rtyānāṁ brā́hmaṇe vy ā́ khyāyate yáthā tád yajñásya śíraḥ pratidadhátus tásmād eṣá stuté bahiṣpavamāné gráho gr̥hyate stuté hí bahiṣpavamānā́ ā́gachatām ‖* 15 *‖*

They [the Aśvins, C.S.] said, 'Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete, in what respect imperfect?' The Ṛṣi himself answered them, – 'In Kurukshetra yonder the gods perform a sacrifice and exclude you two from it: in that respect ye are incomplete, in that respect imperfect!' And the Aśvins departed forthwith, and came to the gods, as they were performing a sacrifice, after the chanting of the Bahishpavamāna. 14. They said, 'Invite us thereto!' The gods said, 'We will not invite you: ye have wandered and mixed much among men, performing cures.' 15. They said, 'But surely ye worship with a headless sacrifice!' – 'How with a headless (sacrifice)?' – 'Nay, invite us, and we will tell you!' – 'So be it!' so they invited them. They drew this Āśvina cup for them; and those two became the Adhvaryu priests of the sacrifice, and restored the head of the sacrifice. Then, in the chapter of the divākīrtyās, it is explained how they did restore the head of the sacrifice. Hence this libation is drawn after the chanting of the Bahishpavamāna, for it was after the chanting of the Bahishpavamāna that they arrived. (translation by Eggeling 1885: 275–276).

Further on, in the Dharma texts, medicine is still a "despised" profession (see Bloomfield 1899: 26 and Macdonell & Keith 1912b: 104–105). As for the oldest period, Ṛgveda 9.112.3a *kārúr aháṁ tató bhiṣák* "I am a bard, Dad is a doctor" might imply that the same family could produce Vedic ritual professionals as well as physicians, but this depends on the exact sense of *kārú-*[30] and in any case does not necessarily mean that the practitioners of these professions had equal social status in the earliest Ṛgvedic times.

4 The Ritual Inferiority of Other Groups Associated with the Atharvaveda

Vedic physicians and their divine counterparts, the Aśvins, are not the only ones to be excluded from Śrauta ritual and then allowed only after purification/instruc-

30 See Köhler (2018: 114) on the sense of this word.

tion. A similar mythical storyline of inferiority and gained acceptance is common to the Aṅgirases and the Vrātyas, both groups being strongly associated with the Atharvaveda in particular. Here, first of all, is the story of the Aṅgirases:

> Kāṭhasaṁhitā 9.16 (ed. Schroeder 1900: 119, lines 10–18):[31]
> *áṅgirasaś ca vấ ādityấś ca svargé lokè 'spardhanta tá ādityấ etáṁ páñcahotāram apaśyaṁs táṁ mánasānūddrútyājuhavus táta ādityấs svargáṁ lokám ấyann ápấṅgiraso 'bhraṁśanta té 'ṅgirasa ādityấn abruvan kvà stha kathấṁ vo havyáṁ vakṣyāma íti cchándassv íty abruvan gāyatryấṁ vásavas triṣṭúbhi rudrấ jágatyām ādityấ íty átra vái devébhyas sadbhyó havyám uhyate yá eváṁ devấn upadéśanād védopadéśanavān bhavati yás svargákāmas syất sá etáṁ páñcahotāraṁ mánasānūddrútya juhuyāt páñca vấ ṛtáva ṛtávas saṁvatsarás saṁvatsarás svargó loká ṛtúṣv evá saṁvatsaré pratiṣṭhấya svargáṁ lokám eti ‖*
>
> The Aṅgirases and the Ādityas vied for the heavenly world. The Ādityas saw that 'Five-Priest' formula. Having mentally recited it, they made an oblation. Because of that the Ādityas arrived at the heavenly world. The Aṅgirases fell off. The Aṅgirases said to the Ādityas, 'Where are you? How will we carry the oblation to you?' 'In the meters,' they replied, 'the Vasus in Gāyatrī, the Rudras in Triṣṭubh, the Ādityas in Jagatī.' For in this world, the oblation is carried to the divine beings. Who thus knows the gods by instruction becomes an instructed person. He who would desire heaven should make an oblation after having mentally recited that 'Five-Priest' formula. For five are the seasons, the seasons are the year, the year is the heavenly world. Only having taken foundation in the seasons, in the year, does one go to the heavenly world.

Notice the emphasis on proper instruction in ritual matters, and the implication that the Aṅgirases were deficient in this.[32] A similar competition wherein the Ādityas beat their rivals on account of their superior ritual knowledge is alluded to in Taittirīyasaṁhitā 3.5.1.2–3 (ed. Weber 1871: 304–305):

> *ādityấś cấṅgirasaś cāgnín ấdadhata té darśapūrṇamāsáu práipsan téṣām áṅgirasāṁ níruptaṁ havír ấsīd áthādityấ etáu hómāv apaśyan tấv ajuhavus táto vái té darśapūrṇamāsáu ‖2‖ pűrva álabhanta*
>
> The Ādityas and the Aṅgirases piled up the fires, they desired to obtain the new and the full moon (offerings); the Aṅgirases offered the oblation, then the Ādityas saw these two offerings, and offered them; then they first grasped the new and the full moon (offerings). (translation by Keith 1914: 278)

Here the Aṅgirases have some ritual technique, but it appears not to be sufficiently sophisticated. The Vrātyas' ritual insufficiency is similar: they have the desire but

31 This and similar passages are summarized by Shende (1950: 118) in his overview of the Aṅgirases.

32 This has already been noticed by Lévi (1898: 67–68): "Les Âdityas pour leur sacrifice n'ont pas demandé de conseils et n'en ont pas reçu. Les Angiras, moins habiles, sont fréquemment arrêtés par leur ignorance."

not the means. Umberto Selva has recently discussed the foundational myth of the Vrātyas; I cite his summary:

> The gods went to heaven, but left behind (*hi-*) the *daiva*/*divya* Vrātyas. This mythical Vrātya group with Budha or Dyutāna Māruta as leader (*sthapati* or *gṛhapati*) aimed at following the gods on their path. Eventually the Maruts (PB) or Prajāpati (JB), depending on the version of the myth, provide them with the necessary knowledge or the proper rituals that allow them to reach the gods in the *svarga loka* via the *devayāna path*. These are the Vrātyastomas, special rituals that need to be performed when forming a Vrātya alliance before undertaking a Vrātya expedition, as well as at the end of the expedition, in order to be re-integrated into society. (Selva 2019: 392–393).[33]

As Selva points out, the ambiguous societal and religious position of the Vrātyas is such that their identity is still debated:[34] some consider them to represent a heretical tradition in the eyes of the Vedic mainstream, while Selva follows others in seeing a pan-Vedic inherited tradition of warrior brotherhoods made up of youths and marginalized persons for which special rituals were necessary if they wished to be reintegrated as part of regular Vedic society and ritual practice. Whatever the case may be, they are fringe characters. Selva (2019: 393–394) further remarks that the Vrātya story is paralleled by that of Rudra/Paśupati's exclusion from the gods' sacrifice (see also Candotti & Pontillo 2015); again, the cult of Rudra is particularly well represented in the Atharvaveda as compared to the other Vedas.

So we see that one frame story is common to the twin Aśvin physicians, the Aṅgirases, and the Vrātyas: all are left out of the gods' ritual endeavors, but finally gain access through instruction. It might be possible, in the case of the Aṅgirases, to object that they simply represent the human priest, and not the Atharvavedic priest in particular, and that the story only reflects man's original attempts at ritual by emulation of the gods. However, other versions of the story equate the Aṅgirases with the Asuras,[35] thereby making them downright enemies of the gods, and not human but demonic. A short hymn alluding to this story is found as Ṛgvedakhila 5.20/ŚS 20.135.6–10.[36] Successively more detailed prose stories surrounding the use

33 Selva presents the various versions from Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 17.1.1–7 and 24.18.2, as well as Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.221, with text and translation. See also Caland's translations: Caland (1931: 454–456 and 620–622) for the PB passages and Caland (1919: 183–184) for the JB.

34 Selva (2019: 392, and 334, n. 33, etc.); see also af Edholm (2017: 2).

35 The storyline is discussed by Heesterman (1993: 37–41), who mentions the character identity shift briefly (footnote 142), but does not present the passages.

36 The hymn begins everywhere *ádityā ha jaritar áṅgirobhyo dákṣiṇām anáyan* "The Ādityas, O singer, brought the *dakṣiṇā*-fee for the Aṅgirases", the rest differs slightly from place to place but concerns their accepting or refusing various *dakṣiṇās* (ŚS ed. Pandit 1898b: 831–832; Ṛgvedakhila ed. Scheftelowitz 1906: 164). One difference interesting for our purposes is that the ŚS reads (10ab) *dévā dadatv ásuraṁ tád vo astu súcetanam* "Let the gods give an Asuric thing, let it be agreeable to

of this hymn, called Devanītha, are found from one Brāhmaṇa to the next:[37] the core idea is that the Ādityas outwit the Aṅgirases in order to get to heaven before them, by making them officiate for the Ādityas' heaven-winning Soma sacrifice and by making them accept the *dakṣiṇā* remuneration for it. At one part of the story in the latest versions, the Ādityas offer Speech as a *dakṣiṇā* and the Aṅgirases refuse her. She becomes an angry lioness intent on harming both parties, and here the Ādityas and the Aṅgirases are renamed as the Devas and the Asuras:

> Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.115 (text as in Caland 1919: 158)
> *athaiṣa sadyaḥkrīḥ te vṛtā nāpākrāmaṁs ta etyāyājayaṃs tebhya etāṁ vācaṁ vaḍavāṁ śvetāṁ bhūtām aśvābhidhānyabhihitām ānayann imāṁ pratigṛhṇīteti te 'bruvañ chreyasīyam asman no imām udyaṁsyāma iti sā kruddhā na mā pratyagṛhṇann iti siṁhy ubhayatomukhī bhūtvordhvodakrāmat sobhayān devāsurān antarātiṣṭhad yaṁ devānām upāpnod yam asurāṇāṁ tam ādadānā*
>
> As to that Same-Day Soma ritual: the (Aṅgirases) chosen (as officiants by the Ādityas) did not step down. Having come, they officiated. (The Ādityas) brought them Speech in the form of a white mare bound with a halter. "Accept her", they said. (They replied,) "This one is too great for us. We won't be able to raise her." She became angry, (thinking,) "They didn't accept me." Having become a two-mouthed lioness she rose straight up. She stood between the two groups, the Devas and the Asuras, seizing whichever of the Devas and the Asuras she could reach.

This translation follows Caland's (1919: 160; German), who identifies the unnamed subjects in the beginning as Aṅgirases by citing also Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 3.187–188. This last passage explains at length how the Aṅgirases planned a Next-Day Soma sacrifice and asked the Ādityas to officiate. The Ādityas, not wishing to put themselves in the subordinate position of officiants to the Aṅgirases, thought up the Same-Day version and asked the Aṅgirases to officiate, thus making them subordinate. It starts: *ādityāś ca vā aṅgirasaś ca svarge loke 'spardhanta ta aikṣanta yatare no yatarān yājayiṣyanti te hāsyanta iti . . .* "The Ādityas and the Aṅgirases vied for

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you (O Aṅgirases)"; the Khila version (4b) is probably original with *(ā) váram* "boon" in the place of *ắsuraṁ*, but the confusion is telling. Gopathabrāhmaṇa 2.6.14 repeats the ŚS version (ed. Gaastra 1919: 268; one manuscript has the variant *asuraṁ*). In Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 12.19 (see Caland 1953: 337–338), the hymn is recited after the so-called "Prattle of Etaśa" during the twelve-day Soma sacrifice; the preceding Khila likewise relates the "Prattle of Etaśa".

37 This story was presented with citations from several passages from the Brāhmaṇas by Lévi (1898: 65–66). The story is found in a short form in Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa 30.6 (Keith 1920: 526–527) and Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa 16.12 (Caland 1931: 446–447); Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 6.34 (translated by Keith 1920: 285–287) is much longer with the Khila verses embedded; finally, Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.115–7 + 3.187–8 (see Caland 1919: 158–161) and Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 3.5.1.13–25 (translated by Eggeling 1885: 113–116) momentarily identify the actors at one point as the Devas and Asuras, as shown here.

the heavenly world. They reflected: "Whichever of us will officiate for the others will be left behind" (text as in Caland 1919: 158; shorter versions of the story are also found in Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 2.120, 2.362, 2.365). In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, the Ādityas and the Aṅgirases are explicitly named only to be re-identified as Devas and Asuras in the course of one continuous story:

> Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyaṁdina) 3.5.1.13 (ed. Weber 1855: 268)
> *dvayyò ha vấ idám ágre prajấ āsuḥ | ādityấś caivấṅgirasaś ca . . .*
> . . . 3.5.1.21 (p. 269) *sòbháyān ántareṇa devāsurấnt sáṁyattānt siṁhī́ bhūtvàdádānā cacāra*
>
> In the beginning, the creatures here were of two types: the Ādityas and the Aṅgirases . . . She (Speech), having become a lioness, roamed between the two warring parties, the Devas and the Asuras, seizing [whichever of them she could].

Though this is not original and reflects confusion with the much more common story of the war between Devas and Asuras, it speaks to the ambiguous status the Aṅgirases hold in the story. Incidentally, the Vaidika Brahmins of Andhra Pradesh invoke the rivalry between Devas and Asuras as a parallel for their own inter-priest enmities, requiring secret recourse to the Atharvaveda's rival-smiting powers (Knipe 2004: 433). These enmities often involve bitterness surrounding invitations and a refusal to officiate in others' rites; for the officiant is seen as subordinate to the Yajamāna, and the officiant's obligatory receipt of a *dakṣiṇā*-fee is particularly problematic in this light (see section 5 on the stigma surrounding a paid priest). An invitation to officiate can thus sometimes be perceived as an insult. This is clearly an old problem, as the story about the Aṅgirases officiating for the Ādityas shows.

5 The Persistent Marginality of the Atharvaveda in the Post-Vedic Period

From medieval times, though these represent the heyday for Atharvavedic *purohita*s in the service of kings (see Sanderson 2007: 204–205), we still have strong indications of the marginal position of the tradition with respect to the other three Vedas. First of all, working for a king would not have led to particular esteem within the larger orthodox community of Smārta Brahmins in the medieval period: the king's priest increasingly had to officiate in temples, and Brahmins who worked as temple priests for more than three years lost their Brahmin status and were vilified as *devalaka*s, as *upabrāhmaṇa*s "sub-Brahmins", and as *brāhmaṇacaṇḍāla*s "Brahmin untouchables" (Sanderson 2009: 276–278). Furthermore, the Atharvaveda was considered irrelevant for Śrauta ritual in the Brahmin community: this is underscored by the fact that in the 9th century, when the Atharvaveda should have been well-es-

tablished as the "fourth Veda", Bhaṭṭa Jayanta feels the need to devote a chapter of his Nyāyamañjarī to the defense of the Atharvaveda's authority next to that of the other three Vedas (see Kataoka 2007: 317). Jayanta admits that it is not an authority for Śrauta matters, but that it is authoritative for the sort of rites peculiar to it, namely *śānti*, *puṣṭi*, and *abhicāra*, which represent ritual categories important to royal ritual. Finally, the law codes condemn as a "minor sin" many practices particularly associated with the Atharvaveda,[38] but make an exception for kings. Despite the special status of the *purohita* versed in Atharvan ritual, Atharvavedins as a group are still a minority recipient of state donations in the Indian epigraphical record.[39] As Alexis Sanderson has noted, Śaiva priests, who competed with and eventually superseded the Atharvavedins in the role of royal officiants, recognized that the Atharvaveda was not on the same level as the other three Vedas, and even considered it to constitute, like their own, a restricted teaching beyond mainstream Smārta tradition:

> Indeed the Śaivas themselves have presented the Atharvaveda in just these terms. After defining the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda together with the Smṛtis as the common revelation the Jayadrathayāmala's first Ṣaṭka goes on to list those scriptures that are the basis of those religious systems that transcend this level, and includes the Atharvaveda among them. (Sanderson 2007: 206, followed by citation and translation of texts)

Finally, the modern situation mirrors the ancient one: Knipe's fieldwork on rivalry among the Vaidika Brahmins of Andhra Pradesh gives a telling picture of the place of the Atharvaveda (Knipe 2004). These *āhitāgni* Brahmins, though belonging to the Taittirīya school of the Yajurveda, secretly memorize hymns and even whole books of the Atharvaveda in order to get the better of their enemies. They invariably insist that they are simply defending themselves from the attacks by rival co-priests; the performer of hostile ritual acts (*abhicāra*), presents himself as a victim forced into responding in this way. Calumny and insults go hand in hand with this secret ritual aggression, and one of the most common accusations is precisely that of practicing "mean" (*kṣudra*) arts, that is, *abhicāra.*[40] Thus we see how the Atharvaveda is seen as low and dangerous but also, with a certain degree of hypocrisy, useful. Bodewitz' discussion of the contradiction between the highest sin of Brahmin-murder and the

38 *Abhicāra-* and *mūla-karmaṇ-* are *upapātaka*s in Manusmṛti 11.63; see Kane (1962: 1079–1080), Goudriaan (1978: 365), and Sanderson (2004: 233).

39 Schmiedchen (2007: 356–357); inscriptions are found from the 4th to the 11th centuries CE.

40 Knipe (2004: 442). Acts qualified as *kṣudra-* have long referred to *abhicāra-*; see Goudriaan (1978: 365). Another accusation, unsurprisingly, is that of having served as a despised temple priest, referred to scornfully with the English word "businessman" by some of Knipe's interviewees, because such priests are usually paid.

existence of rites whose goal is the death of the enemy, who is often in practice a rival Brahmin, is illuminating in this context (Bodewitz 2007=2019: 356–361).

In the 1960s, the Atharvavedin Brahmins of the Paippalāda school in Odisha were excluded from intermarriage and eating together with other Brahmin communities (Bhattacharyya 1968: 39). We can sum up with the remarks made by Witzel (2016: 73) in his recent overview of the current state of the Vedic schools in India:

> As has been mentioned earlier, the tradition of the Atharvaveda has always been the weakest among the four Vedas, no doubt due to its minor role in Śrauta rituals. On the other hand, kings needed Atharvavedins for their specific rituals (see AV Pariśiṣṭa 2), so that their survival was to some extent ensured. For example, the forty-odd small kingdoms of Orissa had a system of four Rājagurus, one of them being an Atharvavedin – who was in charge of police and spying.

6 Conclusion

It is the undeniable concentration of marginal elements in the Atharvavedic tradition that allows Parpola (2015) to go so far as to make a case for its belonging to a religion originally separate from that represented by the core of the Ṛgveda and Soma-centric Śrauta ritual.[41] I would rather say that the Atharvaveda tradition consolidated a host of marginal practices, but that these still belong, albeit as minor ritual modes of varying acceptability, to Vedic priestly tradition as a whole, for which Śrauta ritual was the major mode. We can compare the characterization chanced upon in a recent book review by Lubin (2020: 794): "The rites and mantras 'of Atharvan and Aṅgiras' constituted the 'other' ancient priestly tradition running parallel to the 'high cult' orthodoxy of the 'three Vedas' (Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda)." This paper has, I hope, sufficiently shown that representatives of the original three Vedas did express anxiety about this "other" ritual tradition, the Atharvaveda: at first they ignored it, but then they allowed it as a genre at the border between the three Vedas and various types of popular lore, and tentatively accepted it as a fourth Veda only at the end of the Vedic period. The Atharvaveda's associations with groups such as roaming physicians and Vrātya warrior bands, considered impure in the texts of the original three Vedas, play a role in its lack of respectability for these three. The way non-Atharvavedic Brāhmaṇa texts confuse the Aṅgirases with the Asuras as unfit ritualists and enemies of the gods is also

41 See also the review of Parpola (2015) by Jamison (2020), for whom "the differences are not different enough" to posit a historically separate religion and culture.

important given the Aṅgirases' early role as co-representatives of this tradition with the Atharvans. The Atharvaveda, as is clear from this its most common name today, tried to purge itself of its associations with Aṅgiras who had come to represent "terrible" hostile ritual; there was even an attempt at the end of the Vedic period to claim the irreproachable name "Brahmaveda", which needless to say never caught on. Even after the Vedic period, Atharvavedic Brahmins struggled for full acceptance within wider Smārta culture, their Veda being considered useless for Śrauta ritual, and they were sometimes subject to eating- and marriage- restrictions with Brahmins of the other Vedas. Here it is important to note that when I invoke the marginality of the Atharvaveda, I speak of the margins of Brahminical orthodoxy: we have seen that Atharvavedins had some degree of success in obtaining positions as royal *purohita*s in the first millennium CE, and as such they would not have been marginal figures from the point of view of the king and his retinue or from the point of view of the non-Brahmin subjects of this king. However, even then, the *purohita* continued to be scorned by the mainstream Smārta Brahmin orthodoxy, who considered the former a seller of his knowledge just like a paid temple priest. In the Vedic period, the Atharvaveda is a marginal tradition from the point of view of the representatives of the original three Vedas, and in medieval and modern times, marginal from the point of view of Smārta priestly society. It is important to recognize the marginality of the Atharvaveda, defined in this way with respect to the other Vedas, as an important component of its historical context; this in turn is important for accurate interpretation of Atharvavedic hymns, as they are distinct in many ways from Ṛgvedic hymns.

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Rites to Subdue: *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā* in the Mahābhārata

Abstract: The influence of Atharvavedic textual communities on the textual history and meaning of the Mahābhārata (MBh) is a recurrent topic in epic studies as the influential "Bhṛguization theory" proposed by V.S. Sukthankar (1936) demonstrates. Epic scholars often followed the general view on the Atharvaveda as focusing on dubious "magic" rituals and translated passages dealing with Atharvavedic ritual practices, such as *abhicāra*, with "black magic" or "sorcery". However, a general negative understanding and a too-general application of the terminology of "magic" effaces rather than reveals the polyvalent status of these practices in the epic. A closer look at the references to the Atharvaveda and the associated ritual vocabulary calls for more specific translations and points to the contested status of the Atharvaveda in the history of its reception. To demonstrate this, the contested status of ritual practices that aim to subdue others is discussed through an analysis of epic representations of *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā* rites which are typically connected to the Atharvaveda. The epic passages attest to the ambiguous status of these practices as they are criticized, but also accepted when employed in domestic contexts and in negotiating gender relations.

1 Introduction

The historical and ideological relationship between the Mahābhārata and the Veda is a much-discussed topic in the study of the epic and the reception history of the Veda. Some scholars highlight continuities that can be detected in the Mahābhārata's references to Vedic rituals and the possible impact of ritual structures on the epic narrative.[1] Others suggest that the epic rather negotiates a crisis of Vedic ritualism caused by changing socio-political contexts (such as the rise of empires, increasing social stratification) and the success of new religious-philosophical doctrines challenging the authority of Brahmanical priests and Vedic texts (Buddhism, Sāṃkhya, *bhakti* etc.).[2] The epic provides evidence for both views and this points to the interests of the various textual communities involved in its transmission. The

1 For instance, van Buitenen (1972), Minkowski (1989).

2 For instance, Holtzmann (1892–1895) suggests the epic is the result of a "Vaisnava redaction".

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-012

influence of Atharvavedic textual communities on the textual history of the epic has been discussed particularly since Vishnu S. Sukthankar's (1936) "Bhṛguization" theory. He argued that the final redaction of the epic is marked by the incorporation of texts featuring the Bhārgavas, the descendants of Bhṛgu, one of the prominent representatives of Atharvavedic ritualism (along with the descendants of Atharvan and Aṅgiras). At the same time, Sukthankar doubted the significance of these additions to the epic narrative and its ideological message. In his 1956 monograph on the meaning of the Mahābhārata, Sukhtankar argues that the *bhakti*-doctrine is the epic's "metaphysical" core message. One reason for the exclusion of the Atharvaveda from 'meaning-production' in the epic is that Sukthankar was convinced that the Bhārgava material has not the "remotest intrinsic connection" with the epic narrative.[3] Furthermore, the Atharvaveda's focus on magic and witchcraft is far away from the metaphysics of *bhakti*.[4] His view on the Atharvaveda resonates with its common association with destructive rituals and violent priests. Maurice Bloomfield poignantly summarizes this view as follows: "The enemy and the unholy wizard, the uncanny and the demoniacal, are conceptions which constantly interlace in the Atharvaveda."[5] Consequently, terms like "black magic", "sorcery" and "witchcraft" are regularly used for Atharvavedic practices. This view has also influenced epic scholarship as the discussion of the "Bhṛguization" theory demonstrates. Furthermore, when the Atharvaveda surfaces in the epic, the Western vocabulary of magic (despite its controversial semantics) is often used, for instance when *abhicāra* in the epic is generally translated as "black magic" or "sorcery". In epic studies, this has not necessarily resulted in viewing 'magic' as something negative or dubious. One way of dealing with the 'magical' elements in the epic is to treat them as literary devices, as typical features of the 'mythic' universe depicted in the epic tale. This universe includes miraculous elements, introducing elements of adventure and fairy tale into the 'heroic' tale. Accordingly, Atharvavedic "wizards", and "uncanny" practices like *abhicāra* have been treated as features of the literary genre.[6] On the other hand, such features were also viewed as pointing to the epic's cultural-historical contexts in that they mirror ritual practices in the 'real', the extra-diegetic world. According to E. W. Hopkins, for instance, the ubiquity of

3 Sukthankar (1936–1937: 67). In his view, the Bhārgavas were responsible for the first part of Book 1 and much of the didactic parts in Books 12 and 13 (ibid.: 71). For a discussion of the Bhrguization theory and for attempts to connect it to the epic plot, see, for instance, Goldmann (1977), Hiltebeitel (1999), and Bhattacharji (1991–1992).

4 Sukthankar notes: "The connection of the Bhṛgus with the Atharvaveda explains the element of witchcraft in the Bhārgava legends of our epic" (1936: 66).

5 Bloomfield (1890: 340).

6 See, for instance, Hopkins on the "magic lore" (1910: 25) included in the epic.

"magic" practices in the epic attests to contemporary ritual practices: "what is formally taught elsewhere is found in the epic in active operation" (Hopkins 1910: 24). In a similar vein, depictions of Atharvavedic practices can be treated as instances motivating either the propagation or the criticism of dominant ritual and social norms.

Nevertheless, a too general application of the terminology of 'magic' – producing, for instance, problematic distinctions such as between 'black' and 'white' magic –[7] effaces rather than reveals the contested and polyvalent status of these practices. It imposes a second-order discourse that is mostly entertained in the comparative study of religion and has certain advantages for cross-cultural studies.[8] But the application of this discourse must not replace the study of the emic vocabulary for what is typically a large spectrum of practices, nor overrule the findings in the sources which suggest a more complex picture. This complexity is not due only to the Sanskrit ritual vocabulary that calls for more specific translations, but also because of the ambiguous position of the Atharvaveda in the history of its reception. On the one hand, there is textual evidence for a 'negative' view of the Atharvaveda[9] that locates it at the margins of the original canon of the three Vedas and its transmission in less respected, even dubious priestly communities. On the other hand, the history of its reception also attests to its success, as can be seen in the very creation of the canon of the four Vedas, the *caturveda* which is referred to alongside the term *trayī* (the three Vedas) and even came to replace it.[10] Furthermore, it enjoys a certain popularity because Atharvaveda rites and mantras cater to the worldly needs of householders. The different reactions to the Atharvaveda corpus result in its being perceived as both included and excluded, less respectable in certain circles, and popular in others. Accordingly, the representation of the Atharvaveda and its priests in the subsequent textual tradition has remained

7 In his study of *abhicāra*, Türstig (1985: 71) rejects this distinction as "totally inapplicable" because "'white magic' and 'black magic' are not seen as functional opposites, but rather as complementary functions related to the ambivalent aspects of one single power."

8 See Otto (2013) on the problematics of the term "magic" in the study of religions in general, and Stratton (2013) on strategies for combining a philological concern with the emic terminology with a useful employment of the term 'magic' for comparative purposes. For similar considerations regarding the interpretation of *abhicāra*, see Türstig (1985: 70–75).

9 See Spiers in this volume. Pantulu (1939: 388) points out that the negative view on the Atharvaveda is a product of Western scholarship that is "unfair and incorrect" since it does not acknowledge the significance of the Atharvaveda as an "integral part of Vedic literature".

10 See Holdrege (1994) on this process. The significance of the shift from "three Vedas" to "four" should not be underestimated since it marks the closure of the canon. Further enhancements are marked by texts that claim to be a "fifth Veda" (like the Mahābhārata), but this does not result in changing the designation of the four Vedas, see Malinar (2011).

ambivalent and depends on the interests of the communities supporting or rejecting Atharvavedic traditions. This situation points to a cultural-historical context in the transition from the late Vedic to the classical period, in which established religious authorities are challenged by new or alternative teachers. B. K. Smith (1989) has studied some of the repercussions of this transformation for the Vedic ritual tradition, particularly the growing importance of *gṛhya* and *kāmya* rituals at the expense of *śrauta* rituals. The Mahābhārata is an important document of the negotiation of these transformations that consolidated in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era and is marked by a pluralization of religious practices available for householders.[11] The representation of Vedic ritualism in the epic is influenced by these contestations and the polyvalent representation of Atharvavedic practices in the Mahābhārata also mirrors this cultural-historical constellation.

2 References to the Atharvaveda

Before discussing some of these representations more closely, a brief overview of the references to the Atharvaveda and related practices shall help to put them in context.[12] It is important to distinguish between passages that merely mention persons, texts, or practices connected to the Atharvaveda from those in which they assume a function in the epic plot or one of the sub-tales transmitted in the epic.

Most references relate to stories featuring Brahmin priests and teachers associated with the Atharvaveda, some of which have been studied in connection with Sukthankar's "Bhṛguization" theory (see note 3). Another set of references mentions the Atharvaveda in enumerations of the Vedic *saṃhitā*s, for instance in descriptions of auspicious places.[13] In most instances, they are mentioned in connection with monotheistic cosmologies propagated in the epic. At 3.187.14 the four Vedas are said to have been created by God Hari-Kṛṣṇa, and 13.17.88–89 states that the four Vedas constitute body parts of God Śiva (the Atharvaveda is identified with the head). The Nārāyaṇīya recounts that the newly created authoritative treatise that promulgates God Hari-Nārāyaṇa as the supreme being is favoured in

11 See the essays in Olivelle (2006) for the larger socio-political transformations, and Malinar (2020) on religious plurality in the epic.

12 In a brief overview, Patyal (1993: 153) stresses the acceptance of the Atharvaveda, but since he does not deal in greater detail with the passages he refers to, some of his interpretations are questionable so that the over-all picture he draws seems one-sided.

13 See 1.64.31–33 as a feature of the hermitage of Kaṇva, and 2.11.23 in the description of the god Brahmā's heavenly assembly hall.

the Vedic hymns (*ṛgyajuḥsāmabhir juṣṭam atharvāṅgirasais tathā* 12.322.37–38) and that they include his names (12.328.8; 12.235.4/98 lists *atharvaśiras* as one of his names). 12.330.32–34 mentions that those "who know the hymns of the Atharvaveda" consider him "as the Atharvaveda that comprises five *kalpa*s (five types of ritual) and is strengthened by incantations", *pañcakalpam atharvāṇaṃ kṛtyābhiḥ paribṛṃhitam*; 330.34). These instances represent the Atharvaveda as an integral part of the Vedic canon. This is also the case when the canon is referred to as *trayī*, but explicitly includes the Atharvaveda. This attests to a process of canon formation in which the original designation coexisted with another one (*caturveda*) that made the inclusion explicit.[14] However, the joint mention of both words is an exception in the epic since in most cases *trayī* is referred to as one of the sciences (*vidyā*) a king should study.[15] The following discussion focuses on another group of references that concern the function and the effects of rites associated with the Atharvaveda that aim to control others.

2.1 Rites to Subdue: *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*

The epic includes several references to *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*, which are explicitly or implicitly connected to Atharvan-Aṅgiras and/or the Atharvaveda and to contexts in which they are used to control and subjugate others. Some passages stress their tremendous, even terrible power and their efficacy in fighting enemies. These rites are used either to realize the hostile intentions of their performer or to prevent the hostility of others. In the battle books, the efficacy of a weapon to kill the enemy is compared to that of *atharvāṅgiras* rites.[16] An instruction at 13.101 about the flowers to be used for worshipping deities and demons for various purposes, mentions that plants with red blooms that are pungent and have spikes are taught in Atharvaveda

14 See 12.227.1, and Patyal (1993:150). The few references to *caturveda* are mostly in theistic contexts; see, for instance, 3.194.12, 12.326.8, 100, 12.327.100, 13.135.95. At 13.10.34 the Atharvaveda is enumerated as a topic of study separately from the Veda.

15 See, for instance, 3.49.31, 3.189.23, 12.18.32, 12.59.33, 12.90.7, 12.123.19. This usage probably draws on Arthaśāstra 1.3.1–2, which distinguishes between *trayī* as *vidyā* and the Vedas which include the Atharvaveda. 13.16.48–49 describes God Śiva being worshipped with recitation from the three Vedas (some mss add the Atharvaveda).

16 At 9.16.41–43 Yudhiṣṭhira throws at Śalya a radiant, terrible rod that is blazing like the fire at the end of time and is terrible (*ugra*) like an *atharvāṅgiras* rite. The latter is also said at 8. 67.21 about the arrow Arjuna unleashed to kill Karṇa, who also possessed an arrow endowed with the atharvanic power to destroy an enemy (8.66.2–3).

hymns (to be used) for *abhicāra* against enemies (13.101.29).[17] A chapter in Book 13 dealing with the duty of kings to honor the Brahmins includes the warning that Brahmins are terrible (*ugra*) when they are enraged and can destroy everything "with rites of subjugation (*abhicāra*), (various) means (*upāya*) and even their energy (*tejas*)" (13.33.7). These instances confirm the often-mentioned connection of Atharvavedic rites to hostile, violent intentions (fighting enemies or counteracting hostile acts of others). This is also the case in some of the stories in which they feature prominently, but not in all of them. The following discussion of these narratives addresses the differences in the representation of *abhicāra* and *kṛtyā*. What the two practices have in common is that they materialize artificial bodies that are obliged to perform services for the performer of the rite.

3 Employing a "Malicious Agent": *Kṛtyā* in MBh Book 3 and 13

The epic contains accounts of the ritual production of a special type of servicing agent, called *kṛtyā*, "malicious agent", an apparitional body with various, mostly demonic features that fulfils the objectives of the sacrificer. Consequently, standard translations for the word in the Atharvaveda, such as witch or witchcraft are also used for the epic, which is perhaps too general a translation for something quite specific.[18] While the gender of these malicious agents seems obvious from the feminine genus of the noun, their actual appearance and thus their gender are not fixed as two episodes included in Book 3 demonstrate. The first episode is intrinsically connected to the epic plot and concerns Duryodhana's state of mind after he has been humiliated by the exiled Pāṇḍavas who came to his rescue during a cattle expedition. This incident leaves him so ashamed and defeated that, on his way back to his residence, he decides to commit suicide by fasting to death (3.227–238). Karṇa and others try to stop him, but he remains steadfast and prepares himself to put his decision into action. When the demons and inhabitants of the lower worlds who were formerly defeated by the gods learn about Duryodhana's resolve they fear the destruction of their party as they view Duryodhana as serving their cause. They decide to ritually produce a malicious agent, not to save Duryodhana's life (a possibly non-hostile intention), but to make him an instrument for their goal to

17 *oṣadhyo raktapuṣpāś ca kaṭukāḥ kaṇṭakānvitāḥ / śatrūṇām abhicārārtham atharvasu nidarśitāḥ* // 13.101.29.

18 See Lal (1975) who renders the word with sorcery and witchcraft; for *kṛtyā* as "malicious contrivance", see the discussion in Zehnder et al. (2024) on Paippalāda-Saṁhitā 1.47.

defeat the gods and their representatives on earth, the Pāṇḍavas. Details of the rites and the texts that were used by the demons are given at 3.239.19–22, mentioning mantras used by Uśānas and Bṛhaspati and those included in the Upaniṣad and the Atharvaveda, and Brahmins who were experts in the Vedas and their ancillaries officiating in the rites. As a result, a *kṛtyā* arose and asked, as any servant would: "What shall I do?" (*kiṃ karomi*, 3.239.22).[19] She is sent off to bring Duryodhana to the demons and this is what she does (239.24–26). Duryodhana is "brain-washed" by the demons who treat him like a son and plant the idea in his head that he must fight the Pāṇḍavas and become king. Afterward, Kṛtyā is ordered to return him to the place from which she took him, and after fulfilling this task she vanishes (3.240.27–28) and Duryodhana finds himself as if awoken from a dream. The episode continues the Vedic evocation of such malicious agents who function as instruments in fulfilling the hostile intentions of the sacrificer. The twist in this narrative is that at the end another servant is activated: Duryodhana, so the story suggests, has been turned into a malicious agent fighting the cause of the demons.[20]

The story of the inclusion of the Aśvins in the Soma ritual offered to Indra that was brought about by Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, demonstrates that *kṛtyā* is used as a generic term for such malicious agents or servants (3.123–125). When a king visited his hermitage, Cyavana performed a sacrifice for him in which he offered Soma to the Aśvin but was stopped by the god Indra who deemed them unworthy to be admitted to the Soma cult because of their being physicians/healers. A brief argument follows, and then Indra threatens the sage with his *vajra*, but Cyavana paralyzes his arm. While doing so, he pours another oblation in the fire aiming for (the production of) a malicious agent (*kṛtyārthī*, 3.124.18) as he is eager to harm the god (*devaṃ hiṃsitum udyataḥ*; ibid.): "Then from the ascetic power of this sage a malicious agent sprung up called Mada (frenzy), a mighty hero, a mighty Asura with a huge body."[21] He rushes to devour Indra who, panic-stricken, grants the Aśvins access to Soma and gives further blessings to the sage (3.125.1–6). Cyavana then withdraws Mada by distributing his components among liquor, women, dice, and hunting (3.125.8) through which he/it is reproduced again and again. The hostile intentions of the sacrifice are perfectly mirrored in the malicious agent that is produced during a Soma rite. Furthermore, the story attests to the contestations about the admission of new or previously marginalized gods and their priests to the Vedic

19 This formula is repeated by the other servant-bodies produced as *kṛtyā* or by *abhicāra* rites at MBh 3.239.22, 3.290.10, and 13.94.41 (see also below).

20 The significance of this interpretation of Duryodhana for the epic plot cannot be further discussed here, since text-historical considerations are outside the scope of this article,

21 *tataḥ kṛtyā samabhavad ṛṣes tasya tapobalāt / mado nāma mahāvīryo bṛhatkāyo mahāsuraḥ* // 3.124.19.

pantheon and sacrifice which is here connected to the line of Bhṛgu and implicitly to Atharvavedic textual communities.

The story of Cyavana connects the agency embodied by (a) *kṛtya* with women when the Indra-threatening malicious agent Mada was removed by distributing some of its components to women. This connection is a topic in two passages in Book 13 which represent a critical view on that agency and substantiate misogynistic attitudes that serve to justify the control of women (under the heading of protection, *rakṣā*). Misogyny is here based on an ambivalent image of women as being dangerous and scheming and therefore hard to control as well as ignorant and ridiculous and therefore easy to subdue. The first aspect is the focus of 13.38–40 which contains a misogynistic instruction about the dangerous nature and malicious activities of women, particularly wives, and how to control them. The text includes a story about the creation of women, which equates them with *kṛtyā*s, malicious agents. It is told in response to Yudhiṣṭhira's request to learn about the female disposition (*svabhāva*) "since women, being light-minded, are the root cause of flaws" (*striyo hi mūlaṃ doṣāṇāṃ laghucittāḥ*, 13.38.1). Bhīṣma replies that once upon a time the sage Nārada put the same request to the Apsaras Pañcacūḍā (also called a prostitute). What follows confirms the general opinion that women are the root of all evils voiced earlier by Yudhiṣṭhira (38.1c = 38.12c), which is now put in the mouth of a woman, who belongs to a class of celestial beings often depicted as seducers of righteous, wise men. Women, she says, do not adhere to the moral code of conduct (*maryādā*, 38.11) and use every opportunity to escape control and make love to men regardless of quality and appearance. The speech concludes with the following statement (38.29–30) about women as a class of beings marked by flaws (*doṣa*) that came into existence when the world was created: "Final destruction, termination, death, the abode of demons and serpents, the fiery mouth of the submarine mare, the edge of a razor, venom, snake, fire – women are all this in one."[22] Yudhiṣṭhira now wants to know why men still attach themselves to women, who are masters of deception and able to turn the truth into a lie and vice versa: "The authoritative text (on politics) Uśānas possessed and the one Bṛhaspati possessed is not better than the insight (intelligence) of women. How then can they be guarded by men? [. . .] I think that the authoritative texts on politics (*arthaśāstrāṇi*) were produced by wise men such as Bṛhaspati and others by extracting them from the insights of women."[23] The connection between the methods employed by women to

22 *antakaḥ śamano mṛtyuḥ pātālaṃ vaḍavāmukham / kṣuradhārā viṣaṃ sarpo vahnir ity ekataḥ striyaḥ* // 13.38.29.

23 *uśanā veda yac chāstraṃ yac ca veda bṛhaspatiḥ / strībuddhyā na viśiṣyete tāḥ sma rakṣyāḥ kathaṃ naraiḥ* // 13.39.7 / [. . .] *strīṇāṃ buddhyupaniṣkarṣād arthaśāstrāṇi śatruhan / bṛhaspatiprabhṛtibhir manye sadbhiḥ kṛtāni vai* // 13.39. 9.

pursue their interests and the techniques taught in the Arthaśāstra(s) put forward in this passage highlights the tensions between the normative orders of Brahmins and rulers or Kṣatriyas, whose *dharma* revolves around the subjection of others, and the protection of themselves from enemies and threats within and without the household and kingdom. The view that the intelligence or knowledge (*buddhi*) of women in "household politics" is the template for politics at large highlights the problematic conjugal and familial life in patrilineal kinship structures. The epic contains many episodes addressing these structures, but in the passage under discussion, the agency of women is interpreted as being intrinsically connected to hostile, dangerous, even demonic agency. Their agency is a property of the world designed by the creator god. This situation is explained in Bhīṣma's reply at an even more fundamental, cosmological level, which corroborates their function as serving and fulfilling the goals of their superiors (be they men or gods). After repeating his view of women as poison, death, etc. Bhīṣma explains that in the original creation, beings followed the law (*dhārmika*, 13.40.5), and therefore the gods were afraid that the creatures would themselves attain the status of a deity (*devatvam*). The gods approached the creator god who knew immediately what they wished for. Therefore: "For the purpose of confusing men the lord created women as *kṛtyā*s, malicious agents (fulfilling the hostile intentions of others). Although in the former creation, son of Kuntī, women here on earth were virtuous, yet they were created as malicious agents (*kṛtyā*) from Prajāpati's (second) creation."[24] After an elaborate story about how to protect a wife from the advances of another man (in this case Indra in disguise), Bhīṣma concludes that women are both, virtuous "mothers of the world" (13.43.19) and wicked and that one must protect oneself from the malicious aspect of their agency, since they are, after all, malicious agents (*kṛtyā*), fit for the task and created for it (43.23). The hostile effects of these female agents mirror the harmful intentions of the gods who want to avert a potential threat to their superiority. While this fear of the gods is a well-known trope, the passage makes *kṛtyā* an integral part of the cosmic order, that is also employed by the gods.[25] The parallelism between the dangerous traits of women and *kṛtyā* conveys a mixed message. On the one hand, it justifies methods of control and subjection under the heading of "protection" (*rakṣā*) of as well as against women. On the other hand, their negative properties are accorded a function that follows their generally subjected, inferior status as dependent beings, whose task is defined by the interests and purposes of those they are obliged to serve. Their skills in household politics keep husbands

24 *mānavānāṃ pramohārthaṃ kṛtyā nāryo 'sṛjat prabhuḥ* // 13.40.7cd // *pūrvasarge tu kaunteya sādhvyo nārya ihābhavan / asādhvyas tu samutpannā kṛtyā sargāt prajāpateḥ* // 13.40.8.

25 The fact that both gods and demons use and produce *kṛtyā* is emphasized by Lal (1975).

busy and entangled in desires that avert them from obtaining higher goals, such as deity status. They function like any other *kṛtyā* that is made to serve the hostile intentions of their creators, in this case of the creator-god who addresses the jealousy of the gods. In this way, the ambiguous character of the agency of women is given a cosmological status, it belongs to the order of things, like demons, snakes, and poison. However, the dangerous aspects of their agency can be curbed and effaced by methods of control and by knowledge of the signs that disclose malicious intentions.

This is the point of a story featuring a *kṛtyā* called Yātudhānī (13.93–95). A king named Vṛṣādarbhi is enraged by a group of emaciated Brahmins who roam around in the forest in search of food together with their entourage, and yet refuse to accept his gifts. In retaliation, when he returns to his house, he offers oblations together with mantras into the *āhavanīya* fire, from which arises "a malicious agent terrifying people" (*kṛtyā lokabhayaṃkarī*, 13.94.40). The king calls her *yātudhānī*, which in the epic is a generic designation of demons and evil spirits.[26] Under her servant status, she shows her reverence and asks the king what she should do (*kiṃ karomi*, 94.41, see also note 19). The king sends her to the group of Brahmins to ask them their names so that she can kill them. After accomplishing this task, she is free to go wherever she wants. Yātudhānī sets out to the forest and presents herself to the group as the guardian of a pond of lotus flowers that the group of Brahmins wishes to access so that they can suck the lotus stalks. They ask her who she is, what she is doing here, and for what purpose. She replies, "I am who I am" (*yāsmi sāsmy*, 13.95.21), and that she guards the pond. When the sages explain that they are hungry and want to take the lotus stalks she commands them to tell her their names before she allows them to enter the pond. Next unfolds a satirical conversation in which Yātudhānī is ridiculed because of her of her poor command of Sanskrit. Starting with the sage Atri, who, as the narrator Bhīṣma relates, has already identified the "guardian" and her plan to kill them, each member of the group explains his and her name with an "etymological" (*nirukta*) pun Yātudhānī is unable to understand. In the end, she is punished for her ignorance. She is hit on the head with the triple staff of the ascetic Śunaḥsakha and reduced to ashes (95.47–48). The story illustrates the superior power of discerning knowledge and of the true, Brahmanical command of Sanskrit over and against (ritually produced) servants with malicious intentions and of terrible appearance whose dangerousness can be controlled because their understanding is circumscribed by the tasks and vocabulary of those who deploy them. The two episodes in Book 13 resonate

26 The word *yātu* occurs also in Vedic texts and is often translated like *kṛtyā* with terms such as sorcery or witchcraft.

with each other in their propagating the idea that women who are created to function (also) as malicious agents preventing men from obtaining the merits they need to obtain godlike status. But women are as controllable as a ritually created *kṛtyā* serving the hostile intentions of individual householders (in particular, kings). The issue of domestic power relations is also at the centre of following episodes discussed below which depict women as (ritual) agents bringing about the submissiveness of others.

4 Ambiguous Methods of Subjugation: *abhicāra*, *saṃvanana*

In some epic passages, Atharvaveda-related practices are connected to individual desires and conjugal interests that imply the control or subjugation of a family member or another person (*vaśīkaraṇa*, *saṃvadana/saṃvanana,* see below). The purpose of these rites is not hostile; they are not carried out to harm another person, but rather to fulfil one's desires and to ensure conjugal, even familial peace and happiness. In contrast to the harm *abhicāra* may cause to enemies or strangers, it is evaluated differently when directed at a member of the household or at someone one feels attracted to. These instances corroborate studies emphasizing that the effect and assessment of ritual practice depend on the context.[27] The issue at stake is not "sorcery", that is "hostile" in one case, and "benevolent" in another,[28] but rather how to interpret the subduing power that is common to *abhicāra* in both cases.[29] The epic

27 See, for instance, Türstig (1985).

28 See Patyal (1993:151), who uses this expression in cases that demonstrate the "non-hostile" employment of *abhicāra*; also Mehendale (2008: 132), who notes that in one epic episode *abhicāra* does not mean "black magic". Türstig (1985) points out that 'sorcery' as the general translation of the term is too broad and incorrect since "not each case of *abhicāra* [. . .] belongs to the sphere of sorcery" (1985: 70). Patton (2005: 126) notes without further explanation that *abhicāra* should not be translated as curse or sorcery but is "best translated as "going toward", or "goingfully"; in the glossary it is defined as "to proceed against" and as a sacrifice "involving offerings and imprecations against an enemy, either human or divine" (ibid.: 237).

29 This question is also at issue in epic passages dealing with subjugating power of Vedic rituals in general (see for instance MBh 5.60; on which see Malinar 2012). It also plays a role in academic debates on questions as to whether 'magic' is a typical feature of ritualism in ancient or primitive religions like the Vedic (see Sahoo 2008–2009), and whether it is appropriate to use it for drawing distinctions within ritual traditions. The latter is the case when distinguishing Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic rituals by viewing the former as 'religion' or 'great tradition' and the latter as 'magic' or 'little tradition'/'folk religion', see Bhattacharji 1981 for 'great' and 'little' tradition). On the problematics of such uses of 'magic' for the Vedic ritual tradition, see Türstig (1985: 74–75), and Patton (2005).

instances discussed in the following demonstrate that the ambiguous position of Atharvavedic practices is also based on the polyent perception of 'subjugation' as an aim and instrument of ritual agency. Control and submission are important topics in household life, particularly for women who are, according to certain accounts in the epic, faced with increasing restrictions on their agency due to the emergence of the *pativratā* ideology that postulates the permanent dependence of women in the patrilineal kinship system. Consequently, the status of women was defined according to the range of power and control they could exert within the household.[30] Knowledge of how this control could be exerted was therefore an essential requirement. Epic representations of such methods address their role in regulating domestic, particularly conjugal power relations, and they point to an extra-diegetic, cultural-historical discourse about their appropriateness. What is at issue in the epic passages is not the desire to control or subdue but the methods that serve the ritual agent's purpose best.

4.1 The Conversation between Draupadī and Satyabhāmā (MBh 3.222–223)

The question of appropriate means of controlling husbands is at the centre of a conversation between Queen Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa's wife Satyabhāmā (MBh 3.222–223) which takes place during the Pāṇḍavas' forest exile. This text has often been interpreted as a straightforward propagation of the *pativratā* ideology of the submissive wife by turning Draupadī into its advocate.[31] While this ideology is an essential feature of the text, this does not mean that it is praised or propagated unconditionally. Laurie Patton, for instance, emphasizes the "multivocality" of the text. While it advocates female "servitude", it also acknowledges the "basic power dynamics" between husband and wife and the fact that submission is mutual (2007: 100, 104). In connecting the conversation to the larger topic of control as a fundamental aspect of conjugal life, I suggest that the conversation revolves around the question of how to exert power from a position of subordination, and thereby puts a wife's

30 See, for instance, MBh 1.113.3ff on the freedom of women in the past (of the time narrated in the epic); for a discussion, see Malinar (2014). The view that in Vedic times women enjoyed greater freedom than in the classical age is also referred to as the "Altekarian paradigm" (after A. S. Altekar's *The position of women in Indian civilization from prehistoric times to the present day* published in 1938), and has been criticized for its implicit nationalist historiography, see for instance Chakravarti (1999).

31 Van Buitenen's summary of contents, for instance, downplays the issue of control when he suggests that the conversation is about how to keep husbands happy (1975: 664).

"ideal behaviour" in perspective by highlighting the suffering it entails. The dialogue begins with Satyabhāmā's questioning Draupadī about how she has got the Pāṇḍavas, "heroes comparable to the world guardians", under her control. Says Satyabhāmā: "How is it that they are obedient (*vaśaga*) to you and yet not angry (with you). For the Pāṇḍavas are always under your control, lovely lady, as they are all watching your face (to detect your intentions/desires).[32] Tell me what is this all about: Is it the observance of a vow, or austerities, or ablutions, spells, and herbs? The power of a special knowledge, the power of a root? Muttered recitation and fire oblation, or drugs?"[33] Draupadī is asked to reveal her "glorious knowledge of conjugal happiness" because Satyabhāmā would likewise have her husband Kṛṣṇa in her control (*vaśaga*; 222.7). In her reply *pativratā* (222.8) Draupadī does not reject the idea that husbands should be controlled by their wives, but only the methods Satyabhāmā has enumerated because they belong to the path (*mārga*) unfaithful women (*asatstrī*) follow. Draupadī explains that the use of mantras and roots (typically associated with the Atharvaveda) is dangerous as they may produce undesirable effects. When these practices are carried out in private by the wife without the knowledge and consent of the husband, they disturb conjugal relations: "Indeed, should a husband find out that his wife engages in mantras and roots,[34] he gets frightened of her as of a snake that has entered the house. What peace does a frightened man have, and what happiness without peacefulness? Never will a husband be obedient to his wife because of a *mantra*."[35] Furthermore, when using poisonous substances they may cause serious damage: "Women make their men dropsical that way, or leprous, gray-haired, impotent, dumb, blind, or deaf."[36] The criticism is here directed at the collateral damage of such practices, which in this case proves

32 The expression *mukhaprekṣāś* illustrates the Pāṇḍavas' submissiveness as they, like servants, are eager to "read" their wife's face. It could also be rendered as "regarding you at the best / chief", although the first meaning seems the obvious one. Nevertheless, it would point to Draupadī's status as "chief queen" among the *sapatni*s her husbands have brought into the household and to her position as the chief of the household (see below).

33 *kathaṃ ca vaśagās tubhyaṃ na kupyanti ca te śubhe* // 3.222.4ef // *tava vaśyā hi satataṃ pāṇḍavāḥ priyadarśane mukhaprekṣāś ca te sarve tattvam etad bravīhi me* // 3.22.5 // *vratacaryā tapo vāpi snānamantrauṣadhāni vā / vidyāvīryaṃ mūlavīryaṃ japahomas tathāgadāḥ* // 3.222.6.

34 *Mantramūla* is emblematic for Atharvaveda-related ritual practices, and is in śāstra texts often mentioned together with *abhicāra* (see also below).

35 *yadaiva bhartā jānīyān mantramūlaparāṃ striyam / udvijeta tadaivāsyāḥ sarpād veśmagatād iva* // 3.222.11 // *udvignasya kutaḥ śāntir aśāntasya kutaḥ sukham / na jātu vaśago bhartā striyāḥ syān mantrakāraṇāt* // 3.222.12.

36 *jalodarasamāyuktāḥ śvitriṇaḥ palitās tathā / apumāṃsaḥ kṛtāḥ strībhir jaḍāndhabadhirās tathā* // 3.222.15.

counter-productive to the overall goal of controlling husbands to secure conjugal peace.

Interestingly, means that would allow a husband to stop his wife from engaging in these practices are not mentioned. Instead, for him fear and distrust become part of conjugal life which is epitomized in the metaphor of the snake. This points to the situation that the husband's means of controlling his wife, a topic which is in Dharmaśāstra literature referred to as "protection" (*rakṣā*), are limited. This is also true for the wife since husbands also have snake-like qualities as is made clear when the snake metaphor resurfaces in Draupadī's speech. After explaining that her control method is *paricāra*, serving and attending to her husbands, she states: "I attend to my husbands who are wrathful like venomous snakes [so that they become] gentle, faithful, dedicated to truth, and keepers of the true law."[37] In her discussion of the verse Patton makes the point that the tension between the description of the husbands as being gentle, on the one hand, and terrifying as poisonous snakes on the other, should not be smoothed out by interpreting the snake comparison as "ironic". She suggests that it is another instance of the text's awareness of the marital power balance. My rendering of the verse suggests that the contrasting attributes used for the husbands serve to highlight the efficacy of Draupadī's methods: making fierce, snake-like husbands become gentle.[38] This resonates with the beginning of the conversation when Satyabhāmā wondered why the Pāṇḍavas are not angry in her presence. The acknowledgment of a potential "snake-likeness" of husbands and wives points to the danger that conjugal life becomes poisonous and turns into the snake pit that it potentially always is.[39] The danger posed by disaffection and unhappiness in the conjugal relationship is one of the reasons for the

37 *mṛdūn sataḥ satyaśīlān satyadharmānupālinaḥ / āśīviṣān iva kruddhān patīn paricarāmy aham* // 3.222.34.

38 Patton repeats the predicate in her translation: "I serve my truthful, gentle husbands, who have the ethics and the dharma of truth, and watch over them as if they were poisonous angry snakes." (Patton 2007: 102). Van Buitenen (1975: 666) translates: "I wait on my meek enough, truthful enough, virtuous enough husbands as though they were furious venomous snakes." In both translations the meaning of the comparison is not completely clear nor of the juxtaposition of attributes. Are the husbands gentle, but are nevertheless treated like angry snakes? But why, and where is the irony Patton mentions? My rendering suggests the use of a double accusative (see PW s.v. √car, "Jmd. (acc.) zu Etwas (acc.) machen") and that the verse describes the effect of Draupadī's care that turns angry husbands into gentle ones. Furthermore, the particle *iva* is taken as comparing the angriness with the snakes and not with the husbands.

39 Yudhiṣṭhira's final remark after his wife has died in the Himalayan snow (that she loved his younger brother Arjuna better) attests to such potential (17.2.2–6). At MBh 13.19.1–9 Yudhiṣṭhira expresses his anxiety that the rule of "*sahadharma*" in marriage would also apply in the after world even though each partner acted quite differently, and women are known to be "false" (*anṛta*).

employment of control methods. Because of the asymmetrical power-relationship within a patrilineal household, the agency of women is limited by her subordinate position which entails that her methods of control must ideally comply with the *pativratā* ideology.

Yet the *pativratā* ideology is here presented as revolving around the issue of control. The verbal compound *pari*+√*car* (attend to, watch over) signifies Draupadī's comprehensive caring-controlling agency in the domestic realm. Draupadī's *paricāra* method resembles the rejected practices in having the purpose of controlling others (*vaśīkaraṇa*). But these practices also differ concerning the ritual paraphernalia and their performance. In contrast to *mantramūla* and other potentially harmful rites carried out secretly, Draupadī's *paricāra* is displayed in her ruling the household through the observance of duties. It is a method that operates in the dialectic of serving and observing typical for asymmetrical power relations. This dialectic creates for the subjected wife a realm of control. This is pointed out by Draupadī at the end of her first speech when she explains that she is running the whole household including the treasury by watching "day and night" over everyone and everything, being the only one who has the complete picture.[40] She concludes: "I always wake up earliest and go to bed last, dear Satyā. This is my spell of subjection (*saṃvanana*). So, I know how to carry out a spell of subjecting husbands, a mighty one. I will not adopt the methods of unfaithful women, nor do I wish to."[41]

Paricāra is here presented as being on a par with *saṃvadana*, "spell for subduing a loved one", The last-mentioned expression belongs to the problematic of subjugation methods (*mantramūla*, *abhicāra*) and is also mentioned in *śāstra* texts endorsing such practices in domestic settings (see below section 5). The *pativratā* ideology is depicted here as including methods of exercising domestic control. *Paricāra* is thus not only the counterpart of *abhicāra* but also of the task of "protection" (*rakṣā*) that the Dharmaśāstras demand from the husband as an important element in ensuring a wife's obedience. However, the "obedient dutifulness" of the wife that begets the husband's "obedience" does not manifest a "balance of power" as Patton (2007: 104) suggests.[42] The wife's position of structural subjection

40 Accordingly, the controlling power of her knowledge is stressed by the repeated use of the first-person pronoun with verbs of knowledge: "I alone know" (*ekāhaṃ vedmi*, 322.51, 54; *vedāham*, 322.46; *jānāmy ahaṃ*, 322.57).

41 *prathamaṃ pratibudhyāmi caramaṃ saṃviśāmi ca / nityakālam ahaṃ satye etat saṃvananaṃ mama* // 3.222.56 // *etaj jānāmy ahaṃ kartuṃ bhartṛsaṃvananaṃ mahat / asatstrīṇāṃ samācāraṃ nāhaṃ kuryāṃ na kāmaye* // 3.222.57.

42 Without dealing with the epic text in greater detail, Shah criticizes Patton's (and others) interpretation as "glossing" over the conformism of the *pativratā* ideology and rejects it as being based on "semantic jugglery" and "contextual postering" that "do not reveal any social truths" (Shah 2012: 86). While a too positive depiction of conjugal power-balance in the text is certainly

within the patrilineal household remains as undisputed as the anxieties it causes for the wife. The fundamental asymmetry of conjugal relations is made clear in Draupadī's second address when she points out that a husband is a "deity" (*daivata*) like no other: "For all (one's) wishes are his (with him). When he is in good spirits, they [the wishes] are fulfilled, when he gets angry, he will kill (them/you)."[43] All the wife's happiness, subsistence, and social status depend on this volatile, irritable "deity". Unsurprisingly, the wife's path (*mārga*) to obtain and consolidate all this is painful (*duḥkha*), not pleasant (223.4.). Draupadī's statement offers a depiction of the household situation from the perspective of a subordinate wife's need to control the extent of her subjection. She takes care that the erratic (and potentially irritable) husband-deity acts benevolently (fulfilling her desires, balancing her submission through putting her in control of those who are even more subjected). The conversation thus discloses and at the same time confirms the fundamental asymmetry of the domestic power relations.

Still, another facet of the domestic constellation comes to the fore when the text touches upon the question of how the knowledge about such control methods is circulated. Draupadī states that her methods include also domestic rituals (*sthālīpāka* etc.), which Kuntī, her *śvaśrū*, her mother-in-law taught her.[44] It comes as no surprise that a key figure in the household, the mother-in-law, is mentioned here. She must ensure that her household rules and regulations are followed by the incoming wife, and this includes taking precautions against any harm caused by ritual and other knowledge the new household member may possess. However, Draupadī does not know – being a character in the epic plot – that Kuntī is knowledgeable in Atharvavedic subjection *mantra*s belonging to the *abhicāra*-type of rituals and thus of the very practices Draupadī rejects in the conversation with her friend. Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, Kuntī has received these mantras as a reward for *paricāra*, in this case for acting as a servant to a Brahmin. The epic's depiction of Kuntī's uses of these *mantra*s in pre-marital, marital, and intra-familial contexts sheds further light on the ambiguous position of Atharvavedic practices in the epic.

misleading, a close reading of the conversation sheds light on the familial hierarchies and anxieties which motivate the strive for control and qualifies the view that the text simply propagates female submission as the best of all worlds.

43 *naitādṛśaṃ daivatam asti satye sarveṣu lokeṣu sadaivateṣu / yathā patis tasya hi sarvakāmā labhyāḥ prasāde kupitaś ca hanyāt* // 3.223.2. In contrast to van Buitenen's (1975: 667), my translation highlights the situation that the husband "owns" all desires (*tasya hi*; including the wife's) and acts accordingly. One could speculate about what is "special" about this "deity" (its arbitrariness, the absence of a non-self-serving response to the desires of others or else?).

44 *ye ca dharmāḥ kuṭumbeṣu śvaśrvā me kathitāḥ purā / bhikṣābaliśrāddham iti sthālīpākāś ca parvasu / mānyānāṃ mānasatkārā ye cānye viditā mayā* // 3.222.32.

4.2 Kuntī's *abhicāra*

Kuntī's command of subduing *mantra*s is a recurrent topic in the epic. It is related on different occasions by different speakers to different audiences, which shows how controversial the matter was.[45] The matter is further complicated by the fact that Kuntī's employment of subjection mantras is connected to both non-marital and marital frameworks of female ritual agency. As a reward for servicing a Brahmin who visited her (social) father's residence, young Kuntī obtained *mantra*s which enabled her to summon any god she desired. The epic relates that she uses these *mantra*s on three occasions: (1) before her marriage, to summon the sun god Sūrya (which resulted in the pre-marital, secret birth of the epic hero Karṇa), (2) after her marriage to King Pāṇḍu to beget the sons her husband cannot beget due to a curse (this leads to the birth of three of the five Pāṇḍava heroes), and (3) for co-wife Mādrī, who also cannot have offspring with her husband for the same reason (this produces the Pāṇḍava twins). How is Kuntī's ritual knowledge represented?

4.2.1 The Accounts in Book 1 (1.104, 1.113–115)

Book 1 includes two accounts of Kuntī's *abhicāra* practice. The first one relates to the pre-marital acquisition and the first employment of the *mantra*s (1.104). The second tells that Kuntī revealed to her husband that she possesses the mantras and uses them to produce legitimate sons (1.113–114). The first account is provided by the bard Vaiśampāyana as part of the genealogy of the heroes (1.104). Kuntī's father Vasudeva gave his first-born daughter to Kuntibhoja, the childless son of his father's sister, who commanded her to worship deities and guests. In this role, "she attended to that fierce, awful Brahmin of accomplished vows, possessing profound knowledge in matters of law, who is known as Durvāsas."[46] Satisfied with her service and because he contemplated the law of distress (*āpaddharma*), the "fierce" sage Durvāsas gave her a *mantra* "equipped with subjecting power" (*abhicārasaṃyukta*). He explained: "Through the favour (*prasāda*) of whichever god you will summon with this *mantra*, you will obtain a son."[47] Out of curiosity (*kautūhalāt*) Kuntī invoked Sūrya and was amazed (*vismita*) when the god appeared and impregnated her. After she gave birth to Karṇa, Sūrya restored

45 MBh 1.104, 1.111–113, 3.287–292, 5.142.

46 *ugraṃ paryacarad ghoraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ saṃśitavratam* // 1.104.4cd // *nigūḍhaniścayaṃ dharme yaṃ taṃ durvāsasaṃ viduḥ* / 1.104.5ab.

47 *yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayiṣyasi / tasya tasya prasādena putras tava bhaviṣyati* // 1.104.7.

her virginity (*kanyātvam*, 1.104.12). Concealing her misconduct (*apacāra*) out of fear of her relatives (*bandhupakṣabhayāt*) she abandoned the child. This brief account does not treat *abhicāra* as a hostile rite to which those who are subjected to it react with hostility. Rather, the sun god is obliging in both fulfilling the task he was given and by restoring Kuntī's virginity. Nevertheless, young Kuntī misbehaved since "curiosity" should not be a motive to use *mantra*s (pointing, among other things, to an undesirable lack of *śraddhā*, confidence in its efficacy). Furthermore, although virginity was restored, Kuntī is still the mother of an illegitimate son, and this secret carries the risk of her being exposed as unfaithful.[48] It does not help that Kuntī obviously did not understand that the time for employing the *mantra* had not yet arrived, namely, the situation of distress that was envisaged by Durvāsas when he rewarded her. Such distress, which necessitates the *mantra*'s deployment and confirms Durvāsas' foresight, arises only in her marriage when due to a curse her husband Pāṇḍu is hindered from producing offspring and is therefore barred from the heavenly regions.

The question of how to beget sons without risking the husband's life is the topic of a conversation between Kuntī and Pāṇḍu (1.113–114) in which she discloses her ritual knowledge, but not the secret of the illegitimate son. The debate about desirable and non-desirable ways of producing offspring starts when Kuntī refuses her husband's command to produce a son with another man.[49] Pāṇḍu insists that she has no choice because she must do what he wants irrespective of whether it conforms to the law or not (*dharmyam adharmyam vā*; 1.113.27). At this point, and at what appears to be her last resort, Kuntī tells her husband about the collection of *mantra*s she obtained in her youth from the Brahmin Durvāsas as a reward for the dutiful service she delivered to him. Her speech (1.113.31–37) is an almost verbatim parallel to the previously discussed passage at 1.104 (the verb forms are adapted to first-person speech) with two notable exceptions. Firstly, Durvāsas' motive for giving the mantras is not mentioned (law of distress); instead, it is represented as a boon (*vara*). Secondly, in the reading of the critical edition, his explanation of the mantra differs. Kuntī says: "The venerable sage announced a boon for me equipped with subjugating power (*abhicārasaṃyukta*) and gave me a band of mantras (*mantragrāma*). And then he instructed me as follows: ´Whichever god you will summon with the mantra he, wishing to or not, shall come into your power!"[50] The differences in wording are significant since they have repercussions for the interpreta-

48 This risk becomes reality when, after the battle, Yudhiṣṭhira learns that Karṇa was his elder brother. He accuses his mother for not revealing the secret, and curses women (MBh 12.1).

49 For an analysis of this conversation with a focus on gender-relations, see Malinar (2014).

50 *sa me 'bhicārasaṃyuktam ācaṣṭa bhagavān varam / mantragrāmaṃ ca me prādād abravīc caiva mām idam* // 1.113.34 // *yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayiṣyasi / akāmo vā sakāmo vā*

tion of the *abhicāra* character of the mantras.[51] Kuntī's account stresses the subduing effect of the mantra more strongly than that of the bard at 1.104. She reports that every god must comply, whether he wants to or not (*akāmo vā sakāmo vā*). The idea of "favour" (*prasāda*) is not mentioned, nor is the implication of begetting offspring. The bard's account mentions Durvāsas' profound knowledge of *dharma* and his foresight of "distress". Thereby the deed of the fierce (*ugra*) and awful (*ghora*) Brahmin,[52] who is in command of *abhicāra*, appears wise and legitimate even though it results in Kuntī's "misconduct". At the same time, the subjecting character of the mantras is downplayed in that the gods are not represented as obeying Kuntī, but as giving her a favour (*prasāda*, 1.104.7).

The emphasis in Kuntī's account is on the control (*vaśa*) she obtains through the mantras. Although they cause gods to act as servants – which can be seen as a reason for viewing *abhicāra* rites as 'hostile' –, their use by the wife for the sake of her husband and the patriliny is legitimate. Consequently, *abhicāra* is not represented as something "uncanny", but as an element of a wife's *paricāra*. Its employment to fulfil conjugal desires, and even one's duty (*dharma*) as a householder (producing offspring) is not questioned. Kuntī declares that a Brahmin's speech is true and the moment to make it real has come. With her husband's permission, and thus legitimized by the marital framework, she shall use the mantra on a god of her husband's choice (113.38). Pāṇḍu readily agrees and urges Kuntī to use this method. He chooses the god Dharma because he would never unite them with what is not the law or with someone who is unrighteous. Pāṇḍu envisions that the son shall be thought of as (the god) Dharma incarnate. The double-entendre of *dharma* as an abstract principle and the god can be viewed as addressing possible doubts about the appropriateness of *abhicāra*. Consequently, Pāṇḍu asks Kuntī to place the law (*dharma*) before her and worship the god Dharma with both ritual offerings and *abhicāra* (*upacārābhicārābhyām*; 1.113.42). She obliges and after some time[53] she summons the god Dharma and begets a son. When after the birth of Arjuna, the third son, Pāṇḍu, now greedy for sons (*putralobha*, 114.64), calls on his wife again,

sa te vaśam upaiṣyati // 1.113.35. Some mss include a line about begetting a son through the god's favour.

51 An analysis of the differences from a textual-historical perspective is outside the scope of this article, which focuses on the polyvalent epic representation of *abhicāra* and other Atharvavedic practices.

52 The two attributes are typical for describing fierce Brahmins who are ready to carry out violent and hostile rites and are also used in classifying *abhicāra* practices. However, the characterization of the Brahmin also acknowledges his profound knowledge and foresight that allows him to recognize future misfortune and provide the means to address it (here the *abhicāra* mantras).

53 It is said that Kuntī carries out the rite when she hears that her sister-in-law Gāndhārī was pregnant for a year (1.114.1).

Kuntī rejects him as follows: "After all, they (the wise) do not approve of a fourth childbirth even in times of distress. Further on (after a fourth) she may become a loose woman, in the case of a fifth she will become barren (or: a prostitute). How can you, who knows this law that is dictated by reason, violate it for the sake of offspring and speak to me as if you have lost your mind?"[54] This passage echoes the first account in confirming that the *abhicāra* practice is justified in times of distress (*āpad*). Furthermore, it is remarkable in its pointing to the labor of childbirth and the repercussions for the female body, which would bring any reasonable person to the conclusion of limiting the number of pregnancies. In the context of the epic, this statement also resonates with Kuntī's complaint that she feels cheated when her co-wife Mādrī gave birth to twins in one act of labor. This is a topic in the account of the third and last employment of the *abhicāra-mantra*s: Kuntī summons gods to beget sons for Mādrī (1.115).

After the birth of Arjuna, Mādrī tells her husband that she does not resent him despite his defects (this most likely refers to the curse that makes Pāṇḍu practically impotent). She also does not suffer because she occupies a position inferior to Kuntī, or because her sister-in-law Gāndhārī has given birth to a hundred sons. But she cannot put up with the fact that the sonlessness (*aputratā* 1.115.4), which had made her and Kuntī equals, has now come to an end for Kuntī. Now, Mādrī's inferior position has become something painful. However, she suggests that Kuntī could help her beget offspring too, this would be a favour to her and good for Pāṇḍu too. Because of her status as a co-wife, she feels unable to approach Kuntī and asks Pāṇḍu to make the request. This brief address points to the dangers of conjugal rivalry (see also above on the snake metaphor), but also to the fact that it serves patrilineal interests. It is thus unsurprising that Pāṇḍu readily agrees and states that he had already thought about it. He profits most from his second wife's growing unhappiness: he obtains more sons, Mādrī's grievances are taken care of by Kuntī, and familial peace is ensured; or so it seems. Pāṇḍu urges Kuntī to produce offspring to ensure that funeral rites are carried out properly and "for the sake of what/who is dear to me" (1.115.01). Doing so is the "highest virtue" (*kalyāṇam uttamam*) and will bring Kuntī fame and praise comparable to that of gods and Brahmins. Therefore: "Since you are the one, who will carry Mādrī across to the other side with the boat that is (built through) the sharing of offspring, you will obtain the highest praise."[55] Kuntī obliges and instructs Mādrī to think "just once" of a deity so that

54 *nātaś caturthaṃ prasavam āpatsv api vadanty uta / ataḥ paraṃ cāriṇī syāt pañcame bandhakī bhavet* // 1.114.65 // *sa tvaṃ vidvan dharmam imaṃ buddhigamyaṃ kathaṃ nu mām / apatyārthaṃ samutkramya pramādād iva bhāṣase* // 1.114.66.

55 *sā tvaṃ mādrīṃ plaveneva tārayemām anandite / apatyasaṃvibhāgena parāṃ kīrtim avāpnuhi* // 1.115.14.

she will beget offspring accordingly. Mādrī chooses the Aśvins, the beautiful twin gods, and so she begets twins. As his greed for sons is still not quenched Pāṇḍu asks Kuntī to perform another *abhicāra* for Mādrī. But she gives him the following rebuff: "She, who was told 'just once', obtained a pair. Therefore, I was deceived. I am afraid of her disrespecting me. The state of women is like this. I had not noticed, foolish me, that in invoking a pair the fruit will be double. Therefore, I must not be commanded (again) by you. This shall be the boon that is mine."[56] Kuntī makes clear that Pāṇḍu's understanding of the value of fame and praise does not grasp the condition of women whose status depends on their position in the familial hierarchy, which is here and elsewhere in the epic depicted as fragile and full of tensions. Thus, to keep her position as the elder and first wife must be Kuntī's priority.[57]

4.2.2 Kuntī's Pre-Marital *abhicāra* Retold (MBh 3.287–292)

The *abhicāra* practices that led to the birth of the Pāṇḍavas are not further mentioned in the epic. However, Kuntī's pre-marital *abhicāra* and the birth of Karṇa remain vexing issues. This can be seen in the third account of that episode in Book 3, which is, like the first account in Book 1, narrated by the bard Vaiśampāyana to King Janamejaya. After narrating how Karṇa was warned by his father Sūrya never to give away his divine earrings, the bard discloses the "secret" (*guhyam*) of the hero's birth (there is no reference to his earlier account at 1.104). The third account is much more elaborate than the first two accounts and differs a lot in the depiction of the characters. The visiting Brahmin is not identified by name, he is neither fierce nor awful but wears a beard and a hair-tuft and carries a staff. He radiates glowing energy, has a mighty stature, "honey-coloured" skin, and a sweet voice.[58] The Brahmin asks King Kuntibhoja for hospitality and demands that all his wishes be fulfilled, and he better not be offended. Aware of the threat implied

56 *uktā sakṛd dvandvam eṣā lebhe tenāsmi vañcitā / bibhemy asyāḥ paribhavān nārīṇāṃ gatir īdṛśī* // 1.115.23 // *nājñāsiṣam ahaṃ mūḍhā dvandvāhvāne phaladvayam / tasmān nāhaṃ niyoktavyā tvayaiṣo 'stu varo mama* // 1.115.24.

57 At 1.116.23 Kuntī's formulates this hierarchy as follows: "I am the elder wife by the Law, and the greater fruit of the Law is due to me" (tr. van Buitenen 1973: 260).

58 Mehendale (2008) discusses the identity of the Brahmin in all three episodes and rejects the idea that the Brahmin is identical with the "famous sage Durvāsas" who features in the Purāṇas. He does not notice that the Brahmin's characterisation in Book 3 and his physical appearance (honey-coloured, strong stature) strongly suggest that it is the god Sūrya (who is earlier described as honey-coloured, glowing etc.) who appears here disguised as a Brahmin. This interpretation changes not only the significance of the episode, but also influences the interpretation of the epic plot at large as being entwined with divine plans.

in this demand, Kuntibhoja ensures the Brahmin that he shall be waited upon perfectly by his daughter. The king tells Kuntī to attend to the Brahmin's wishes and reminds her of her devotion to Brahmins and the respect she has already obtained for her perfect demeanour. He admonishes her to give up boisterousness, pretence, and pride and encourages her to please the "boon-granting" Brahmin. Otherwise, the family will be ruined (3.287.28–29). Kuntī promises to serve the Brahmin faithfully and is handed over to him (3.288). The bard relates that in attending on (*pari √cār*) the Brahmin, she minded the "purity" rules (*śaucaparā*, 288.19) and never displeased him despite all his threats and unfriendly comments, because "she was as perfectly subdued as a pupil, a son, or a sister" (*śiṣyavat putravac caiva svasṛvac ca susaṃyatā*; 3.289.7). For one year she waited upon the Brahmin like a god (*devavat*, 288.19), and was then offered boons so that she may surpass all women (289.14). Kuntī declines the Brahmin's reward, declaring that she has already obtained boons by pleasing her father and the Brahmin. However, the Brahmin orders her to accept a mantra from him and explains its *modus operandi* as follows: "Accept this mantra for invoking a deity. Whichever god you will summon with the mantra must stay in your power, my lady. Wishing to or not, he shall come under your power. Incapacitated by the mantra, the deity shall be like a servant bowing down at (your) command!"[59] The bard comments that Kuntī was afraid that she would be cursed if she rejected the Brahmin again. Thus, the Brahmin taught her a *mantragrāma* transmitted in the *Atharvaśiras* (3.289.20), which explicitly connects the mantras with the Atharvaveda textual tradition.[60] The initiatory character of this instruction is supported by the elaborate description of her one-year service to the Brahmin which she performed as perfectly as a student, son, or sister.

Kuntī's first employment of the mantras is motivated by her pondering their "strength or weakness", and by her shameful realization that her menses are due and she is (still) a virgin.[61] In this way, the employment of the mantras is connected to a wish to comply with the law that a girl should be married upon her menarche (the earlier remark about her observing the purity rules at 3.288.19 could also be

59 *imaṃ mantraṃ gṛhāṇa tvam āhvānāya divaukasām* // 3.289.16 // *yaṃ yaṃ devaṃ tvam etena mantreṇāvāhayiṣyasi / tena tena vaśe bhadre sthātavyaṃ te bhaviṣyati* // 3.289.17 // *akāmo vā sakāmo vā na sa naiṣyati te vaśam / vibudho mantrasaṃśānto vākye bhṛtya ivānataḥ* // 3.289.18.

60 Pantalu (1939: 409) suggests that the mantras used by Kuntī may be AV III.16. Atharvaśiras could refer to a first hymn in the AV, or to the Upaniṣad of the same name. 12.235.4/98 lists *atharvaśiras* as one of the names of Hari-Nārāyaṇa. 13.90.22 counts a person who studies the *atharvaśiras* among those who should be invited to a *śrāddha* rite.

61 3.290.1c: *cintayām āsa sā kanyā mantragrāmabalābalam*; and 3.290.2cd: *mantragrāmo balaṃ tasya jñāsye nāticirād iva*.

interpreted as referring to her menstruation). At that very moment, Kuntī looked at the setting sun and obtained "divine vision" so that she could see the god Sūrya in his beauty. She became curious about the mantra and after purifying her vital airs she invoked the god. The latter arrives quickly, almost laughing, having divided himself into two through yoga so that he can be with Kuntī and continue shining in the sky.[62] Sūrya's second body is honey-coloured (like the visiting Brahmin), with strong arms and a conch-shaped neck. He addresses Kuntī eagerly and with utmost politeness: "I have come under your power, my lady, ready (for you) through the power of the mantra. What shall I, who is without a will of my own, do, my queen? Tell me, I will do it for you."[63] Kuntī's attempts to annul her rite by claiming that she was only curious (3.290.11) and childish (3.290.23) prove futile. It is made clear that there is no playing around with a mantra nor with the powers it brings about, and there is no escape from one's intentions.[64] Sūrya states that it is not right to summon a god for no reason and only to send him away. Furthermore, he states that Kuntī recited the mantra to beget a son from him and this cannot be revoked. Otherwise, she will be guilty of deception, and of exposing the god to ridicule before the other gods. Consequently, she, her family, and the Brahmin will be cursed and destroyed by him. Frightened by this threat, but also by the fear that her consent will ruin her reputation and that of her family, she argues that her virginity must be restored. Sūrya promises to do so and impregnates Kuntī using his "yogic self/body" by touching her navel (3.291.23).

This elaborate version of Kuntī's pre-marital agency points to the intention to embed it in a normative framework of social and ritual transactions that allows us to view events as if they are happening against the young woman's will. The account depicts Kuntī's ritual agency as if it were an accident, as something happening to her although she followed all the rules and regulations. Her dutifulness is both shown off and put to the test when a Brahmin arrives at Kuntibhoja's house. Afraid of being cursed by the Brahmin she is depicted as having no other choice than to learn the subjugating mantras, and for the same reason she gives up her resistance to "give herself away" (*ātmapradāna*) to the Sun God. Her possessing the mantras is represented as a boon she did not want, but also could not ignore. Her using the unwanted gift is not only caused by her curiosity (as is stated in the other

62 This resonates with the account of Kuntī's *abhicāra* to beget offspring for her husband from the god Dharma, who also appeared *yogamūrtidhara*, having a body (produced) by yoga. For Dharma, see 1.114.3; for Sūrya's "yogic" body, see 3.290.9ab (*yogāt kṛtvā dvidhātmānam*), 291.23, 291,28.

63 *āgato 'smi vaśaṃ bhadre tava mantrabalātkṛtaḥ / kiṃ karomy avaśo rājñi brūhi kartā tad asmi te* // 3.290.10.

64 For a paradigmatic formulation of this general view on the binding character of ritual agency, see *Manusmṛti* 2.4.

version) but also by the pressure (her feeling of "shame") of the law that ordains marriage upon menarche. The problem of Kuntī's use of the mantras is thus connected to dilemmas she faces despite and because of her efforts to fulfil the female duties of service and virtue.

Though from different perspectives, the three accounts agree in depicting Kuntī's ritual knowledge as a reward for the pious service she offered a visiting Brahmin at her father's command. However, the ominous figure of the Brahmin signifies danger, as a guest who must be satisfied, a wise man foreseeing misfortune, as a person (perhaps even a deity in disguise) who is ready to curse if his wishes are not fulfilled or his 'gifts' are rejected. The mantras he offers or, according to the version in Book 3, forces on the young women are no less ambiguous. On the one hand, they are as powerful as any Vedic mantra used to evoke the gods, on the other hand, their purpose is not to venerate or to seek the gods' support but rather to subject them to one's desires, which points to a reversal of the hierarchical order of ritual. The possibility of such use of Vedic rituals is a structural weakness since the ritual acts and the mantras work irrespective of 'moral' values regulating the goals and intentions of sacrificers. Again, *abhicāra* is problematic because the legitimacy of 'subjection' as a goal of ritual is a matter of interpretation as the previous discussion has demonstrated. Furthermore, the initiation into these mantras endows Kuntī with a pre-marital ritual expertise which results in a transgression, because she uses it of her own accord. The moral of this part of the story could be found in a warning against female initiation in Vedic mantras, perhaps particularly in Atharvavedic ones, and thus against enabling females to use them before or outside of marriage. However, the possession of the knowledge is no longer an issue when it is put into "regular", legitimate domestic use at her distressed husband's behest for producing offspring for him and even for her co-wife Mādrī. The initiatory overtones are perhaps most explicit when the epic bard mentions the *Atharvaśiras* as the textual source of the mantras. The fact that Kuntī has somehow been initiated in the mantras also becomes obvious in her assuming somehow priestly functions when practicing the Vedic mantras for her co-wife Mādrī. In all three instances neither the Atharvaveda nor the *abhicāra* are marked as deviant, it is the extra-marital context that makes their use transgressive. The context-dependence is not appropriately represented when translating *abhicāra* as "black magic" or "sorcery". When viewed from the perspective of Kuntī as the ritual agent the employment of the *mantra*s is not motivated by hostile intentions. Yet it is also true that we are dealing here with depictions of the use of Atharvavedic mantras as means of enforcement and subjection, of employing gods as servants (*bhṛtya ivānataḥ*, 3.289.18). The gods are instruments here, but there is nothing "uncanny" about it and the summoned gods also do not react inimically.

The epic's matter-of-fact treatment of these rites and the different roles in which Kuntī performs them point to the cultural-historical contexts of the epic. This treatment is grounded in the audience's common knowledge of the non-hostile use of these rites in domestic contexts. The different versions of the story of Kuntī's *abhicāra* point to contestations regarding their legitimacy. The three roles Kuntī assumes when summoning gods address this issue when showing her as (1) a non-married female suitor, (2) a married woman fulfilling her husband's desire for sons, and (3) the elder wife who complies with her husband's request to end her co-wife's childlessness. The first role results in undesirable, unlawful repercussions because the mantras are used in an extra-marital context, while the other two comply with the laws that apply to married women. Normative texts such as the *Arthaśāstra* and *Manusmṛti* also deal with intra-marital and intra-familial use of *abhicāra* and love-inducing methods (*saṃvanana*).

5 "Domestic" Subjugation Rites in Normative Texts

The epic treatment of acceptable and non-acceptable methods of controlling others in a domestic setting and the use of terms like *abhicāra* and *saṃvanana* resonates with passages in contemporaneous normative texts. Book Four of Kauṭīlya's *Arthaśāstra* on "the eradication of troublesome people" (*kaṇṭakaśodhana*) contains a chapter on the punishment of transgressions (*aticāra*) which includes the use of *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra*. It is stated that a person who uses subduing ritual practices to harm a stranger (*para*) awaits talionic justice: "The damage a person causes for a stranger (*para*; or: enemy) by using malicious contrivances and rites of subjection must be inflicted on him as well" (KAŚ 4.13.27).[65] However, rites of subjection are allowed in a domestic setting, particularly between husband and wife: "Methods to subject a loved one (*saṃvadanakaraṇam*) can be used at will on an unwilling wife, on a virgin by a suitor, or on the husband by the wife" (4.13.28).[66] Obviously, the

65 *kṛtyābhicārābhyāṃ yat param āpādayet tad āpādayitavyaḥ* // Arthaśāstra 4.13.27. Kangle (1972, Vol.2:290) and Olivelle (2013: 251) render *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra* as witchcraft and sorcery respectively.
66 *kāmaṃ bhāryāyām anicchantyāṃ kanyāyāṃ vā dārārthino bhartari bhāryāyā vā saṃvadanakaraṇam* // 4.13.28. The word *saṃvadana* is according to the text constituted by Kangle; the apparatus shows the reading "*saṃvanana*". According to PW and Monier-Williams, s.v. *saṃvadana*, *saṃvadana* is a variation of *saṃvanana*. Drawing on the lexicon of magic, Kangle translates: "The use of loving-magic may be allowed towards a wife who does not like (her husband) or towards a maiden by a suitor or towards the husband by the wife" (Kangle 1972, Vol. 2:290). Olivelle (2013:251)

degree to which these practices are transgressive depends on the context. When employed in a domestic setting (or in cases where a male suitor has the assumed intention to establish such a setting) these actions are considered non-hostile and are therefore allowed. Here, it is assumed that the primary intention is not to harm an enemy or stranger but to subject an unwilling spouse (or virgin) to conjugal life and thereby ensure "conjugal happiness" (*bhaga*). The distinction between domestic and alien for determining the acceptability of these methods is corroborated in another chapter of Book 4. The chapter "On protection against persons with a secret income" (*gūḍhajīvanāṃ rakṣā*) mentions methods spies should employ to expose corrupt persons. One of these methods is to hire a *saṃvadanakāraka*, a person who uses means of subjection to seduce women of the family of another man. The spy should unmask such a person as follows: "If he considers anyone as a user of occult means for winning love with incantations or rites with herbs and rites in cremation grounds, the secret agent should say to him: 'I am in love with so and so's wife, daughter-in-law or daughter; make her reciprocate my love and take this money.' (15) If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a user of occult means for winning love."[67] As in the passage discussed above, these practices are classified as belonging to those who are skilled in *kṛtyā* and *abhicāra* (*kṛtyābhicāraśīla*; *Arthaśāstra* 4.4.16). The distinction between the employment of the methods of subjection within and without the family is also made in Dharmaśāstra literature. In the *Manusmṛti* section on *kaṇṭakaśodhana* ("eradication of troublesome people") it is stated: "For all types of black magic, a fine of 200 should be imposed, as also for root-witchcraft *when done by an unrelated person*, and for various types of sorcery."[68] The discussion has demonstrated that the appropriateness of Atharvavedic methods of control and subjection in a domestic context depends on the intentions and purposes of the ritual agent, the relationship to the target and the quality of the actual outcome. It resonates with the epic's negotiating these practices in a literary form. This can also be seen in the use of the subjection mantras being allowed for

translates: "Love-inducing rites may be freely used on a disaffected wife, on a young woman by a man who wants to marry her, or on a husband by his wife." The KAŚ recommends a comparatively mild fine when these practices cause damage (4.13.29).

67 *yaṃ vā mantrayogamūlakarmabhiḥ śmāśānikair vā saṃvadanakārakaṃ manyet taṃ sattrī brūyāt – 'amuṣya bhāryāṃ snuṣāṃ duhitaraṃ vā kāmaye, sā māṃ pratikāmayatām, ayaṃ cārthaḥ pratigṛhyatām' iti* | 14 | *sac et tathā kuryād saṃvadanakāraka iti pravāsyeta* | 15. KAŚ 4.4.14–15. tr. Kangle 1972, Vol.2: 266; Olivelle (2013: 232) translates *saṃvadanakāra* as "wizard inducing love" and love-inducing wizard".

68 *abhicāreṣu sarveṣu kartavyo dviśato damaḥ / mūlakarmaṇi cānāpteḥ kṛtyāsu vividhāsu ca* // MS 9.290 (tr. Olivelle 2004: 176; my emphasis). At *Manusmṛti* 11.64 *abhicāra* and *mūlakarma* (probably when carried out by a non-related person) are treated as "secondary sins causing loss of caste" (*upapātaka*). The penance is the cow-observance (11.109–118).

male suitors, whereas a female suitor is not mentioned. But a married wife may use them on the husband as much as he may do on her.

6 Conclusion

The discussion of the epic episodes and their connection to contemporaneous śāstra literature has highlighted the distinction between hostile and non-hostile, non-familial, and familial contexts for the use of Atharvavedic rites to subdue. A general translation of *abhicāra* as "sorcery" or "black magic" does not take this distinction into account. Accordingly, a more specific rendering is called for that also covers instances (like that in the epic) that represent them as useful and legitimate means to secure domestic peace and happiness. Conversely, the subjugating aspects of love-inducing methods called *saṃvanana*[69] should also be noticed, which explains their being mentioned in connection with *abhicāra* and *mantramūla*. On the other hand, the treatment of *kṛtyā* consistently stresses its functioning as "malicious agents" to fulfil the hostile intentions of those who ritually produce them. The Atharvaveda addresses needs in a householder's life before and after the "official" performance of *saṃskāra* rituals. The 'specialization' of the Atharvaveda on individual (and sometimes 'dark') desires and domestic issues is viewed by some scholars as evidence for the marginality of the Atharvaveda as a latecomer in the field of Vedic ritualism. But it must be asked who is it marginal for, and what constitutes the centre. Answers to these questions depend not only on the texts used for tracing the history of reception but also on larger transformations of the religious landscape in the centuries before the beginning of the Common Era. One result of these processes is that the performance of *śrauta* rites lost its importance as the epitome of Veda-based household religion (see Smith 1989). While it is true that the Atharvaveda includes hymns and rituals that aim to harm and even destroy enemies, and their effects are regarded as terrible (*ghora*, *ugra*), they are not generally prohibited but become part of the spectrum of domestic rituals. This is corroborated by the fact that the Atharvaveda provides the template for the composition of texts in which mantras from the Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda are collected for the very same purposes usually ascribed to the Atharvaveda collections.[70] Their acceptance depends on purpose and context. It seems that when directed at a "loved" one or companion,

69 See van Buitenen (1975: 667).

70 See Goudriaan (1978: 221–252), who discusses the contexts for the composition of *vidhāna*-texts, such as Ṛgvidhāna and Sāmavidhāna Brahmaṇa, which teach mantras for *abhicāra* and *saṃvanana* practices. He emphasizes the importance of *kāmya* rites for Vedic ritualism at large.

ritual methods of controlling and subjugating are not prohibited. When looking at the spectrum of *paricāra* practices depicted in the epic it is obvious that they are not simply the opposite of "hostile" *abhicāra* rites. Rather *paricāra* and *abhicāra* demarcate a spectrum of practices of control acceptable within the household. As the case of Kuntī shows, *abhicāra* may very well become an element of *paricāra* that can be used in "times of distress", for instance, such as for the benefit of rivaling co-wives. The various verbal compounds with √*car* seem to circumscribe a socio-ritual field of practice (*paricāra*, *upacāra*, *abhicāra*) that focuses on coping with asymmetrical power relations that are framed as operating in hierarchies of mutual dependence. The account in Book 13 that depicts women as being created as experts in household politics and as *kṛtyās* whose task is to hinder men from obtaining god-like status interprets these asymmetrical power relations in a cosmological framework. In this way, it gives an additional justification for the normative order of patrilineal kinship structures women are subjected to. The clear positioning of *kṛtyā* in the field of hostile acts and agents stands in contrast with the polyvalence of *abhicāra* practices. The usefulness and acceptance of *abhicāra* apply particularly to situations of distress and familial or conjugal tensions and point to a connection between these practices and rites of pacification (*śānti-karman*) that are in later literature classified as belonging to the same branch of ritual practices.[71] Seen from this perspective, *paricāra* and *abhicāra* are not so much opposites but counterparts, and the Mahābhārata can be viewed as exploring and negotiating this spectrum in a literary form.

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71 See Goudriaan (1978) and Türstig (1985) on the group of the so-called *ṣaṭ-karman*. The importance of abhicāra and other rites of control and subjugation in domestic settings is also obvious in the ritual manuals as has been observed by Goudriaan: "the action of 'subjugation' often applies to situations within the domestic environment. The 'victim' in many cases appears to be somebody within the family or household, frequently even the wife or husband. The recurse to magic seems to have often served as a panacea during the existence of domestic tensions" (Goudriann 1978: 316).

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Kyoko Amano

Influence of the Atharvaveda on Rituals in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

Abstract: The paper examines the influence of the Atharvaveda (AV) on the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (MS), an early Yajurvedic text. The culture and rituals of the people who developed the AV are believed to have significantly influenced śrauta rituals, which initially involved offerings to gods in the sacred fire with verses mainly from the Ṛgveda (RV). Over time, Yajurvedic priests expanded these rituals, incorporating various rites and beliefs from a diverse society of disunited tribes and villages. The AV had a major influence on Yajurvedic rituals, with its impact on the MS varying across different chapters due to their being composed in different periods by different authors.

In the mantra chapters of the MS (excluding IV 10–14), there are 1,173 verse and verse-like mantras. Among them 92 citations from the AV Śaunaka recension (AVŚ) and 169 from the AV Paippalāda recension (AVP) are confirmed, along with 349 citations from the RV. These verses are often quoted with some variations in words, grammatical forms, and word order, indicating a waning dependence on the RV and AV.

The AV was initially less known to the Maitrāyaṇī priests compared to the RV. The AVŚ was associated with the soma ritual and the expiatory rites in the MS in an earlier period, while the AVP became more influential later. After the introduction of the agniciti ritual, all three texts (RV/AVŚ/AVP) were better known to the Yajurvedins than before, which can be seen from the significant increase in the number of citations, especially from the increase of citations in the form of sūkta. The more accurate citations of the RV compared to the AVŚ suggest that the RV had a more developed learning system, whereas the AVŚ was not fully canonized and was less widespread.

Note: I would like to express my sincere thanks to Robert Leach, Thomas Zehnder, Oliver Hellwig and Prof. Angelika Malinar (University of Zurich) for their very careful review and useful suggestions.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-013

1 Introduction

The culture and rituals of the people who developed the Atharvaveda (AV) are generally believed to have extensively influenced śrauta rituals.[1] Initially, śrauta rituals included, as their main action, offerings to the gods in the sacred fire during the recitation of laudatory verses, which are mainly taken from the Ṛgveda (RV), to invoke and praise these gods. Based on this simple ritual, Yajurvedic priests developed a series of rituals comprising many ritual actions conducted by numerous priests playing a variety of roles, influenced by various rites and by beliefs held by the diverse society of that time, consisting of disunited tribes and villages.[2] Those who composed and transmitted the Atharvaveda had a major influence on the Yajurvedic people. An examination of the influence of the Atharvaveda on the Yajurveda, especially on the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (MS), one of the oldest Yajurvedic texts, will contribute significantly to understanding the actions of Atharvavedic priests in this period.

The effects of the AV on the MS are not uniform. This is because each chapter of the MS was composed in a different period and by different authors.[3] Differences between the chapters of the MS reflect the diversity of the rituals and the societal contexts in which they were composed. Examining the influences of the AV on the MS reveals some phases of changes in the status of the AV in Vedic society. Interestingly, it also shows changes in the status of the two branches of the AV, namely, Atharvaveda Śaunaka (AVŚ) and Atharvaveda Paippalāda (AVP). The early chapters of the MS include fewer citations from the AVP than from the AVŚ, but the later chapters of the MS show a stronger influence from the AVP than from the AVŚ, which may indicate that the Yajurvedic priests had closer contacts with Śaunaka priests in the earlier period, and with Paippalāda priests in the later period. In this paper, I will examine the mantras in the MS, specifi-

1 Heesterman (1993) and Parpola (2015) depict this influence elaborately, especially in connection with Vrātya culture.

2 These are the native people with various local cultures and Indo-Āryan tribes that came to India and spread in various periods and different ways; one of these is the so-called Vrātya. On the Vrātyas see Pontillo and Dore (2016: 1–33).

3 For the peculiarities of style and language of each chapter in the MS, see Amano (2014–2015, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2019a, 2019b, 2020).

cally verse and verse-like[4] mantras that include citations from the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda.

2 Construction of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

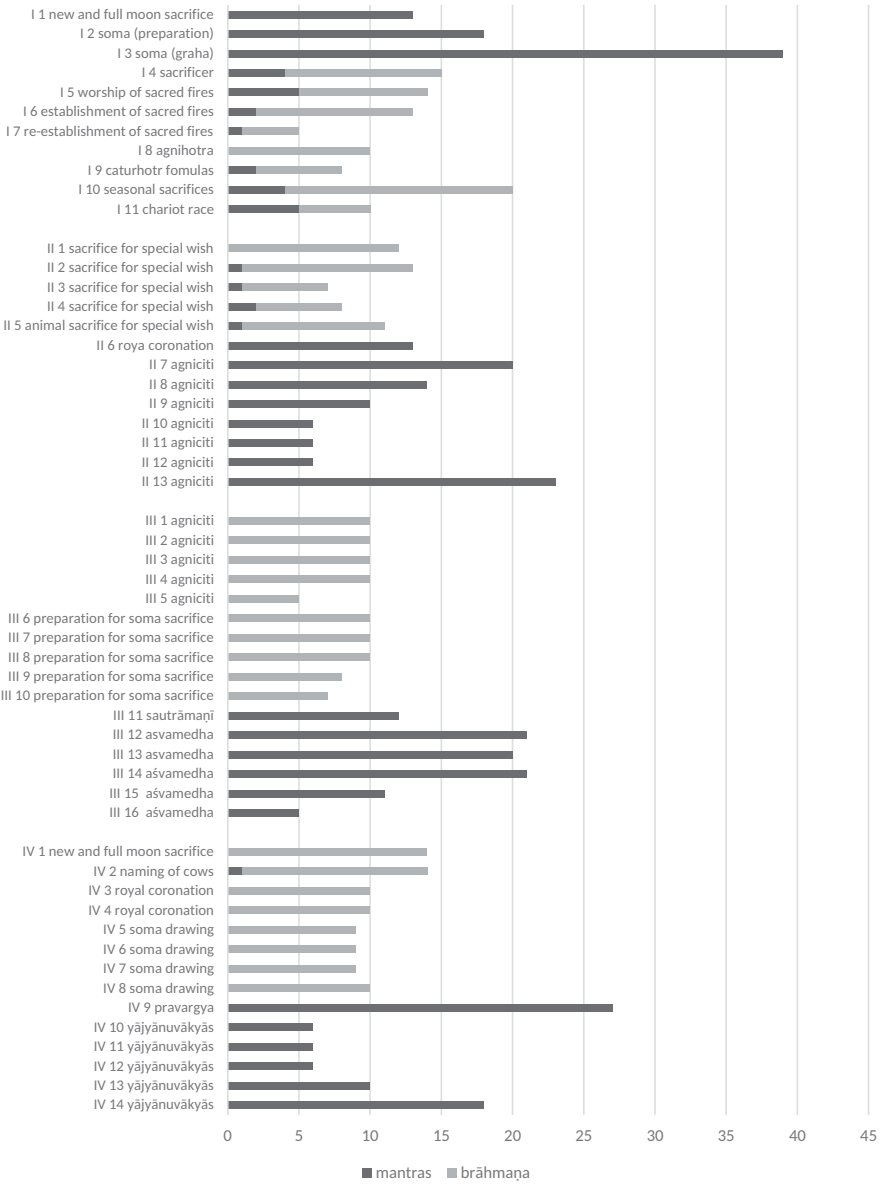
The MS spans 54 chapters, which are divided into 25 parts according to ritual content (see the list below). These 25 parts consist of nine mantra sections, six brāhmaṇa (ritual explanation) sections, and ten sections with a combination of both. These chapters are not arranged in chronological order, and many additional passages (these could be a whole chapter or merely some sentences or mantras in a chapter) are inserted. The old chapters probably belong to the same period as the latest portions of the Atharvaveda. However, the newest chapters are comparable to āraṇyaka texts. Thus, I assume that a period of 200 years or more, hypothetically 900–700 BCE,[5] can be accounted for in the compilation of the MS, with parts that were added at a later stage. Each chapter is different, reflecting diachronic changes as well as diversity in terms of language and description of rituals and beliefs.

In the table below, all chapters of the MS are listed with the mantras and brāhmaṇa parts distinguished.

Mantra and brāhmaṇa parts of the MS:

4 There are Yajurvedic mantras that do not have correct meter but are constructed like a verse, contrary to short mantras (yajus), for example *jyótir asi* 'You are the shining'. It is difficult to determine whether such a mantra is a verse. I count such mantras as "verse-like" mantras.

5 Witzel (1989: 124) and (1997: 266ff.) dates the mantra chapters of Yajurveda-Saṁhitās as before 900 BCE and the brāhmaṇa chapters as after 900 BCE. But Amano (2014–2015) and (2020) argues that both the mantra and the brāhmaṇa chapters were composed over a long period of time, and that they were added gradually to the main body of the text.


I 1 new and full moon sacrifice
I 2 soma (preparation)
I 3 soma (graha)
I 4 sacrificer
I 5 worship of sacred fires
I 6 establishment of sacred fires
I 7 re-establishment of sacred fires
I 8 agnihotra
I 9 caturhotr fomulas
I 10 seasonal sacrifices
I 11 chariot race
II 1 sacrifice for special wish
II 2 sacrifice for special wish
II 3 sacrifice for special wish
II 4 sacrifice for special wish
II 5 animal sacrifice for special wish
II 6 roya coronation
II 7 agniciti
II 8 agniciti
II 9 agniciti
II 10 agniciti
II 11 agniciti
II 12 agniciti
II 13 agniciti
III 1 agniciti
III 2 agniciti
III 3 agniciti
III 4 agniciti
III 5 agniciti
III 6 preparation for soma sacrifice
III 7 preparation for soma sacrifice
III 8 preparation for soma sacrifice
III 9 preparation for soma sacrifice
III 10 preparation for soma sacrifice
III 11 sautrāmaṇī
III 12 asvamedha
III 13 asvamedha
III 14 aśvamedha
III 15 aśvamedha
III 16 aśvamedha
IV 1 new and full moon sacrifice
IV 2 naming of cows
IV 3 royal coronation
IV 4 royal coronation
IV 5 soma drawing
IV 6 soma drawing
IV 7 soma drawing
IV 8 soma drawing
IV 9 pravargya
IV 10 yājyānuvākyās
IV 11 yājyānuvākyās
IV 12 yājyānuvākyās
IV 13 yājyānuvākyās
IV 14 yājyānuvākyās
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
mantras
brāhmaṇa

3 Verse and Verse-Like Mantras in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

The saṁhitā texts of the Yajurveda are generally understood to contain collections of yajus, mantras belonging to the Adhvaryu priest. However, this description of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās is incorrect, as many of the mantras collected in them belong to the RV and the AV. Statistical data based on Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance (Bloomfield 1906; Franceschini 2007) show that almost 15 % of the mantras of the MS are taken from the RV, with a lower figure from the AVŚ and AVP.

Except the chapter of yājyānuvākyās (IV 10–14) containing the anuvākyās (inviting verses) and yājyās (praising verses), typically recited by the Hotṛ priest, the RV and AV verses collected in the mantra sections of the MS were probably reserved for the Adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. These RV and AV verses may have been employed in the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās by the Adhvaryu priests to increase the esteem of their rituals.[6]

4 Atharvaveda Verses in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

In the ritual mantras of the MS,[7] 92 citations from the AVŚ and 169 from the AVP can be confirmed among 1,173 verse and verse-like mantras (with 349 citations from the RV).[8] These AV and RV verses are quoted in their entirety when they first appear in the MS. However, from the second citation, they are quoted as pratīka (i. e. only the opening words of the verse are given), although there are also cases of entirely repeated citations. This practice had been established during transmission and does not reflect the shape of the text in the period of its composition. The quoted verses are not always identical to their source, but exhibit different degrees of variations. There are differences in the choice of words, in grammatical forms, and in word order. In some cases, one or more pādas also lack correspondences to the RV and AV. The differences mostly do not seem to be motivated by specific

6 This is probably because said priests and sacrificers thought that the RV and AV words could reach the gods, in contrast with their yajus spoken to the tools and materials in the ritual.

7 This is excepting the chapter of the yājyānuvākyās, because this chapter is not connected to a certain ritual, and it could have been additionally composed of verses mainly used as anuvākyās and yājyās for various rituals in a later period.

8 With possible cases, a further 100 citations from the RV can be counted, 133 from the AVŚ and 116 from the AVP; see section 5, Table 1 below.

circumstances, but are rather arbitrary. These differences may indicate a situation where dependence on the RV and AV was waning.

Notably, there is no special term to indicate an AV verse in the MS. Rather, AV verses are referred to by feminine adjectives that imply ellipsis of the word *ṛ́c* – 'sacred verse', in the same way as RV verses are quoted.

4.1 Differences in Various Points and Various Grades

In the following examples, we see lexical changes (__), variations of grammatical forms (__), and changes of word order (‿):

MS II 9,2:122,7f.
yā́ te hetír mīḍhuṣṭama śivā́m babhū́va te dhánuḥ ǀ
táyāsmān viśvátas tvā́m ayakṣmáyā páribhuja ‖
~ AVP 14,4,7
*yā te hetir *mīḍhuṣṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ* ǀ
tayā tvaṃ viśvato asmān ayakṣmayā pari bhuja ‖

MS II 10,4:135,7f.
yásya kurmó gr̥hé havís tám agne vardhayā tvám ǀ
tásmai devā́ ádhibruvann ayáṃ ca bráhmaṇaspátiḥ ‖
~ AVŚ 6,5,3
yásya kr̥ṇmó havír gr̥hé tám tvám ǀ
tásmai sómo ádhi bravad ayáṃ ca bráhmaṇas pátiḥ ‖

In some cases there are a large number of differences:

MS II 5,10:61,12f.
devā́nām eṣá upanāhá āsīd apā́ṃ pátir vr̥ṣabhá óṣadhīnām ǀ
sómasya drapsám avr̥ṇīta pūṣā́ br̥hánn ádrir abhavad yát tád ā́sīt ‖
~ AVŚ 9,4,5
*devā́nāṃ bhāgá upanāhá eṣó 'pā́ṃ rása óṣadhīnāṃ gh*r̥*tásya* ǀ
sómasya bhakṣám avr̥ṇīta śakró br̥hánn ádrir abhavad yác chárīram ‖

In the following example, only pāda a corresponds to AVŚ and AVP (__):

MS II 4,7:45,1f.
údīrayatā marutaḥ samudrató divó vr̥ṣṭíṃ varṣayatā purīṣiṇaḥ ǀ
ná vo dasrā úpadasyanti dhenávaḥ śubhé kam ánu ráthā avr̥tsata ‖

~ AVŚ 4,15,5
úd īrayata marutaḥ samudratás tveṣó arkó nábha út pātayātha ।
mahaṛṣabhásya nádato nábhasvato vāśrā́ ápaḥ pṛthivī́ṃ tarpayantu ॥
~ AVP 5,7,4
*ud īrayata marutaḥ samudras tveṣā *arkā nabha ut pātayantu* ।
*pra varṣayanti *tviṣāḥ sudānavo 'pāṃ rasair oṣadhayaḥ sacantām* ॥

4.2 Correspondence among RV/AVŚ/AVP and Choice of MS

Many of the cited verses are from a single source (i. e. RV, AVŚ or AVP). In some cases, however, the verse is attested in two (RV and AVŚ, RV and AVP, AVŚ and AVP) or in all three sources; each of these combinations occurs. The verses common to MS and RV/AVŚ/AVP are identical in some cases (RV = AVŚ = AVP). However, they also vary in many instances, and again each combination occurs. Thus, if expressed in mathematical notation, RV = AVŚ (≠ AVP), RV = AVP (≠ AVŚ), AVŚ = AVP (≠ RV), and RV ≠ AVŚ ≠ AVP. The MS may draw from all three sources, without showing a clear bias toward any one of them, even though it seems that its authors were more aware of the RV than of the AVŚ and AVP. In many cases, multiple influences from two or more of RV/AVŚ/AVP can be seen in a verse or a sūkta. The MS seems to have intentionally employed words and forms from different texts, at least in some cases, perhaps because the Maitrāyaṇīyas wanted to display their familiarity with all the saṁhitās in question.

In the following example, the MS version is different from AVŚ and AVP at *badhyámānās*, identical with AVP at *prajā́patiḥ*, and identical with AVŚ at *saṃrarāṇáḥ*:

MS I 2,15:25,5f.
yé badhyámānam ánu badhyámānā anváikṣanta mánasā cákṣuṣā ca ।
agníṣ ṭáṃ ágre prámumoktu devā́ḥ prajā́patiḥ prajáyā saṁrarāṇáḥ ॥
~ AVŚ 2,34,3
yé badhyámānam ánu dī́dhyānā anvaíkṣanta mánasā cákṣuṣā ca ।
agníṣ ṭā́n ágre prá mumoktu devó viśvákarmā prajáyā saṃrarāṇáḥ ॥
~ AVP 3,32,4
ye badhyamānam anu dīdhyānā anvaikṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca ।
agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaḥ prajāpatiḥ prajayā[9] *saṃvidānaḥ* ॥

9 The Kahimirian manuscript has *prajābhis*, which the Kauśika-Sūtra and Vaitāna-Sūtra follow.

In the following example, the MS has a connection with all of the sources (RV/AVŚ/AVP). It has *suphálās, vítudantu, tóṣamānā supippalás*, and *óṣadhīḥ* in common with the AVŚ, *abhy* and *vāháiḥ* with the RV, and *etu* and *supippalás* with the AVP. The intention of MS is perhaps to show familiarity with all three saṁhitās:

MS II 7,12:92,1f.[10]
śunáṃ suphálā vítudantu bhúmiṃ śunáṃ kīnáśo abhyètu vāháiḥ |
śúnāsīrā havíṣā tóśamānā supippalá óṣadhīḥ kartanāsmé ‖
~ RV 4,57,8
śunáṃ naḥ phálā ví kṛṣantu bhúmiṃ śunáṃ kīnáśā abhí yantu vāhaíḥ |
śunám parjányo mádhunā páyobhiḥ śúnāsīrā śunám asmásu dhattam ‖
~ AVŚ 3,17,5
śunáṃ suphālá ví tudantu bhúmiṃ śunáṃ kīnáśā ánu yantu vāhán |
śúnāsīrā havíṣā tóśamānā supippalá óṣadhīḥ kartam asmaí ‖
~ AVP 2,22,3
śunaṃ kīnāśo anv etu vāhāñ chunaṃ phālo vinudann etu bhūmim |
śunāsīrā haviṣā yo ⁺yajātai supippalā oṣadhayas santu tasmai ‖

There are many cases where one or two of RV/AVŚ/AVP can be recognized as the source of citation in the MS. The following example is AVP 9,1,8 or AVŚ 5,27,9 as the source of MS II 12,6, where there is the slightest difference between MS and AVP/AVŚ in comparison to RV:

MS II 12,6:150,14f.
tisró devír barhír édáṁ syonám íḍā sárasvatī mahí |
bháratī gṛṇānā ‖
~ AVP 9,1,8
tisro devīr barhir edaṃ sadantv iḍā sarasvatī mahī |
bhāratī gṛṇānā ‖
~ AVŚ 5,27,9
daívā hótāra ūrdhvám adhvaráṃ no 'gnér jihváyābhí gṛnata gṛnátā naḥ svìṣṭaye |
tisró devír barhír édáṃ sadantām íḍā sárasvatī mahí bháratī gṛṇānā ‖
~ RV 10,110,8
á no yajñám bhāratī túyam etv íḷā manuṣvád ihá cetáyantī |
tisró devír barhír édáṃ syonáṃ sárasvatī svápasaḥ sadantu ‖

10 This so-called kṛṣi-sūkta is examined in detail in Jones (2017: 24–84).

~ AVŚ 5,12,8
á́ no yajñáṃ bhā́ratī tū́yam etv íḍā manuṣvád ihá cetáyantī ǀ
tisró devír barhír édáṃ syonáṃ sárasvatīḥ svápasaḥ sadantām ‖

4.3 Citation of a Single Verse and a Series of Verses

In some cases, a series of mantras in the MS consists of verses quoted from different places in the RV and AV. For example, a series of mantras in MS I 10,3, which are used for the ancester rite, is quoted from different places in the RV and AV as follows:

verses in MS	source/parallel in RV/AV
MS I 10,3: 142,11–13	~ RV 1,82,3
MS I 10,3: 143,1f.	~ AVŚ 6,120,1, AVP 16,50,9
MS I 10,3: 143,10f.	~ AVŚ 7,3,1, AVP 20,2,1
MS I 10,3: 143,12–14	~ RV 1,82,2, AVŚ 18,4,61, AVP 18,81,19
MS I 10,3: 143,15f.	~ RV 10,57,3, AVP 19,24,10
MS I 10,3: 143,17f.	~ RV 10,57,4, AVŚ 1,6,3, AVP 19,24,11
MS I 10,3: 143,19f.	~ RV 10,57,5, AVP 19,24,12
MS I 10,3: 144,2f.	~ RV 4,10,1

In contrast to quotations from different places in the source texts, the following instances indicate a link between a series of mantras in the MS and an entire sūkta of the RV/AV. For example, in MS I 2,9 and I 2,13–14, there are six verses from AVŚ 7,26. They are not quoted en bloc but are scattered. Neverthless, we can recognize the sūkta of AVŚ 7,26 related to MS I 2.

The passages in the MS given below show such a loose relation between a series of mantras in the MS and a sūkta of the RV/AV.

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV sūkta	difference between MS and RV/AV
MS II 7,7: 83,15–84,3	AVP 1,42,1–4	great difference
MS II 7,12: 91,13–92,12	AVŚ 3,17,1–9, AVP 2,22,1–6	great difference
MS III 11,10: 155,12–156,10	RV 9,67,22–27, AVŚ 6,19,1–3 AVP 19,7,10–12	some difference
MS III 11,10: 157,1–12	AVŚ 6,114,1 + 6,115,2–3 AVP 16,49,1 + 5–6	great difference

These examples, which show only a loose connection between the MS and an RV/AV sūkta, are also characterized by a "loose citation," that is, the text of the two versions differs considerably.

In the following instances, the MS cites two or three connected verses, so-called dvr̥cas and tr̥cas:

MS verses	parallel RV/AV dvr̥ca and tr̥ca	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS I 5,1: 66,8–13 (3 verses)	RV 9,66,19–21	identical
MS I 5,3: 69,3–8 (3)	RV 1,1,7–9	identical
MS I 6,1: 85,9–14 (3)	RV 10,189,1–3, AVŚ 6,31,1–3, 20,48,4–6, AVP 19,45,11–13	some difference
MS I 6,2: 87,13–18 (3)	RV 4,58,1–3, AVP 8,13,1–3	identical
MS I 10,3: 143,15–144,1 (3)	RV 10,57,3–5, AVP 19,24,10–12	identical
MS II 2,6: 20,10–16 (3)	RV 10,191,2–4, AVŚ 6,64,1–3	some difference
MS II 3,8: 36,16–37,2 (3)	AVŚ 2,35,1–3, AVP 1,88,1–3	great difference, AVP more different than AVŚ
MS II 7,3: 77,4–9 (3)	RV 6,16,13–15	identical
MS II 7,5: 79,16–80,2 (3)	RV 10,9,1–3, AVŚ 1,5,1–3, AVP 19,45,8–10	identical
MS II 7,14: 95,4–9 (3)	AVP 15,2,6–8	great difference
MS II 7,15: 97,1–6 (3)	AVP 19,22,1–3	some difference
MS II 7,16: 99,18–100,2 (3)	RV 1,90,6–8, AVP 19,45,5–7	identical
MS II 10,6: 138,4–9 (3)	AVŚ 4,14,3–5, AVP 3,38,3–4.8	some difference
MS II 13,6: 154,9–155,12 (3 + 4 + 3)	RV 1,84,13–15 + 1,7,1–4 + 8,93,7–9, AVŚ 20,41,1–3 + 20,38,4–6 + 20,47,1–3	identical
MS II 13,7: 155,14–157,2 (3 + 3 + 3)	RV 5,1,1–2.12 + 5,11,1.5–6 + 5,6,1–2.4	identical
MS II 13,8: 157,3–19 (3 + 3 + 3)	RV 7,16,1.5.11 + 1,79,4–6 + 4,10,1–2.4	identical
MS II 13,9: 158,8–159,13 (3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2)	RV 8,17,1–3 + 7,32,22–23 + 6,46,1–2 + 4,31,1–3 + 6,48,1–2, AVŚ 20,3,1–3 + 20,121,1–2 + 20,98,1–2 + 20,124,1–3	identical
MS III 16,3: 185,4–9 (3)	RV 1,6,1–3, AVŚ 20,26,4–6, 20,47,10–12, 20,69,9–11	identical

Apparently, such dvr̥cas and tr̥cas were popular for assembling the MS mantras. In their case, the text is largely faithful to the source, which is probably because the

memorisation of dvṛcas and tṛcas was the method by which the Yajurvedic priests learnt and quoted the RV and AV.

If more than two or three connected RV and AV verses are cited, in some cases this becomes a citation of an entire sūkta. The following cases can be considered as marking the beginning of "sūkta citation" that gained popularity in the later period:

<Groups of four or five verses>

MS verses	parallel RV/AV verses	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS I 3,38: 44,6–16 (5 out of 6 verses)	AVŚ 7,97,1–5	some difference
MS I 5,2: 68,2–7 (5)	AVŚ 2,19,1–5, AVP 2,48,1–5	Identical
MS I 5,3: 69,9–12 (4)	RV 5,24,1–4	Identical
MS I 7,1: 109,12–110,2 (4)	AVP 1,41,1–4	some difference
MS I 11,4: 164,6–15, :165,5f. (6 out of 7 verses)	RV 10,141,1–5, AVŚ 3,20,2–4.7, AVP 3,34,3–7.9	AVP identical, RV different, AVŚ more different than RV
MS II 7,15: 97,7–16 (5)	RV 4,4,1–5	identical
MS II 13,1: 151,7–153,3 (4 + 6)	AVŚ 1,33,1–4 + 3,13,1–6, AVP 1,25,1–4 + 3,4,1–6	some difference; only two or three pādas corresponding in some verses
MS II 13,13: 162,10–163,6 (5)	AVŚ 3,21,1–6, AVP 3,12,1–6	great difference

<Citation of entire sūktas>

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV sūkta	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS II 7,9: 86,5–87,8 (12 verses)	RV 10,45,1–12	great difference
MS II 7,13: 93,1–94,18 (18)	RV 10,97,1–17, AVP 11,6,1–10 + 11,7,1–6	great difference
MS II 7,14: 95,12–96,5 (6)	RV 10,140,1–6	some difference
MS II 9,2: 120,18–122,8 (11 out of 13 verses)	AVP 14,3,5–10 + 14,4,2–7	some difference
MS II 10,2: 133,1–19 (7 out of 8 verses)	RV 10,81,1–7	little difference
MS II 10,3: 134,1–135,2 (7 out of 8 verses)	RV 10,82,1–7	some difference
MS II 10,4: 135,9–136,12 (10)	RV 10,103,1–11, AVŚ 19,13,2–11, AVP 7,4,2–11	some difference
MS II 12,5: 148,11–148,5 (7)	AVŚ 2,6,1–5, AVP 3,33,1–7	great difference
MS II 12,6: 149,14–151,2 (12)	AVŚ 5,27,1–12, AVP 9,1,1–11	some difference
MS II 13,10: 159,14–161,6 (11)	AVŚ 8,9,10–15.22, AVP 16,18,10 + 16,19,1–3.5.10	great difference
MS II 13,23: 168,5–169,3 (7)	RV 10,121,7, AVP 4,1,1–7	great difference

(Continued)

verses in MS	parallel RV/AV sūkta	Difference between MS and RV/AV
MS III 16,1: 181,7–183,11 (16)	RV 1,162,1–16	identical
MS III 16,3: 185,10–187,13 (19)	RV 6,75,1–14 + 6,47,26–31, AVP 15,10,1–8 + 15,11,2–10 + 15,12,1	RV identical, AVP little difference
MS III 16,4: 187,16–190,5 (17)	AVP 15,1,2–10 + 15,2,1–4	some difference

As can be seen in the table above, citations of an entire sūkta are clustered in the agniciti mantra chapter (MS II 7–13). The sūkta citations are mostly taken from the RV, but can also be from both the RV and the AV, or only from the AV. However, in such a sūkta citation, it is often difficult to determine a single source of the citation, as we may find multiple influences from all three saṁhitās (RV/AVŚ/AVP) in the MS.

The following example show the case where a verse that is close to the AVP (MS II 10,4:135,13f.) and another that is close to the RV and the AVŚ (MS II 10,4:136,2f.) are juxaposed in the same sūkta citation:

MS II 10,4:135,13f.
sá íṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgíbhir vaśī́ sáṁsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsv índro gaṇéṣu ǀ
saṁsr̥ṣṭhajít somapā́ bāhuśardhy ùrdhvádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ‖ (≈ AVP)
MS II 10,4:136,2f.
balavijñāyáḥ sthávirаḥ právīraḥ sáhasvān vājī́ sáhamāna ugráḥ ǀ
abhívīro abhísatvā sahojít jáitram indra rátham átiṣṭha govít ‖ (≈ AVŚ, RV)

~ RV 10,103,3
sá íṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgíbhir vaśī́ sáṃsraṣṭā sá yúdha índro gaṇéna ǀ
saṃsr̥ṣṭajít somapā́ bāhuśardhy ùgrádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ‖
RV 10,103,5
balavijñāyá sthávirаḥ právīraḥ sáhasvān vājī́ sáhamāna ugráḥ ǀ
abhívīro abhísatvā sahojā́ jaítram indra rátham ā́ tiṣṭha govít ‖

~ AVŚ 19,13,4
sá íṣuhastaiḥ sá niṣaṅgíbhir vaśī́ sáṃsraṣṭā sá yúdha índro gaṇéna ǀ
saṃsr̥ṣṭajít somapā́ bāhuśardhy ùgrádhanvā prátihitābhir ástā ‖
AVŚ 19,13,5
balavijñāyáḥ sthávirаḥ právīraḥ sáhasvān vājī́ sáhamāna ugráḥ ǀ
abhívīro abhíṣatvā sahojít jaítram indra rátham ā́ tiṣṭha govídam ‖

~ AVP 7,4,4
sa iṣuhastaiḥ sa niṣaṅgibhir vaśī saṃsraṣṭā yudha indro gaṇena |
saṃsṛṣṭajit somapā bāhuśardhy ūrdhvadhanvā pratihitābhir astāt ‖
AVP 7,4,5
balavijñāyaḥ sthaviraḥ pravīraḥ sahasvān vājī sahamāna ugraḥ |
abhivīro abhiṣatvā sahojij jaitrāyendra ratham ā tiṣṭha govidam ‖

MS II 13,6–9 (II 13 is the last of the agniciti mantras, probably a later addition) contains many dvṛcas and tṛcas from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th maṇḍalas of the RV and their parallels in the AVŚ, which are all found in the 20th kāṇḍa. Prabably, both the MS and the AVŚ borrowed these dvṛcas and tṛcas from different maṇḍalas of the RV for ritual use. All these dvṛcas and tṛcas show little difference between the texts. This chapter of the MS cites some sūktas from the AVŚ and the AVP with the parallels from the 10th maṇḍala of the RV, and these sūktas show many differences between the MS and the RV/AV parallels.

MS III 16 (the last of the aśvamedha mantras, probably a later addition) shows another phenomenon. This chapter contains some very large and accurate sūkta citations from the RV. It also cites sūktas from the AVP, but not as accurately as those from the RV. In the period MS III 16 was composed, the learning of sūktas of the RV was probably well developed, while the AVP was less well known.

MS III 16,5 contains a sūkta-like collection which has a parallel in both the AVŚ and the AVP (with considerable differences), though only the first and last of the seven verses of the AV versions are present:

verses in MS (serial number in the chapter)	AVŚ parallel	AVP parallel	conformity between AVŚ and AVP
III 16,5: 190,6f. (1)	AVŚ 4,23,1	AVP 4,33,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 190,8f. (2)	AVŚ 4,23,7	AVP 4,33,7	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 190,10f. (3)	AVŚ 4,24,1	AVP 4,39,1	(both influencing MS)
III 16,5: 190,12f. (4)	AVŚ 4,24,7	AVP 4,39,7	AVŚ almost = AVP
III 16,5: 190,14f. (5)	AVŚ 4,29,1	AVP 4,38,1	AVP ≈ MS
III 16,5: 190,16f. (6)	AVŚ 4,29,7	AVP 4,38,7	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,2f. (7)	AVŚ 4,25,1	AVP 4,34,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,4f. (8)	AVŚ 4,25,7	AVP 4,34,7	AVŚ = AVP
(III 16,5: 191,6–9 (9–10))	not found in AV		
III 16,5: 191,10f. (11)	AVŚ 4,27,1	AVP 4,35,1	AVŚ = AVP
III 16,5: 191,12f. (12)	AVŚ 4,27,7	AVP 4,35,7	AVŚ = AVP
(III 16,5: 191,14–17 (13–14))	not found in AV		

(Continued)

verses in MS (serial number in the chapter)	AVŚ parallel	AVP parallel	conformity between AVŚ and AVP
(III 16,5: 191,18 (15)–(17) pratīka)	(AVŚ 7,20,1–2 + 6,35,1)		
(III 16,5: 192,1f. (18) RV 7,13,2)	not found in AV		
(III 16,5: 192,3f. (19))	not found in AV		
III 16,5: 192,5f. (20)	AVŚ 4,26,1 + 7	AVP 4,36,1 + 7	AVŚ = AVP

Regarding these AV verses, the so-called mṛgāra-sūktāni, Bloomfield (1899: 52) argued that it is "possible to imagine that the Yajus-stanzas were picked out of longer hymns, though there is no special reason for such a supposition. That they were not gathered from the Atharvan hymns in question may be regarded as certain." This refers to the crucial question about the date of the composition of the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda mantras, with respect to which Bloomfield states that "the redaction of the AV. holds much the same place compared with the redactions of the YV." However, the final redaction of this sūkta in the MS could not have taken place in an ancient period because the mantra part and the list of sacrificial animals of the aśvamedha are chronologically comparable with the latest chapter of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and the additional book on the aśvamedha of the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā. The conformity between the AVŚ and the AVP in these verses may indicate a younger period or a more developed stage of canonization.

5 Statistical Account of Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda Citations in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

In this section, I present statistical data of all RV/AV verses cited in each chapter of the MS. **The first table** lists the number of cited verses and their appearance rates in all verse and verse-like mantras. For example, MS I 2 (mantras for the preparation of the soma ritual) contains 65 verse(-like) mantras, including 20 from the RV, 11 from the AVŚ, and 8 from the AVP. Therefore, of all the verse(-like) mantras, 31 % are from the RV, while 17 % are from the AVŚ and 12 % are from the AVP.

In some cases, it is difficult to determine the source (RV/AVŚ/AVP) that the MS cites, for example when the citations show no variations or are different from each other and from the MS to an almost equal extent. The number of such unclear cases is given in the table in brackets: (+). MS I 2 includes 5 such unclear cases of citation from the RV (noted as 20 (+5)), 7 cases of citation from the AVŚ (noted as 11 (+7)),

and 6 cases of citation from the AVP (noted as 8 (+6)). The sum of these represents the maximum possible number (RV 25, AVŚ 18, AVP 14), based on which the percentages are calculated using minimum and maximum values (RV 31~38 %, AVŚ 17~28 %, AVP 12~22 % for MS I 2).

There are also cases where influences from two or three sources can be detected (for example MS II 7,12:92,1f., RV 4,57,8, AVŚ 3,17,5, AVP 2,22,3 in section 4.2 above). I counted both or all three. Cases of citations with pratīka are also accounted for in these data.

The second table shows the level of conformity with the RV and AVŚ for each chapter of the MS. The AVP is excluded from consideration because there are many cases in its transmission where there are variant readings that need to be examined. It clarifies how familiar each chapter of the MS was with these saṁhitās, and also the extent to which the RV and AVŚ were canonized and widely transmitted. The citations with pratīka and the unclear cases of the citations (indicated in brakets (+) in the Table 1 above) are not included here. Therefore, the numerical data in this table does not represent the overall situation, but is only effective for comparing RV and AVŚ. According to the degree of similarity of citations to the original saṁhitās, citations are classified into three categories: 1) same, where the wording of the verse is identical, 2) slightly varying, and 3) varying. To estimate the grade of approximation, I assigned a difference of a word a value of 1 point, a difference of a grammatical form 0.5 points, and a difference of word order 0.5 points. Therefore, a verse measured as having a value of less than 3 points is classified as 2) slightly varying, and that with more than 3 points is classified as 3) varying. When one or more pādas lack a correspondence, it is classified as 3) varying.

Table 1: Number of cited verses and their appearance rate in all verse(-like) mantras.

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
I 1 new and full moon sacrifice	17	1 (6 %)	1 (6 %)	4 **(24 %)**
I 2 soma (preparation)	65	20 (+5) (31~38 %)	11 (+7) **(17~28 %)**	8 (+6) (12~22 %)
I 3 soma (graha)	66	28 (+6) (42~52 %)	11 (+6) **(17~26 %)**	5 (+4) (8~14 %)
I 4 sacrificer	25	3 (+1) (12~28 %)	1 (+2) (4~12 %)	3 (+2) (12~20 %)
I 5 worship of the sacred fires	48 (including 2 pratīka)	31 (+1) (65~67 %)	1 (+7) (2~17 %)	0 (+6) (0~13 %)

Table 1 (continued)

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
I 6 establishment of the sacred fires	31 (incl. 3 prat.)	11 (+6) (39~55 %)	2 (+4) (6~19 %)	1 (+8) (3~29 %)
I 7 re-establishment of the sacred fires	11	0 (0 %)	0 (+2) (0~18 %)	4 (+2) **(36~55 %)**
I 8 daily offering in the sacred fires	5 (incl. 1 prat.)	0 (0 %)	1 (20 %)	1 (20 %)
I 10 seasonal sacrifice	19	7 (37 %)	1 (+1) (5~11 %)	5 (+1) **(26~32 %)**
I 11 vājapeya	26 (incl. 1 prat.)	5 (+2) (19~27 %)	1 (+1) (4~8 %)	8 (+1) **(31~35 %)**
II 1–4 sacrifice for special wish	36	10 (+3) (28~36 %)	9 (+4) **(25~36 %)**	5 (+1) (14~17 %)
II 5 animal sacrifice for special wish	5	0 (0 %)	2 (+1) (40~60 %)	2 (+1) (40~60 %)
II 6 royal consecration	13	4 (31 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
I 1–II 6 total	367 (incl. 7 prat.)	121 (+25) (33~40 %)	41 (+35) (11~21 %)	46 (+32) (13~21 %)
II 7 agniciti	233 (incl. 21 prat.)	91 (+13) (39~45 %)	12 (+15) (5~12 %)	36 (+22) **(15~25 %)**
II 8 agniciti	18	2 (11 %)	0 (0 %)	3 **(17 %)**
II 9 agniciti	46	1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	13 **(28 %)**
II 10 agniciti	71 (incl. 10 prat.)	33 (+3) (46~51 %)	9 (+4) (13~18 %)	8 (+4) (11~17 %)
II 11 agniciti	0	0	0	0
II 12 agniciti	41	2 (+1) (5~7 %)	11 (+2) **(27~32 %)**	18 (+4) **(44~54 %)**
II 13 agniciti	109 (incl. 11 prat.)	43 (+25) (39~62 %)	8 (+35) (7~39 %)	16 (+17) **(15~30 %)**
II 7–13 agniciti total	518 (incl. 42 prat.)	172 (+42) (33~41 %)	41 (+56) (8~19 %)	94 (+47) **(18 %~27 %)**
III 11 recovering from soma drunkenness	128 (incl. 4 prat.)	9 (+3) (7~9 %)	5 (+8) (4~10 %)	4 (+5) (3~7 %)
III 12–13 horse sacrifice	22	0 (+4) (0~18 %)	0 (+3) (0~14 %)	1 (+1) (5~9 %)

Table 1 (continued)

chapters (rituals) in the MS	verse-like mantras in the MS	RV number and rate (%)	AVŚ number and rate (%)	AVP number and rate (%)
III 16 horse sacrifice	91 (incl. 5 prat.)	30 (+12) (33~46 %)	4 (+ 18) (4~24 %)	19 (+ 20) **(21~43 %)**
IV 9 pravargya	47 (incl. 10 prat.)	17 (+14) (36~66 %)	1 (+13) (2~30 %)	5 (+11) (11~34 %)
III–IV total	288 (incl. 19 prat.)	56 (+33) (19~31 %)	10 (+42) (3~18 %)	29 (+37) (10~23 %)
I–IV total	1173 (incl. 68 prat.)	349 (+100) (30~38 %)	92 (+133) (8~19 %)	169 (+116) (14~24 %)

Table 2: Conformity of citations according to chapter.[11]

	RV			AVŚ		
	identical	slightly varying	Varying	identical	slightly varying	varying
I 1 new and full moon sacrifice	1					1
I 2 soma (preparation)	9	6	5	3	5	3
I 3 soma (graha)	18	7	3	2	5	4
I 4 sacrificer	1		2			1
I 5 worship of the sacred fires	24	4	1			1
I 6 establishment of the sacred fires	6	2	1		1	1
I 7 re-establishment of the sacred fires						
I 8 daily offering						
I 10 seasonal sacrifice	5	1	1			1
I 11 vājapeya	2	2	1			
II 1–4 sacrifices for wish	3	6	1	1	2	6
II 5 animal sacrifices for wish				1		1
II 6 royal consecration	2	2				
I 1–II 6 total (RV 116, AVŚ 39)	71 (61 %)	30 (26 %)	15 (13 %)	7 (18 %)	13 (33 %)	19 (49 %)
II 7 agniciti	36	32	16	1	5	5
II 8 agniciti	1	1				

11 The verses cited with pratīka are not considered. Therefore, the number of the verses in Table 2 does not correspond to that in Table 1.

Table 2 (continued)

	RV			AVŚ		
	identical	**slightly varying**	**Varying**	**identical**	**slightly varying**	**varying**
II 9 agniciti		1				1
II 10 agniciti	11	13	5		3	3
II 12 agniciti		1	1	3	5	3
II 13 agniciti	25	7	4	1	2	5
III 11 recovering from soma	3	3	1	1	1	3
III 12–13 horse sacrifice						
III 16 horse sacrifice	20	9			1	2
IV 9 pravargya	12	3	6		1	1
II 7–IV 9 total (RV 211, AVŚ 47)	108 (51 %)	70 (33 %)	33 (16 %)	6 (13 %)	18 (38 %)	23 (49 %)
total (RV 327, AVŚ 86)	179 (55 %)	100 (31 %)	48 (14 %)	13 (15 %)	31 (36 %)	42 (49 %)

6 Relationship of Rituals in the MS to the RV/AVŚ/AVP

On the basis of the examination and the statistical data presented above, I will now try to trace the evolution of contacts between the MS and the RV/AVŚ/AVP, and to classify the chapters of the MS into the following groups.

Group I (MS I 1–II 6):

In the chapters that form the first and second books of the MS (with the exception of those dealing with the agniciti), the RV provides more citations than the AVŚ/AVP with more accuracy (of all RV citations in MS I 1–II 6 the accurate citations are 61 %, of all AVŚ citations the accurate citations are 18 %) The AVP is slightly more frequently cited than the AVŚ (46 [+32] citations in the AVP, 41 [+35] citations in the AVŚ). According to the influence from the AVŚ/AVP, the chapters and rituals can be classified into four:

1) Rituals that are not (or only slightly) related to the AV: MS I 5 agnyupasthāna, MS I 6 agnyādhāna, MS II 6 rājasūya.

The Atharvaveda hardly influenced MS I 5 and MS I 6, chapters that were composed in a relatively early phase of the composition of the MS.[12] Chapter II 6, dealing with the rājasūya (royal consecration), has no citation from the AV. This is notable because it is commonly understood that Brahman priests from Atharvavedic families had close relations with kings. In the early period of the śrauta ritual formation, or at least in the MS, the AV priests did not influence the royal consecration ritual.

In MS I 5 and I 6, the recitation and learning of sets of two or three RV verses (dvṛcas and tṛcas) was practised. This method seems to have effected good learning because these sets of verses are cited accurately in most cases.

2) Rituals that are related to the AVŚ more than the AVP: MS I 2 soma adhvara (preparation), I 3 soma graha (drawing soma), II 1–4 kāmyā-iṣṭi

The AVŚ clearly influenced the soma ritual and the sacrifices for special wishes described in the MS. The AVP was less known to (or valued by) the authors who composed these mantras.

3) Rituals that are related to the AVP more than the AVŚ: MS I 7 punarādhāna, MS I 10 cāturmāsya, MS I 11 vājapeya.

MS I 7 is one of the youngest chapters, judging from an analysis of its linguistic features.[13] The influence from the AVP in MS I 7 probably indicates that the influence of the AVP was greater in the later period. MS I 10, the chapter of the seasonal sacrifices, and MS I 11, the chapter of the vājapeya (soma drinking for victory in the chariot race), are considered to be not particularly young in terms of stylistic and linguistic features.[14] However, the contact with the AVP may indicate that the composition of these chapters was in a relatively late period or that these rituals specifically originated from the Paippalāda tradition. MS I 1 darśapūrṇamāsa includes four citations from the AVP, which are more than the single citation from both the RV and the AVŚ. All four citations from the AVP are from its 20th book. Although the total number is small and it is difficult to discuss the question of influence from just a few quotations, there was possibly some relationship with the establishment of the 20th kāṇḍa of the AVP. Similarly, although the overall number is small, in MS I 4, the chapter of yajamāna, the influence of the AVP is slightly greater. MS I 4 is also presumed to have been composed in a later period.[15]

4) Rituals that are related to the AVŚ and AVP: MS I 8,8–9 expiatory rites (prāyaścitti) of the agnihotra, MS II 5 kāmya-paśu.

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12 See Amano (2020: 64).

13 See Amano (2014–2015: 1–36).

14 See Amano (2015: 1161–1167).

15 See Amano (2020: 64).

These chapters include only a few verse-like mantras and it is difficult to discuss relations of influence, but it is notable that they cite verses from both of AVŚ and AVP to the same extent. These chapters are considered to have been composed in a later period.[16]

Group II (MS II 7–IV):

The introduction of the agniciti to the Yajurvedic ritual description marks a major turning point in Vedic ritual. The extensive number of mantras for the agniciti (II 7–13) reflects the large scale of this ritual. In addition, the brāhmaṇa part of the agniciti (III 1–5) contains new stylistic and linguistic features that the third and fourth books have in common.[17] It can be inferred that the mantras of the agniciti (MS II 7–13), sautrāmaṇī (MS III 11), aśvamedha (MS III 12–13 and 16), and pravargya (MS IV 9) were composed after most chapters in Group I. According to the agniciti, aśvamedha and pravargya citations, the AVP was well known, and more influential than the AVŚ (according to the agniciti 94 [+47] citations in the AVP, 41 [+56] citations in the AVŚ; according to III–IV total 29 [+37] in the AVP, 10 [+42] in the AVŚ). Given the significant increase in the number of citations, it seems that the RV, AVŚ and AVP were all better known to the authors of the chapters in Group II than to those in Group I. This is also evident from the fact that there are many sūkta citations in these chapters (see 4.3 above). However, there is no significant change (or a slight decrease) in the accuracy of the citations from the RV and AVŚ (of all RV citations in MS II 7–IV 9 51 % are accurate, of all AVŚ citations 13 % are accurate).

A closer examination of the agniciti mantras (MS II 7–13) reveals that each chapter has its peculiarity. MS II 7 and II 10 contain a large number of RV citations, whereas MS II 8 and II 11 are chapters of non-verse mantras (yajus). MS II 9 is an additional chapter mentioning many Hindu gods' names;[18] this chapter contains many AVP verses. MS II 12 is also an Atharvaveda-oriented chapter, containing 11 verses from the AVŚ and 18 from the AVP (and 2 from the RV; see Table 1). In all, the AVP has a closer connection with the agniciti of the MS than does the AVŚ.

MS II 13, the last of the agniciti mantras, probably a later addition, contains many sets of two or three verses from different maṇḍalas of the RV and the 20th kāṇḍa of the AVŚ (see 4.3). The 20th kāṇḍa of the AVŚ probably borrowed verses

16 MS II 5 belongs to a younger linguistic layer; see Amano (2016b), 480–483 and 487. MS I 8,8–9, the expiatory rites of the agnihotra, were added to the main part of the agnihotra chpater (I 8,1–5) in a later period.

17 See Amano, op. cit.

18 See Amano (2016a: 36 with n. 8).

from different maṇḍalas of the RV for use in the agniciti ritual, and this influenced the composition of agniciti mantras in MS II 13. All these verses show remarkable conformity between RV, AVŚ, and MS versions. The method of combining three verses (tṛcas) for reciting and learning probably brought about such accuracy.

Although Group II generally shows a connection with the AV, a large part of the sautrāmaṇī (MS III 11) and the aśvamedha mantras (MS III 12–13) were original to the Yajurveda.

MS III 16, the additional part of the aśvamedha mantras, contains some very large and accurate sūkta citations from the RV (see 4.3 as well as Table 1 and 2). Similar to MS II 13, this chapter belongs to authors with a good knowledge of the RV. In MS III 16, the AVP is better known to the authors than is the AVŚ.

7 Conclusion: The Atharvaveda Viewed from the Study of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

Verses of the Atharvaveda were known to the Maitrāyaṇī priests from the initial period when they were composing their early mantras, but much less than the RV. The Śaunaka Atharvaveda was related to the soma ritual and the expiatory rites in the MS. Except for these chapters, or after these chapters, the Paippalāda Atharvaveda seems to have come into closer contact with the Maitrāyaṇī priests than the Śaunaka.

At the time of the introduction of the agniciti into Yajurvedic ritual, all three schools of RV/AVŚ/AVP were known to or connected with the Yajurvedins. RV/AV verses became better known in the form of sūkta. During the composition of the MS, the Maitrāyaṇīyas knew the RV more accurately than the AV. This is probably because a good learning system for the RV had been developed, and the AV had not yet been fully canonized and was less widespread.

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Thomas Zehnder

Quotations from the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya

Abstract: In this article, a systematic search for the Vedic quotations found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is conducted in the text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS). This endeavour seemed promising as Wilhelm Rau had only a small part of the PS at his disposal in his classical study of this topic (published 1985), whereas now this text – as transmitted in Odisha – has been edited in its entirety and is available in electronic form. As a result of my analysis, the source of quite a few of the 275 untraced Vedic quotations in the *Mahābhāṣya* that are listed by Rau is identified. In passing, English translations are provided for all passages discussed.

1 Introduction

1.1 My original motive for looking more closely at the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya was the hope that one or other improvement of the text of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS) might result from it.[1] This hope was fuelled by a handful of well-known cases where a correction in a PS passage actually emerged from its being quoted in the Mahābhāṣya. One such case is PS 2.87.1a, where the Mahābhāṣya quotation *manāyyai tantuḥ* (R491) was crucial for the restoration of the dative **manāyyai* 'for Manāyī' from the PS readings Odisha *manāyai* and Kashmir *manāyī* (see Rau 1985a: 162; Zehnder 1999: 189).

1.2 It is to Wilhelm Rau's great credit that the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya are readily accessible to people less familiar with this complex subject. Without his extensive collection of the relevant material (= Rau 1985), it would have been very difficult to conduct an investigation like the one that follows here.[2] Rau also took great efforts to trace the sources of the collected quotations in the extant Vedic corpus, which was an arduous task in his time as there were hardly any relevant

1 The research on which this article is based was conducted within the framework of the Zurich Paippalāda project (www.atharvavedapaippalada.uzh.ch). I would like to thank my colleagues Robert Leach and Oliver Hellwig as well as the project directors Paul Widmer and Angelika Malinar for their support.

2 This was anticipated by Etter (1987: 438) in her recension of Rau (1985): "ein Werk, das . . . insbesondere auch dem Vedisten den nicht immer einfachen Umgang mit dem *Mahābhāṣya* erleichtert."

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-014

texts available in electronic form. Another drawback for Vedic studies in Rau's time was that the PS, apart from kāṇḍas 1–4, was only available in the mutilated form in which it survives in the Kashmirian manuscript (K). In the case of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya, this is particularly grievous because there is a special connection between these two texts,[3] i.e. the PS – along with the Rigveda and the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā – is quoted particularly often in the Mahābhāṣya.

1.3 In the meantime, the situation has changed substantially. Not only are the majority of Vedic texts now available in electronic form, making the tracking down of Vedic passages much easier and faster, but the discovery of the Odishan transmission has also presented us with a much more reliable and more complete text of the PS. Under these circumstances, it appeared promising to search again for the quotations not traced by Rau, not least because an – albeit provisional – electronic text of the PS has recently become available (see Griffiths et al. 2020). Although this e-text of the PS in its present state is far from being definitive, as for long stretches it simply reproduces what Bhattacharya (1997–2016) edited, and as it contains innumerable typos and wrong word divisions, it is an invaluable tool for Vedic studies.

2 Untraced Vedic Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya

2.1 Rau (1985: 8–78) lists a total of 763 Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya. Of these, 275 are labelled with the symbol (/) which indicates that he considers the quotation in question to be untraceable in the surviving Vedic texts (Rau 1985: 6, point 4c). These 275 items are listed in the following table (other than in this table, Rau's consecutive numbers are prefixed by an R in this article). Bold type indicates that the item is mentioned in the present article and that, in my opinion, it is no longer to be regarded as an untraced Vedic quotation.

003, 008, 015, 016, **021**, 022, 027, 037, 043, 044, 046, 055, 057, 059, **061**, 062, 067, 070, 071, 072, 076, 080, 081, 082, 083, 086, 089, 090, 091, **093**, 095, **096**, 098, 099, 100, 105, 107, 109, **113**, 124, 126, **128**, 130, 132, 134, 137, 139, 145, 146, 147, **148**, 149, 150, **152**, **157**, 165, **168**, 169, 170, 173, 176, 178, 179, 188, **189**, **192**, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 203, 211, 212, 216, 218, 219, 230, 232, 233, 234, **235**, **237**, 238, 242, 247, 258, 259, 261, 263, **265**, 267, 268, 269, 270, 275, 278, 279, 281, 284, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, **296**, 297, 298, 302, 306, 307, 313, 319, 323, 324, 327, 329, 331, 340, 341, 352, 366, 367, 371, 375, 377, **387**, 388, **389**, 391, 392, 395, 399, 404, 409, 411, 422, 423, 425, **426**, 428, **431**, 436, 440, 445, 446, 449, 453, **454**, 456, 465, 467, 474, 476, 477, 478, **482**, **484**, 486, 488, 489, 490, **494**, 497, 499, 503, 504, **505**, **508**, **509**, 510, 511, 512, 515, 518, 519, 522,

3 See e.g. Rau (1985: 103) and Griffiths (2009: XL).

527, 530, 534, 535, 537, 538, 545, **546**, 551, 552, 557, **558**, 559, 568, **569**, **571**, 576, 579, 581, 582, **586**, 589, 590, 591, **595**, 597, 598, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 616, 617, **618**, 619, **624**, 628, 631, 632, **633**, 635, **637**, 644, 645, 648, 650, 652, 654, **659**, 660, 664, **667**, 669, 671, 672, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 680, 681, 682b, 685, 688, 691, 694, 697, 698, 699, 700, 705, **707**, 720, 721, 722, 725, 729, 730, 732, 733, 735, 739, **740**, 741, 743, 748, 750, **751**, 753, 754, 757, **760**, 761

This list comprises quite a few cases where Rau applies his sign (/) even though he knows and indicates the probable source. He follows the policy of considering the identity of the source as not certain if there is even a minimal difference between it and the quotation. With a less rigorous approach, as endorsed by authors such as Renou (1953; see §4.4. below) and Witzel (1986), as well as in statements by Rau himself,[4] the number of untraced sources will be significantly reduced.

2.2 The following items (1) to (14) and (16) to (17) are instances of such an approximate but hardly doubtful equation that involve the PS. Interspersed in this material is item (15) R637 concerning the Yajurveda, that I came across in passing.

(1) R061 *apsucaro gahvareṣṭhāḥ* vs. PS 16.73.1c *apsucarā gahvareṣṭhā mahitvā* '[the body (*tanūḥ*) . . .] that moves among the waters, that rests in the deepest abyss, by its greatness'.

Rau (1985: 13) states: "M[ahā]bh[āṣya] wohl hiernach zu berichtigen." On page 100 he adds a reference to Limaye (1974: 544; "So schon Limaye, stillschweigend").

(2) R113 *ātmana eva nirmimīṣva iti* vs. PS 5.11.8 *ātmana enaṁ nir *mimīṣva* 'create him (your future son) from yourself'.

As noted by Lubotsky (2002: 66), the Mahābhāṣya confirms the emendation **mimīṣva* proposed by Barret (1917: 272) for K *mamīṣva*, which is also the reading of the Odishan manuscripts. Barret does not seem to have known the Mahābhāṣya quotation.

(3) R152 *imāny arvaṇaḥ padāni* vs. PS 16.15.7c (~ ŚS 10.4.7c) *imāny arvataḥ padā* 'these are the footprints of the . . . horse'.

In light of the relevant passage of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (6.4.127–128), which deals with the distribution of the stems *arvan-* and *arvant-*, the Mahābhāṣya reading *arvaṇaḥ*

4 See e.g. Rau (1985: 101): "Dieser Befund erweist die Überlieferung des Mahābhāṣya als keineswegs tadellos."

seems out of place. Moreover, as Wackernagel (1942: 180–181) notes, an *n*-stem genitive *arvaṇaḥ* would contradict the evidence of the attested texts.

(4) R157 *ihaiva bhava mā sma gāḥ* vs. PS 9.13.1c (~ ŚS 5.30.1c) *⁺ihaiva bhava mā nu gāḥ* 'Remain right here, do not leave!'

In the Candravṛtti we find the Vedic quotation *ihaiva tiṣṭha mā gāḥ*, which probably also echoes the PS passage (differently Rau 1996: 329: "nur ähnlich").

(5) R199 *karmaṣaṁ kalmaṣaṁ* E – *kalmaṣaṁ karmaṣaṁ* B vs. PS 19.26.14c *anuṣyandasya kalmaṣam* 'a stain of the hind wheel[?]' and KS[p] 19.1:1.10: *tat kalmaṣam abhavat* 'that became a stain'.

The sources of one-word quotations are, by their very nature, not readily identifiable. The *r*-variant *karmaṣa-* remains untraced.

(6) R296 *tena mā bhāginaṁ kṛṇuhi* vs. ŚS 6.129.2c (*yéna . . .*) *téna mā bhagínaṁ kṛṇu* 'with that make me fortunate'.

In this case, the source can be identified with good probability as the quoted Śaunaka pāda, since the Paippalāda parallel deviates: PS 19.32.3c (*yathā . . .*) *evā mā bhaginaṁ kṛṇu* 'so make me fortunate'.

(7) R431 *peciran* vs. PS 9.18.6d (~ ŚS 5.18.11) (*ye . . .*) *apeciran* '[who] had cooked'.

The preterite of the perfect found in the Atharvaveda is certainly correct, as is also evident from the metre.

(8) R494 *marud asya grabhītā* vs. PS 1.17.2b *parur asya grabhītā* '[who has seized] the joint of this one here as a seizer' (~ ŚS 1.12.2d *párvāsyā grábhītā*).

Wackernagel (1942: 181–182), who knows only the ŚS and not the PS version, doubts that there is a relationship between the Atharvaveda and the Mahābhāṣya at this passage. However, a replacement of *parur* by *marud* lies within the range of what we might expect for the transmission of the latter text (thus also Rau 1985: 101).

(9) R505 *mātaraṁ pramiṇīmi janitrīm* vs. ŚS 6.110.3d *mấ mātáraṁ prá minīj jánitrīm* 'do not let him ruin his mother who has given birth to him' ~ PS 19.21.13d *mā mātaraṁ pra *minīd yā janitrī* (**minīd* emendation by Bhattacharya 2016:

1474; the Odishan manuscripts have the second person *minīr*, while the pāda is lost in K).

In this case, the Mahābhāṣya apparently quotes the Śaunaka version. The possibility that the relative clause PS *yā janitrī* is a secondary replacement for the accusative *jánitrīm* found in the ŚS and the Mahābhāṣya is less obvious because the PS version is metrically preferable.

(10) R508 *mādbhir iṣṭvā indro vṛtrahā* vs. PS 10.7.2c *mādbhiṣ ṭvā candro vṛtrahā* 'Let the moon, the slayer of Vṛtra, [protect you] with the months' (~ ŚS 19.27.2c *mādbhyás tvā candró vṛtrahā́*).

Here, Rau himself (1985: 54 and 101) recommends correcting the Mahābhāṣya (and the ŚS) text in accordance with the PS version.

(11) R571 *yo mātṛhā pitṛhā bhrātṛhā* vs. PS 19.46.14ab *yo mātṛhā pitṛhā svasṛhā ye ca duṣkṛtaḥ* 'he who is the murderer of his mother, the murderer of his father, the murderer of his sister, and [others] who are wrongdoers'.

It is highly probable that the Mahābhāṣya quotes the PS passage here. A substitution of 'sister' by 'brother' – or perhaps vice versa, if this happened during the transmission of the PS – is hardly surprising, especially since the family appears to be incomplete in both versions.

(12) R586 *varuṇasya raghusyadaḥ* vs. PS 3.2.1a (~ ŚS 3.7.1a) *hariṇasya raghuṣyadaḥ* 'of the swift-running antelope'.

Rau (1985: 62): "M[ahā]bh[āṣya] hiernach herzustellen." *Varuṇasya* is an obvious lectio facilior that makes no sense in the context (see Wackernagel 1942: 181).

(13) R595 *vātā vāntu diśo daśa* vs. PS 5.7.9b (~ ŚS 4.15.8b) *vātā vāntu diśodiśaḥ* 'let the winds blow from every region'.

(14) R624 *śātadhāro ayaṁ maṇiḥ* vs. PS 2.27.5b (~ ŚS 19.36.5b) *śātavāro ayaṁ maṇiḥ* 'this Śatavāra amulet here'.

Rau (1985: 65): "M[ahā]bh[āṣya] hiernach herzustellen." In this case, the PS parallel could not be traced by Rau, since the relevant hemistich is lost in the Kashmirian manuscript and is therefore not included in the Vedic Word-Concordance (= Vishva Bandhu 1941–1963).

(15) R637 *śivā udrasya bheṣajī* vs. VSM 16.49 (*yā́ te rudra śivā́ tanúḥ . . .*) *śivā́ rutásya bheṣajī́* '[Your body, O Rudra, which is auspicious, . . .], auspicious and healing a crippled one'.

Rau (1985: 66) is content to quote merely the TS version of this widespread Yajurvedic Anuṣṭubh pāda (TS 4.5.10.1 *śivā́ rudrásya bheṣajī́*). For details see Bloomfield and Edgerton (1932: 313, §684), who evaluate the variant readings of the second word as follows: "Original is certainly *rutasya* . . . *Rudrasya* . . . is an obvious lect[io] fac[ilior], and *ṛtasya* . . . is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*." *Rutásya* is confirmed by RV 10.39.3d: *yuvā́m íd āhur bhiṣájā rutásya cit* 'they say you (the Nāsatyas) are even healers of a crippled one'. And to *rudrasya* one might add that it is also a perseveration from pāda a (*yā́ te rudra śivā́ tanúḥ*). Since *udrasya* 'of the otter' is certainly out of the question, the Mahābhāṣya version can hardly be anything other than a corruption of *rudrasya* as found in the TS and as a variant reading for MS 2.9.9:127:11 *rutásya*. The absence of sandhi between *śivā* and *udrasya* is reminiscent of *ca udvatī* instead of *ca dudvatī* in (24) R168 below.

(16) R667 *sanīsrasaḥ* vs. PS 6.11.5d (~ ŚS 5.6.4d) *sanisraso nāmāsi* "you are called the slipping one" (translation by Griffiths 2009, 141).

(17) R751 *hiraṇyayī no nayatu* – lies mit E B *hiº naur abhavat* vs. PS 7.10.7a (~ ŚS 19.39.7a) *hiraṇyayī naur acarat* 'a golden boat (i.e. the sun) moved [in the sky]'.

Given the variant reading *naur abhavat*, the identification of the PS pāda as the source of this quotation can hardly be doubted. See also Griffiths (2009: 358).

3 Newly Discovered Sources of Vedic Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya

In the course of my investigation, the Vedic source for the following among the 275 quotations mentioned in §2.1. above have come to light. This collection also features Vedic sources other than the PS.

(18) R021 *aghnye dūram ut kanda* vs. PS 20.40.6a *aghnye dūram *ut kanda* 'O cow, jump up into the distance!'

The reference to the Mahābhāṣya is already given by Bhattacharya (2016: 1722) in his apparatus. Unlike me, he does not consider correcting the reading *dūramūt,*

duramūt of the Odishan manuscripts to *dūram *ut* following Patañjali. Note that the whole sūkta PS 20.40 is not found in the Kashmirian manuscript. The immediately following pāda, PS 20.40.6b *ni padaś caturo jahi* 'Put your four legs [firmly] on the ground!', is quoted in the Kāśikāvṛtti (see Rau 1993: 57, R0615).

(19) R093 *aháṁ dyā́vāpṛthivī́ ā́ tatāna* vs. PS 18.59.7d *prati dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatāna* and PS 18.59.8d *anu dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatāna* 'he (Agni) has stretched sky and earth'.

Here the two PS pādas cannot be regarded as the direct source of the Mahābhāṣya quotation, which looks rather like a blend of the PS passage and of RV 10.125.6d (*aháṁ rudrā́ya dhánur ā́ tanomi . . . | . . .*) *aháṁ dyā́vāpṛthivī́ ā́ viveśa* quoted by Rau (1985: 16).

(20) R096 *aharahar nayamāno gām aśvaṁ puruṣaṁ paśum | vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī ‖* vs. Mānava-Śrautasūtra 6.1.2.26 (text after van Gelder 1961: 144, line 15–16): *aharahar nayamāno gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn | vaivasvato na tṛpyati surayā iva durmadaḥ ‖* 'Although he carries away cows, horses, people and cattle day after day, [Yama] Vaivasvata is not satisfied, just as one drunk on surā (a strong drink).'

When comparing the two versions, we note that the genitive/ablative *surāyāḥ* of the Mahābhāṣya is preferable to the instrumental *surayā* found in the MānŚS, not least because no sandhi is applied between *surayā* and *iva* in the latter case. The word *durmadin-* that the Mahābhāṣya shows in place of MānŚS *durmada-* 'intoxicated, drunk' seems to be a hapax legomenon. It is uncertain whether we would be justified in attributing it to the Vedic language.

(21) R128 *ā revān etu no viśaḥ* vs. PS 1.71.3b *ā *revāṁ̀ etu no *viśam* 'let the splendid one come to our clan'. The Kāśikāvṛtti also quotes this pāda twice, once as *ā revān etu no viśaḥ* and once as *ā revān etu mā viśat* (see Rau 1993: 25, R0215 and R0216).

Here the Mahābhāṣya confirms the emendation *revāṁ̀* [*revān*] that we (see Zehnder, Hellwig and Leach, 'Paippalāda-Saṁhitā, Online Edition' at PS 1.71.3) had already established for the readings Odisha *revāny* and Kashmir *revāṅg*, before we came across this quotation. The Mahābhāṣya has the plural *viśaḥ* 'to [our] clans' instead of the singular PS *viśam*.

(22) R148 *indro nas tena neṣatu* vs. PS 19.34.15ab *indro mā tena nayatu panthā yo abhayaḥ sugaḥ* 'Let Indra lead me along that path that is safe and easy.'

The imperative form *neṣatu* found in the Mahābhāṣya could be paradigmatically associated with *neṣa*, a second person singular imperative that is attested here and there in the Atharvaveda (see Narten 1964: 163, "thematische Umbiegung" of *neṣi*; Spiers 2020: 416). Is PS *nayatu* perhaps a secondary lectio facilior for *neṣatu*? At PS 1.50.2 the subjunctive present *nayāt* and the subjunctive aorist *neṣan* are found in parallel position next to each other without an obvious semantic difference.

(23) R150 *indro mā vakṣat* vs. PS 19.34.14a *indro mā vakṣad akṣatam* 'Indra will convey me uninjured.'

(24) R168 *udvā ca udvatī ca* vs. PS 1.86.5a *dudvā ca dudvatī ca sthaḥ* 'You are Dudvā and Dudvatī.'

There is little doubt that this Mahābhāṣya quotation reflects the PS pāda, which mentions the names of two individual Kaṇvās (certain female demons). Note the absence of sandhi in *ca udvatī*, apparently due to the fact that the name was once *dudvatī*.

(25)	R192	*o ṣu yātaṁ bṛhatī śakvarī ca*
	PS 15.1.9c	*oṣajātāṁ bṛhatī ca śakvarī*
		'the . . . (*oṣajātāṁ*) and great Śakvarī metre'
	MS 3.16.4:189.1	*avasyúvātā bṛhatí́ ná śákvarī*
	KS 22.14:70.12	*avasyuvātā bṛhatī na śakvarī*
	TS 4.4.12.3–4	*avasyúvātāḥ // bṛhatír nú śakvarīḥ*
	ĀśvŚS 4.12.2:332.10	*avasyuvātā bṛhatī tu śakvarī*

This is a tricky case, at least if our assumption is correct that the quotation indeed refers to the sources listed, and here in particular to the PS. This is the premise for the following, somewhat speculative considerations. The unanimous reading *oṣajātāṁ* of the PS manuscripts (including K) is difficult to make sense of and must be considered a corruption. Lelli (2020: 48–49) proposes the tentative emendation **oṣavātā* "having quick wind". The Mahābhāṣya quotation does not solve this text-critical problem right away. Nevertheless, the vowel *u* that it displays in *oṣuyātaṁ* favours the restoration **avasyuvātā* 'with supportive winds' (nominative singular feminine) for the PS – following the other parallel texts – over Lelli's proposal. This would imply that the PS text had already suffered a considerable disfigurement of the original text (**avasyuvātā* > **oṣuyātāṁ*?) by Patañjali's time.[5]

5 That is, probably in the middle of the second century BCE (see Cardona 1976: 263–266).

However, it is now the case that in the text of the Mahābhāṣya quotation R192 immediately follows R193 *o ṣu yātaṁ marutaḥ*, so that it must be evaluated together with this untraced passage. Since the pertinent sūtra of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (1.1.15) deals with particles ending in *-o* and given the fact that R193 resembles RV 1.165.14c *ó ṣú vartta marutaḥ* (see Renou 1953: 453; Rau 1985: 26), it would seem that R192 is also considered by the Mahābhāṣya to contain the particle chain *ó ṣú* [*ā́ u sú*]. The matter is complicated by the fact that the imperative dual *ā . . . yātam* 'come here!' does not fit the context in either R192 or R193. As Rau (1985: 101, fn. 1) notes, Patañjali very rarely errs in his interpretation of Vedic words. Can we think him capable of having reinterpreted a vox nihili like PS **oṣuyātāṁ* into *o ṣu yātaṁ*? And would he have inverted the word order from *bṛhatī ca śakvarī* to *bṛhatī śakvarī* ca in order to make the two nouns (nomina) more compatible with the dual verb form? But why then didn't he change the nominatives into vocatives? Did he perhaps have in mind the imperative dual of the third person *yātām*, that is even closer to the hypothetical starting point PS **oṣuyātāṁ*? Once invented, the verb *yātam* could replace RV *vartta* in R193 in the course of the transmission of the Mahābhāṣya.

While an overall view of the various parallel texts suggests that the Mahābhāṣya changed the order of the last three words of this quotation, there is no agreement as to which monosyllabic word is involved here. Mahābhāṣya *ca* supports to some extent Lelli's (2020, 49) choice to adopt the reading *ca* of the Odishan manuscripts in the PS text. Note, however, that both the Kashmirian manuscript of the PS and ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 have *tu* 'then, but' (German 'doch') instead, which Bhattacharya (1997, 796) prefers.

(26) R237 *gā vo neṣṭāt* vs. ĀpŚS 11.19.8 *gnāvo neṣṭrād iti neṣṭāram* '[He calls] the neṣṭar priest with the words: "O you, who are accompanied by the wives of the gods, [drink] from the cup of the neṣṭar!".' See also BaudhŚS 7.9:214.16, KātyŚS 9.8.13, and MānŚS^{m} 2.3.6.17 (*gnāvo neṣṭrīyo neṣṭrād iti neṣṭāram*).

The actual source of this Mahābhāṣya quotation might be RVKh 5.7.5c, where *grāvo neṣṭrāt* as printed by Scheftelowitz (1906: 148) and Bhise (1995: 208) probably should be corrected to *gnāvo neṣṭrāt*. Ultimately, the wording of this piece of text depends on RV 1.15.3b: *gnā́vo néṣṭaḥ píba ṛtúnā* 'O you, who are accompanied by the wives of the gods, O neṣṭar, drink at the right time!'

(27) R387 *pativatī taruṇavatsā* (and R388 *pativatnī taruṇavatsā*) vs. PS 14.2.7c *antarvatīs taruṇavatsā ghṛtācīḥ* '[the waters,] pregnant, having a young calf, dripping with ghee'.

At first glance, it might seem unlikely that the quoted PS pāda is really the source of this quotation. On the other hand, the bahuvrīhi *taruṇavatsa-* is a hapax legome-

nenon, and, more importantly, the relevant Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra (4.1.32 *antarvatpativator nuk*) deals with the motion (motio generis) of the two adjectives *antárvant-* 'pregnant' and *pátivant-* 'having a husband, married, замуж'. In light of this, one could suspect that someone mixed up the two adjectives and placed the wrong one into the quotation. For the analogical feminine forms with additional *-n-* described by Pāṇini, see Debrunner (1954: 414–415). *Antárvatnī-* is, among other places, attested at MS^{m} 4.2.9:31.2 and quoted at Mahābhāṣya R698 (*sāntarvatnī devān upait* 'pregnant, she approached the gods'), while *pativatnī-* is now found three times in the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS 2.66.5d, PS 8.10.10c and PS 18.10.3a).

(28) R426 *pūrvyā́ viduḥ* vs. PS 11.3.6d *brahmāṇaḥ pūrvyā viduḥ* 'the ancient brahmans know [you]' (~ ŚS 19.34.6d *brāhmaṇā́ḥ pūrvyā́ viduḥ*).

The correction of the Mahābhāṣya text *pūrvyā viśaḥ* (thus Rau 1985: 47) to *pūrvyā́ viduḥ* and the identification with the Atharvaveda passage follow Rau (1993: 114). Rau does not make an analogous correction for R423 *pūrvā viśaḥ* 'the former clans', which I could not trace.

(29) R439a *pra ṇaḥ śūdraḥ pra ṇa ācāryaḥ pra ṇo rājā pra ṇo vr̥trahā* vs. PS 19.38.15ab *pra ṇaḥ śūdra utāryaḥ pra ṇo rājota vr̥trahā* 'Let the śūdra and the ārya and the chieftain, the slayer of Vr̥tra, [. . . hand over our sacrificial fee] to us.'

This quotation is added[6] to the relevant material by Rau (1987: 195): "Ohne Zweifel ist der Text des Mahābhāṣya an der ausgehobenen Stelle korrupt und nach AV(P) herzustellen." This case is not included in the list in §2.1. above, as it does not appear in Rau (1985), to which this list refers.

(30) R454 *pravaṇe yaṣṭavyam* vs. MS^{p} 1.10.7:147.13 *pravaṇé yaṣṭavyàm* 'one should sacrifice on a slope' (~ KS 36.2:69.15 *pravaṇe yajeta* 'may he sacrifice on a slope').

The source of this quotation is discovered by Rau (1993: 114).

(31) R482 *maghavā dātu maghavā dadātu* vs. AB^{m} 7.21.2 *punar na indro maghavā dadātu | brahma punar iṣṭaṁ pūrtaṁ dāt svāheti* 'Let Indra, the bounteous one, give [them] back to us. He shall give [us] back the poetic formulation and

6 It is already included by Renou (1953: 440) in his study of the Vedic elements in Patañjali. Renou also provides the source in kāṇḍa 19 of the PS.

the merit acquired through worship and donations. Svāhā!' The pāda *punar na indro maghavā dadātu* is also found at TB 2.5.3.1 and ĀśvŚS 2.10.16.

The first variant quoted by the Mahābhāṣya with the imperative aorist (*maghavā dātu*) remains untraced – unless *dātu* ultimately represents the injunctive aorist *dāt* which immediately follows in the text of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.

(32) R484 *maṇivaḥ hiraṇyavaḥ* vs. ŚS 20.128.6b, 7ab (~ RVKh 5.13.1b, 2b) *ámaṇivó áhiraṇyávaḥ* . . . | . . . *súmaṇiḥ súhiraṇyávaḥ* '[He who . . .] wears no amulets and no gold [jewellery] . . . [He who . . .] wears fine amulets and fine gold [jewellery]'. Rau (1985: 52) refers to ŚāṅkhŚS 12.21.1–2, where these two stanzas also occur.

Roth and Whitney (1856: 447) change the Śaunaka text at 6b to *amaṇír áhiraṇyavān*. Although this would rectify the metre and although *amaṇiḥ* is supported by the following *sumaṇiḥ*, these conjectures are scarcely justified. Patañjali, in fact, cites the two words as further examples for the suffix *-vá-* as contained in *keśavá-* 'long-haired', which confirms their interpretation as possessive *va*-adjectives *°maṇiva-* and *°hiraṇyava-* (see Debrunner 1954: 868, §701a).

(33) R509 *mādhyaṁdina udgāyati* vs. PS 16.115.2c (~ ŚS 9.6.46c) *madhyandina ud gāyati* 'noon strikes up a tune'.

(34) R558 $^{+}$*yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ saro janebhyaḥ kṛṇavat*$^{+}$ – verderbt. 8,1,30 [375,6: *yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ* (?) G A; a *yāvaṁtas ta uṣaḥ traiyaḥ* altered to *yāvaddattātreyaḥ*; E g B *yāvad asya* (or *spa*?)*nnaiṣaḥ*; D *yāvad asya traiṣaḥ*] = 8,1,66 [379,8: *yāvad asty atraiṣaḥ* (?); G *yāvad asty annai*(?)*ṣaḥ*; A *yavadasta-ṣaḥ*; altered to *yāvadastyatraiṣaḥ*; a *yāvad asta oṣaḥ*; D *yāvadamaḥ uṣa*; E *yāvad asya ukaḥ* (?) altered to *yāvad asya ūṣaḥ*; g B *yāvad asya uṣaḥ*; for *saro* G A have *śaro*; for *kṛṇavat* G has *kṛṇuyāt*, A *kṛṇuvat* altered to *kṛṇuyāt*, B *kṛpāvat*]: (/) vs. . . .

PS 3.40.3 *yāvad oṣaḥ śaro astvo janebhyaḥ kṝṇavad bhayam* |
tāvad oṣas tvaṁ tejana tyajanaṁ bhavatād iha ‖

"As much as the reed, a burning projectile, makes people afraid, so let you, Shaft, burning, be renunciation here" (text and tentative translation by Spiers 2020: 591).

Although the details are far from clear, this is likely to be a quotation of the first hemistich of stanza PS 3.40.4 in a disfigured shape. As much as I feel the PS text might need correction here, the main stumbling block being the twice-occurring *oṣaḥ*, the Mahābhāṣya does not immediately help. Pāda c is vaguely reminiscent of RV 5.79.10a *etā́vad véd uṣas tvám* 'That much or [even more], O Uṣas, you [might give].'

The fact that Patañjali gives this example under an Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra (8.1.66) dealing with the accentuation of finite verbs (see Renou 1953: 451) suggests that the accents were still preserved in the PS at his time – an observation that is not surprising.

(35) R618 *vṛṣā sahamānaṁ sāsahiḥ* [*vṛṣā samastu sāsahiḥ*] vs. RV 9.4.8b *rayíṁ samátsu sāsahíḥ* '[flow] towards wealth, victorious in contests' ~ SVK 2.404b *vājiṁt samatsu sāsahiḥ* vs. . . . SVK 2.910b *yenā samatsu sāsahiḥ* (~ RV 8.19.20b *yénā samátsu sāsáhaḥ*).

Vṛṣā samastu sāsahiḥ is a variant reading of the Mahābhāṣya (see Rau 1985: 65). Assuming that *samastu* is a transmission error for *samatsu*, we may adduce the sources mentioned above rather than PS 18.54.1a–4a (PSK 18.30.1a–3a; ~ ŚS 17.1.1a–5a) *viṣāsahiṁ sahamānaṁ sāsahānam*, as Rau does following Wackernagel (1942: 181; "erinnert entfernt an"). Note that *sahamānaṁ* is also suspicious because of the lack of case agreement between it and *vṛṣā* and *sāsahiḥ*. The word *vṛṣā* 'bull' at the begining of the Mahābhāṣya version might be attributed to an influence from RV 8.15.4b *vṛ́ṣaṇam pṛtsú sāsahím* 'a victorious bull in battles' and/or RV 5.33.4d *vṛ́ṣā samátsu dāsásya nā́ma cit* 'the bull [has carved out] even the name of the Dāsa in contests'.

(36) R633 *śarāve bapsati caruḥ* vs. PS 6.8.5d *śarkarā bapsatī cara* "go . . . chewing on gravel" (translation by Griffiths 2009: 103).

This instance, which involves considerable differences between the source and the quotation, is identified by Griffiths (2009: 103). It follows that the verb form in question is not the third person plural present *bapsati* 'they chew' (as attested at RV 9.79.4c), but the associated participle in the feminine *bápsatī-* (as attested at RV 10.79.1d). Rau's (1985: 100) attempt to understand *śarāve bapsati carum* as "In einem Teller essen sie den Brei" must be considered outdated.

(37) R659 *sa ca na marati* vs. PS 4.19.1d–7d *sa cana marati mā vayaṁ marāma* 'He will surely not die. Do not let us die!'

This PS pāda is a variant of RV 1.91.11c *só cin nú ná marāti nó vayám marāma* quoted by Rau (1985, 68). It is noticeable that the Kashmirian PS manuscript shares the hyper-marked (long-vowel) subjunctive aorist form *marāti* with the Rigveda, whereas the Odishan PS transmission and the Mahābhāṣya quotation agree in

having the regular subjunctive *marati*. In view of this distribution, K *marāti* might be attributed to influence from the Kashmirian RV tradition on this manuscript.

(38) R707 *supathintaraḥ* vs. RV 9.107.2b *surabhíntaraḥ* 'very fragrant'.

Even if this cannot be proven unequivocally, it seems reasonable to assume that the Rigvedic word given is the source of this quotation.

(39) R740 *svarge loke 'psarasa enaṁ jāyā bhūtvopaśerata iti* vs. PS 6.22.13ab *svarge loke apsarasa *enāñ jāyā bhūtvopaśerate* "As wives, do the Apsarases lie down in the heavenly world with them [who cook . . .]." (text and translation by Griffiths 2009, 245).

The Mahābhāṣya does not confirm Griffiths' (2009, 245) emendation **enāñ* 'them', but shares the reading *enaṁ* 'him' found in the PS manuscripts, both those from Odisha and the one from Kashmir. The singular is also favoured by the Yajurvedic prose versions quoted by Rau (1985, 76), i.e. KS^{p} 21.2:39.8 *apsarsaḥ . . . patnyo bhūtvā . . . yajamānam upa śerate* 'the Apsarases . . . having become his wives . . . lie down with the sacrificer' and TS^{p} 5.3.7.2 *apsarása eváinam . . . úpa śere* 'the Apsarases . . . lie down with him'.

(40) R760 *hradayyā āpaḥ* vs. PS 15.15.5a *āpo *hradyāḥ* 'the waters of the lake'. The emendation **hradyāḥ* for Odisha *hṛdyāḥ*, Kashmir *dadyāś* is proposed by Lelli (2020: 179).

Whether this PS passage – despite the reverse word order – is indeed the source of the Mahābhāṣya quotation is debatable. In any case, it is likely that the same noun phrase is present in both instances. With regard to the relational adjective, PS **hradya-* is the expected form (base *hradá-* m.), whereas Mahābhāṣya *hradayya-* seems to be influenced by *hṛdayyà-* 'of the heart' attested at e.g. PS 2.90.1b (base *hṛ́daya-* n.).

4 Conclusions

4.1 In the previous chapter, a fair amount of new sources were added to Rau's collection, namely the 22 cases dealt with in (18) to (40), not counting (29) R439a. In 15 of these instances, the source was discovered in the PS.

As for possible improvements of the PS text resulting from quotations in the Mahābhāṣya, it must be admitted that the harvest is modest.[7] Our material includes just six cases with at least potential relevance:

(18) R021, PS 20.40.6a (25) R192, PS 15.1.9c
(21) R128, PS 1.71.3b (34) R558, PS 3.40.3ab
(22) R148, PS 19.34.15a (39) R740, PS 6.22.13b

4.2 Let us now briefly consider to what extent the ratio of untraced sources of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya may allow us to estimate how much Vedic text has been lost since Patañjali's time. This question is raised by Rau for the analogous situation of the Kāśikāvr̥tti:

(41) "Von den knapp 1200 Zitaten sind über ein Drittel in unseren vedischen Texten nicht nachzuweisen. . . . Darf man daraus schließen, daß ebenso viel von ihnen seit dem 7. Jh. n. Chr. verlorengegangen ist?" (Rau 1993: 108).

In the case of the Mahābhāṣya, Rau's figures would have been 275 out of the total of 763 quotations, i.e. 36 % or approximately the same as the third he notes for the Kāśikāvr̥tti. My own update of this count reduces the 275 untraced items by the 16 cases listed in §2.2. (not counting (5) R199) and the 22 cases listed in chapter 3. to 237 (31 %).

4.3 The reasons why we cannot trace a considerable number of the quotations from the Mahābhāṣya in the Vedic texts available to us may be manifold. They start with the fact that it is not always so easy to tell what should be considered as Vedic in the Mahābhāṣya. For example, Rau's (1985: 60) R569 *yo jajāgāra . . .*, an apparent mantra variant of R570 *yó jāgā́ra . . .* 'he who is awake' (= RV 5.44.14a), is commented on by Renou (1953, 448) with "le fictif *jajāgāra* . . . sans mention védique". While *jajāgāra* is actually attested in the epics (Mahābhārata 1.138.31), there is little to suggest that such a secondary perfect was part of the Vedic grammatical system.

4.4 However, for those working on the basis of Rau (1985), the most significant reduction in untraced quotations results from the less rigorous approach to identifying a Vedic source that I applied to the quotations from the PS in §2.2. above. This view, that the quotations in the Mahābhāṣya are very often approximate, is espoused by Renou in particular:

7 This result is in line with Rau's findings (1985: 102): "Textverbesserungen zu vedischen Werken: Hier ist die aus dem Mahābhāṣya zu gewinnende Beute gering."

(42) ". . . il faut relever encore que les citations védiques du Bhāṣya sont, plus d'une fois, approximatives . . . ; il y a peu de vraisemblance que P[a]t[añjali] ait puisé à quelque recension perdue." (Renou 1953: 430).

Rau's approach, on the other hand, seems to be overcautious in most cases. The following example is found in the Paspaśā (10.2), Patañjali's introduction to his magnum opus:

(43) R546 *vede | yad vo revatī revatyaṁ tad ūṣa . . . iti* vs. KS^{m} 1.8:4.3 *yad vo revatī revatyam* 'the abundant [thing] that you have, O bountiful ones' and RV 4.51.4d *saptā́sye revatī revád ūṣá* '[the course on which] you, O bountiful ones (i.e. the Dawns), have become abundantly bright [at . . . and] at the seven-mouthed one'.

I am inclined to agree with Renou (1953, 428) when he describes this quotation as ". . . une contamination entre le début d'un *yajus* de la KS. et le *mantra* précité du RV.", although it is not easy to assess at which stage this contamination occurred. In any case, Rau's (1985: 98) alternative suggestion to simply correct the text of the Paspaśā to *vede | saptāsye revatī revad ūṣa* does not seem to do justice to the situation.

4.5 In some cases, it looks as though the author of the Mahābhāṣya himself was careless with Vedic passages – abbreviated them as it were – because only a certain part was important to him in the particular context. Examples (44) and (45) are candidates for this:

(44) R389 *patīmān iti* vs. KātyŚS^{m} 10.7.14 *bṛhaspatimān* 'accompanied by Bṛhaspati'.

The long *ī* might be explained as a perseveration from the immediately preceding word *tviṣīmān* 'vehement'.

(45) R265 *jāye svo rohāvehi* vs. TS 1.7.9.1 *jā́ya éhi súvo róhāva róhāva hí súvaḥ* '[The sacrificer says:[8]] "O wife, come, let us ascend to the celestial light. [She

8 For the additions in this translation see ĀpŚS 18.5.9–10: *jāya ehīti yajamānaḥ patnīm āmantrayate rohāva hītītarā praty āha.*

answers:] “Let us indeed ascend to the celestial light.” ’ ~ KS 14.1:201.2 *pátnī3 svò rohāvéhi svò rohāvéhi* ‘[The scrificer says:] “O wife, let us ascend to the celestial light. Go!” [She answers:] “Let us ascend to the celestial light. Go!” ’ See also MS 1.11.3:163.13, MānŚS 7.1.3.3 and others.

(46) R189 *ehi tvaṁ jāye svo rohāva* – º *rohāveti* E B

These two quotations are part of the dialogue between the sacrificer and his wife during the Yajurvedic ceremony of ascending the sacrificial post (see e.g. Amano 2009: 419–422). With (45), the Mahābhāṣya seems to have the TS version in mind, not only because it uses the word *jāyā́-* to denote the wife (vs. KS *pátnī-*, the MS has no vocative here), but especially since it adduces this passage to illustrate the rule dealt with in Aṣṭādhyāyī 8.1.56, which states that finite verbs are accented when a particle like *hí* ‘for, indeed’ follows. However, the actual text of the Mahābhāṣya contradicts this connection, for it reads *rohāvehi* [*rohāva ihi*] as preserved in the KS and MS versions and thus does not contain the particle *hí*, as does the TS version. This conundrum might be solved by assuming that *rohāva hí* was secondarily changed to *rohāvehi* during the transmission of the Mahābhāṣya. Incidentally, the reading KS, MS *rohāvéhi* disproves Rau’s cautious proposal (1985: 32; “lies *ºrohāvaihi* ?”) to restore *ehi* [*ā ihi*] ‘come here!’. Rather, we are dealing with *ihi* ‘go!’ (in the sense of German *Los!*).

4.6 Other discrepancies between the potential sources and the Mahābhāṣya are more likely to be due to changes during the transmission of the latter. The long list of suggestions for emending the Mahābhāṣya text drawn up by Rau (1985: 98–101) testifies to how common this is. And this list can easily be extended to include further material, see e.g. (26) R237 above. I am even inclined to add the following case here:

(47) R235 *gāṁ ghnanti gāṁ pra dīvyanti gāṁ sabhāsadbhya upa haranti* vs. KS 8.7:90.10–11 *gāṁ ghnanti tāṁ vi dīvyante tāṁ sabhāsadbhya upa haranti* ‘They slay the cow, they gamble her away, they bring her to those sitting in the assembly.’

Wackernagel (1942: 180) lists this passage under the heading “Sonst unbekannte Varianten zu vedischen Texten”, and Rau (1985: 29) applies his sign (/) for untraced quotations. However, it is certainly a bit of a stretch to suppose the former existence of an unknown recension that offers exactly the version found in the Mahābhāṣya.

4.7 All in all, the approximate third of the Vedic quotations in the Mahābhāṣya for which we find no Vedic source, or only an imprecise one, is significantly reduced on

closer examination by a multitude of possible explanations. In my view, it becomes probable that a potential loss of Vedic texts since Patañjali's time is not a major factor here – that is, not now that the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā has been largely recovered.

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Shrikant Bahulkar

The Śaunaka and the Paippalāda Śākhās of the Atharvaveda

A Comparative Study of Their Domestic Rituals

Abstract: The Śaunaka and the Paippalāda are the only surviving schools of the Atharvaveda. There are a number of texts explaining in detail the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka; on the contrary, there are very few texts on the domestic rituals of the Paippalāda. The Śaunaka school spread over various parts of India and had a good textual tradition, beginning with the Kauśika-Sūtra of the Atharvaveda, a major Sūtra text, traditionally called a Saṃhitāvidhi, followed by an incomplete Bhāṣya, Paddhatis and Prayogas. However, there is hardly any living tradition of the Śaunakīyas performing these rituals at present, despite the fact that an attempt at the revival of the domestic rituals has been made by Raviśaṅkara Nāgara, the author of the Atharvavedaprayogabhānu, a Prayoga text from Gujarat. The Paippalādins, now found only in Odisha, have a living tradition but a limited number of texts on domestic rituals. They still perform certain domestic rituals with the help of their Saṃhitā and priestly manuals. A critical edition of the Karmapañjikā, edited by Arlo Griffiths and Shilpa Sumant, is an important contribution to Paippalāda studies; it throws light on the domestic rituals, most of which are still being performed today.

The present article aims at a comparative study of the domestic rituals as explained by the texts belonging to the two schools of the Atharvaveda. It deals with some domestic rituals, the mantras used in their performance, the ritual described by the relevant texts, the original form of the rituals, the influence of other Vedic schools, the influence of non-Vedic schools, and so on.

1 The Two Śākhās of the Atharvaveda

As we are aware, there existed as many as nine Śākhās 'schools' or 'recensions' of the Atharvaveda (AV),[1] of which there survive only two, namely, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, the former existing in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, and the latter only in Orissa, now called Odisha (Bahulkar 2016: 113). A comparative study of these Śākhās is a vast subject and involves a

1 For detailed information, see Bloomfield 1972: xxxi–xxxvi; 1978: 11–13; Gonda 1975: 272; Mishra 1984: 207–214; Renou 1947: 58–87; Roth 1875: 24–29.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-015

comparison between the Saṃhitās of these two Śākhās, the Upaniṣads, the ancillary texts, a linguistic study of both the Saṃhitās, the ritualistic tradition and so on. In the present article, I shall concentrate on a comparative study of the basic domestic ritual (*tantra*) of these two Śākhās. The domestic rituals in the Atharvaveda tradition have already been studied by some scholars who have focussed their attention mainly on the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka Śākhā,[2] and rarely on those of the Paippalāda.[3] The main reason for ignoring the Paippalāda was that the sources for the study of the rituals of that Śākhā were not easily available until recent years. A comparative study of the rituals of these two Śākhās therefore still demands our attention. What is the scope of this study? Well, theoretically, one is expected to study all the rituals that come under the category called Gṛhya or non-solemn or domestic rituals of the Atharvavedins. While most of the domestic rituals are common to all the four Vedas, there are certain rituals that could be termed as typically Atharvavedic, for example, the pacificatory rites (*śāntika*), remedies to cure diseases (*bhaiṣajya*), sorcery rites (*abhicāra*), rites that involve oblations of a variety of cooked rice (*savayajña*) and so on.[4] These rituals are rarely described in the tradition of the other three Vedas.

2 Five Kalpas

There are five ritual texts in the Śaunaka tradition; they are called Kalpas and enumerated in a verse popular in that tradition. It reads:

> nakṣatrakalpo vaitānas tṛtīyaḥ saṃhitāvidhiḥ |
> caturtho 'ṅgirasāṃ kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamaḥ ||
>
> *Kauśikapaddhati*[5] (KP, p. 2)

2 The Kauśika-Sūtra is the main source of the ritual of that Śākhā and has been dealt with by Bloomfield 1972, 1973, 1978 and Caland 1967. As Gonda 1977: 612 rightly points out, "After Bloomfield and Caland it attracted but a very limited number of scholars, no doubt on the one hand because of the character of its text which has been badly preserved and is written in a very terse and often obscure style."

3 Bhattacharya 1968: 34–45; Griffiths & Sumant 2018. In his recent work, *The Veda in Kashmir*, Witzel (2020) furnishes valuable information on the Paippalāda Śākhā in Kashmir. In the Appendices, he reproduces lists of Kashmirian priestly manuals (*ṛcaka*). However, the lists contain mainly the rituals of the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and not those of the Paippalāda.

4 Bloomfield 1972: xxi writes: "[. . .] we may at any rate safely speak of the Kauśika as a mixture of two distinct kinds of sūtras, Atharva-sūtras, and gṛhya-sūtras." He further argues that the atharva-sūtra proper begins at Kaṇḍikā 7, and extends to 53. (1972: xxviii). For a detailed discussion and examination of his argument, see, Bahulkar 1977: 91–120; 1994: 21–38.

5 This is an elaborate commentary focussed on explaining the rituals (*paddhati*) by Keśava, who probably flourished around the 11th century CE and belonged to the Malwa region of Central India.

> The Nakṣatrakalpa, The Vaitāna (i. e., the Vaitānasūtra), the Saṃhitāvidhi (i. e. the Kauśi ka-Sūtra) – the third, the Kalpa of the Aṅgirases – the fourth, and the Śāntikalpa – the fifth.[6]
>
> Keśava further quotes the opinion of Upavarṣācārya who states that (in respect of the authority), "these Kalpas are equal to the Vedas" (*ete kalpā vedatulyāḥ*).[7]

In the tradition of the Śaunaka, the Kauśika-Sūtra (KauS) is regarded as the Gṛhyasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra (VaitS) as the Śrautasūtra. Thus, whatever is included in the KauS could be treated as the domestic ritual of the Śaunaka Śākhā in contradistinction with that described in the VaitS. Accordingly, all the rituals described in the KauS are to be performed with the help of one (domestic) fire (*ekāgnisādhya*), while the rituals in the VaitS need the three sacred fires used in the solemn sacrifices (*tretāgnisādhya*). For the performance of the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka, only three or four persons are required – the sacrificer, his wife, the performer priest (*kartā*) and, at times, the Brahmā.[8] In the case of the Śrauta rituals, the sacrificer, his wife, the Adhvaryu, the Hotā, the Brahmā and other priests depending upon the rite to be performed are needed. The Śrauta ritual described in the VaitS bears similarity with that found in the tradition of the first three Vedas with certain peculiarities.[9] Since we are not discussing the Śrauta ritual in this paper, we keep that topic aside and turn to the Gṛhya rituals of the Atharvavedins.

As regards the explanation of the Paddhati-type of commentary, Rājaśekhara, in the beginning of his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* says: *sūtrāṇāṃ sakalasāravivaraṇaṃ vṛttiḥ | sūtravṛttivivecanaṃ paddhatiḥ* (Siromani 1934: 5). "The Vṛtti(-type commentary) fully explains the essence of the Sūtra; the Paddhati(-type of commentary) elucidates the Vṛtti." Besides this explanation, we find that the Bhāṣya (-type of commentary) explains each and every word of the Sūtra and a Paddhati further elaborates the explanation offered by the Bhāṣya. For Keśava's date and place, see, Limaye *et al* 1982: xxxv–xxxviii.

6 Out of the five Kalpas, we find only four in the tradition of the Śaunaka, i. e., the first three and the fifth. I have pointed out in one of my papers that the Āṅgirasakalpa which existed in the Śaunaka tradition and which was available to Dārila, Keśava and Sāyaṇa had already been lost and that the work available to us at present is a late text composed perhaps to fulfil the need of the fifth Kalpa by the Atharvavedins of the Paippalāda Śākhā in Odisha (Bahulkar 1987: 579). For a detailed study, see Sanderson 2007: 195–311. The text has been published by Paṇḍā 2003 under the title *Paippalada Vashadisatkarma Paddhatih* (*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhatiḥ*).

7 Upavarṣācārya seems to have flourished sometime before Śabarasvāmin, the great Mīmāṃsā commentator (Dasgupta 1952: 107; also 7, n. 3; 105, n. 2). For a discussion on his commentaries etc., see Bronkhorst 2007: 281, 282, 284, 287, 293, 294.

8 In the domestic rituals of the Śaunaka, the role of the Brahmā is mostly optional. See Bahulkar 2004: 509–516.

9 "The only available Śrautasūtra of the Atharvaveda, the Vaitāna, is not – as was taken for granted by Garbe, Hillebrandt and Bloomfield, an ordinary *śrauta* manual for the use of the Atharvavedins. As shown by Caland, it appears from the *paribhāṣās* at the beginning of the work that it is a manual for the officiant known as *brahman* [. . .]" (Gonda 1977: 543).

3 Gṛhya Rituals of the Atharvavedins

Although the KauS is a Gṛhyasūtra of the Śaunaka Śākhā, it is not a Gṛhyasūtra in the ordinary sense of that term, because it prescribes a number of rites that are not generally found in other Gṛhyasūtras. As a matter of fact, it is the major Sūtra of the Śaunaka Śākhā, describing a variety of rituals in which a major portion of the Śaunaka Saṃhitā (AVŚ) has been employed. Thus, it is aptly called Saṃhitāvidhi (see the verse quoted above). The diversity of the rituals can be observed merely by going through the initial Sūtras of the chapters and the sections within the chapters of the KauS or the rituals divided into twenty-one groups by Dārila, the Bhāṣyakāra of the KauS.[10] One may also go through the contents of the *editio princeps* of the KauS, prepared by Bloomfield (1972 [1990]: lxiv–lxviii). Here it will not be out of place to say a few words about a unique method the KauS adopts for the employment of the mantras and the hymns of the AVŚ in various rites. We can observe that in the KauS, there is a systematic arrangement of the rituals, following the order of the AVŚ. This order is called Mantrādhikāra "a section following the order of the mantras (in the Saṃhitā)". Within this order, there is an internal order of the rituals, following the general order of the Gṛhyasūtras. This is called Phalādhikāra "a section following the order of the rituals (literally, fruits)". For example, the author of the KauS begins with the very first hymn of the AVŚ by quoting the first mantra of the hymn with its designation *pūrva-*[11] to be employed primarily in the rite of Medhājanana. The rite is prescribed at KauS 2.1[10].1–5.[12] Then, skipping a number of hymns that follow, the author directly goes to AVŚ 4.30 and employs it in the rite of Jātakarman (KauS 2.1[10].16–19). Thus, the author intends to group the hymns to be employed in the rites that are to be performed at the birth of a child. We find here a combination of the two methods, namely, the Mantrādhikāra and

10 *vidhisambandhe 'nena tu kauśikena sājātyena caikaviṃśatividhimantragaṇaṃ pravibhajya vidhiḥ kathitaḥ* | Diwekar *et al* 1972: p. 4, lines 9–10.

11 This hymn called *triṣaptīya-* has "a handy designation", *purva-* "the foremost" (KauS 1.7[7].8). The KauS generally uses that designation, except at 14.3[139].10. In that connection, Bloomfield 1972 [1890]: xxvi points out that the usage of the word *triṣaptīya-* shows insufficient assimilation of the chapter 14 of the KauS.

12 The mode of reference to the sūtras, made here, follows the traditional division of the KauS into Adhyāya, Kaṇḍikā and sūtras. In his edition, Bloomfield retains this mode of reference, but also offers a consecutive numbering of the Kaṇḍikās (1–141) from the beginning to the end of the work. While referring to the KauS, the mode of reference used by Bloomfield is being generally followed. Therefore, for the convenience of the readers, the consecutive numbering of the Kaṇḍikās is also provided here into the square brackets.

the Phalādhikāra.[13] The KauS describes various rituals beginning with the birth of a child to the funeral ceremonies, generally following these two methods.

The tradition of the Śaunaka is rich in exegetical works. As regards the KauS, we have good material in the form of commentaries, namely, Dārila's Bhāṣya (Diwekar *et al* 1972), Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati (Limaye *et al* 1982), anonymous works called Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati, Daśakarmāṇi, Antyeṣṭipaddhati (Bloomfield 1972 [1890]: xiv–xvi) and a number of Prayogas (Bahulkar 1977: 207–215).[14]

While we have the KauS in the Śaunaka Śākhā, we do not have a Sūtra text belonging to the Paippalāda;[15] we have only a few works, namely, Śrīdhara's Karmapañjikā (KarmP)[16] – a Paddhati, and an anonymous work – Karmasamuccaya,[17] a Prayoga.[18] In order to compare the arrangement of the rituals, it will be better to use the Paddhatis in both the Śākhās. The KP explains the rituals following their order as described in the KauS. However, the source of the KarmP may not be one particular Sūtra. It quotes the mantras for expiatory rites from a text called Saṃhitāvidhikalpa (*saṃhitāvidhikalpoktāḥ prāyaścittamantrāḥ*, KarmP, p. 137). However, the mantras are not found in the KauS, which is known as Saṃhitāvidhi in the tradition of the Śaunaka. The KarmP also borrows the "Tantra" from the Nakṣatrakalpa. Again, it is not found in the Nakṣatrakalpa available at present.

Here is a comparative chart of the domestic rituals of the two Śākhās, based on the KP and the KarmP.

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13 For a detailed discussion on these two methods, see Bahulkar 1994: 27–30.

14 For more information on the Prayogas in the Atharvaveda tradition, see, Garud 2002.

15 See footnote 50 below.

16 A partial critical edition of this text (Volume I: Book One, Part One) has been prepared by Griffiths & Sumant (2018). A "modern" Paddhati which claims to be based on the KarmP has been edited by Paṇḍā & Reddy (2012).

17 In the introduction to his work, Paippalādavaśādi-ṣaṭkarmapaddhatiḥ [2003], Paṇḍā says that Śrīdhara wrote two works, namely, Karmapañjikā and Karmasamuccaya (Paṇḍā [2003]: Pūrvābhāsaḥ, unnumbered pages 1 and 2). He first edited the Karmasamuccaya under the title *Paippalāda-Vivāhādi-Saṃskāra*-Paddhatiḥ (2000). Later on, he edited the KarmP under the title Paippalādabahiḥśālādikaṃ jātasaṃsthādikāḥ kriyāḥ, jointly with Reddy (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012). He says that he edited the first work, following the procedure (*vidhi*) as described in the KarmP (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012: *Mukhabandhaḥ*, unnumbered pages 1 and 2). This statement indicates that he became aware of the difference between the two works (Paṇḍā & Reddy 2012). For details and on Paṇḍā's confusing statements see, Sumant 2016: 883–884; Griffiths & Sumant 2018: xxx–xxxi and footnote 24.

18 Sumant 2016: 883.

KP[19]	KarmP[20]
Adhyāya 1	**Book I, Part 1**
Darśapūrṇamāsavidhiḥ	Bahiḥśālāśubhavidhiḥ (chapter 1)
Paribhāṣāḥ	Kumāridarśanādikarmatrayam (chapter 2)
Śāntyudakavidhānam	Adhivāsavidhiḥ (chapter 3)
Adhyāya 2	Pūrvatantram (chapter 4)
Medhājananakarmāṇi	Idhmahomādicarupākāntakarma (chapter 5)
Brahmacārisāmpada-karmāṇi	Uttaratantram (chapter 6)
Grāmasāmpadakarmāṇi	Dvividhasthaṇḍilavidhānam (chapter 7)
Sarvasāmpadakarmāṇi	Nakṣatrakalpoktatantram (chapter 8)
Sāmmanasyakarmāṇi	Tantraprāyaścittāni (chapter 9)
Varcasyakarmāṇi	**Book I, Part 2**
Rājakarmāṇi	Vivāhakarmapañcakam (chapter 1)
Vaiśyakarmāṇi	Garbhādhānam (chapter 2)
Āyudhigrāmaṇīkarmāṇi	Puṃsavanam (chapter 3)
Vijñānakarmāṇi	Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi (chapter 4)
Rājakarmāṇi	Godānakarma (chapter 5)
Adhyāya 3	Upanayanavidhiḥ (chapter 6)
Nirṛtikarmāṇi	Brahmacārinityakṛtyasāvitrīvratavisarjanam (chapter 7)
Puṣṭikarmāṇi	Cyutavratipunarupanayanavidhiḥ (chapter 8)
Adhyāya 4	Vedavratavidhiḥ (chapter 9)
Bhaiṣajyakarmāṇi	Brahmacārisnānavidhiḥ (chapter 10)
Strīkarmāṇi	Āplavanam/Samāvartanam (chapter 11)
Adhyāya 5	Jātakarmādyakaraṇayathākālaprāptāni
Vijñānakarmāṇi	Prāyaścittāni (chapter 12)
Adhyāya 6	**Book II**
Abhicārakarmāṇi	Dānādhyāyaḥ (chapter 1)
Adhyāya 7	Dāhādhyāyaḥ (chapter 2)
Svastyayanakarmāṇi	Prāyaścittādhyāyaḥ (chapter 3)
Āyuṣyakarmāṇi	Pūrvaṣoḍaśapiṇḍādhyāyaḥ (chapter 4)
Godānakarma	Śāntikādhyāyaḥ (chapter 5)
Cūḍākaraṇam	Pretadānādhyāyaḥ (chapter 6)
Upanayanam	Vṛṣotsargaḥ (chapter 7)
Āyuṣyāṇi	Uttaraṣoḍaśapiṇḍādhyāyaḥ (chapter 8)
Nāmakaraṇam	Samānayanaśrāddham (chapter 9)
Niṣkramaṇam	Śuddhiḥ (chapter 10)

19 Limaye *et al* 1982: xxxix–xli.

20 Griffiths & Sumant 2018: xxxii–xxxiv.

Annaprāśanam
Āyuṣyāṇi
Kāmyāni Karmāṇi
Adhyāya 8
Savāḥ
Adhyāya 9
Āvasathyādhānam
Sāyaṃprātarhomau
Baliharaṇam
Āgrayaṇam
Adhyāya 10
Vivāhaḥ
Udvāhaḥ
Caturthikākarma
Adhyāya 11
Pitṛmedhaḥ
Piṇḍapitṛyajñaḥ
Adhyāya 12
Madhuparkaḥ
Adhyāya 13
Adbhutāni
Adhyāya 14
Ājyatantram
Aṣṭakāḥ
Upākarma
Utsargaḥ
Indramahaḥ
Adhyayanavidhiḥ
Karmasaṅgatiḥ
Atharvavedamāhātmyam

This comparative table shows that there is not much similarity between the orders of the rituals in these two texts.

As mentioned above, the present paper is restricted to presenting preliminary observations on the basic ritual as described in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda Saṃhitās. In the Śaunaka tradition of Gujarat, there is an elaborated manual, namely, the Atharvavedaprayogabhānu of Raviśaṅkara Nāgara, who belonged to the Ṣaṭpannāgara sub-caste of the Nāgara Brahmins. This Prayoga is divided into four books, called Prakāśas. The first Prakāśa covers the basic mode of worship and some rites. It begins with Gaṇapatipūjana, and describes the rituals that are

commonly found in the tradition of other three Vedas. They are Ābhyudayika, Mātṛkāpūjana, Nāndīśrāddha, Araṇipūjana, Sūtrokta-Śāntikalaśakaraṇa, Maṇḍapapratiṣṭhā, Svastivācana, Puṇyāhavācana, Sthālīpāka, Garbhādhāna, Puṃsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Jātakarman and various Śāntis connected with the birth of a child. The second book begins with Nāmakaraṇa and describes the rites related to the child and to a celibate, such as Upanayana and so on. The third book describes Vivāha, Madhuparka, Caturthikākarma, some other related rites and various Śāntis similar to those described in the thirteenth Adhyāya of the KauS. The fourth book deals mainly with funeral rites and ancestral worship. Thus, the work follows the order of the KauS in a very general way.[21]

In the case of the Paippalāda tradition, we do have a Prayoga text, the *Karmasamuccaya*. This text is based on the Paddhati, the KarmP. However, we do not yet have a critically edited text.[22] For the purposes of the present paper, I have therefore used the partial edition of the KarmP, where we can find the relevant material for the comparison.

The KarmP divides the domestic rituals into seven categories called Jātasaṃsthāḥ. They are:

> Wedding (*vivāha*), impregnation (*garbhakaraṇa*), rite for obtaining a male child (*puṃsavana*), rite for a new-born baby (*jātakarman*), first ritual shaving of a boy (*godāna*), initiation (*upanayana*) and ritual bath of a bachelor (*āplavana*) [– these are the seven categories].[23]

4 Priests: Role of Brahmā

Both Śākhās differ from each other with respect to the priests to be employed in the various domestic rituals. The Śaunaka Śākhā prescribes the main priest (*kartā*) and Brahmā in principle.[24] According to the KarmP, there are four priests in the Paippalāda tradition of Odisha; they carry out the sacrificial performance (*karmavāhaka*). One of them is the main priest (*kartā*) and the other three are the members (*sadasya*) or associates. These priests are: Kartā, Brahmā, Hotā and

21 The text was published by Śrī Vedagīrvāṇapāṭhaśālā, Ahmedabad. For more details see Bahulkar 1977: 214–215; 2002b. In recent years, the first Prakāśa was published by M. Bala Krishna Reddy whom I had helped to obtain a copy of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the edition is worthless; it is full of misprints, absence of spaces between the words, and makes no sense. See Reddy 2012.

22 The edition brought out by Paṇḍā (2000) cannot be accepted as a critical one. As Sumant informs me, it appears to be his own "Prayoga" based on the *Karmasamuccaya* [personal communication].

23 vivāho garbhakaraṇaṃ tataḥ puṃsavanaṃ punaḥ | jātakarma ca godānopanayanāplavanānīti || (KarmP, p. 3).

24 See footnote 8 above.

Yājaka.[25] This description of the four priests is perhaps modelled on the Śrauta sacrifices where there are four main priests, namely, the Adhvaryu, the Hotā, the Udgātā and the Brahmā. The four priests mentioned by Paiṭhīnasi carry out specific functions that are different from those of the priests in the Śrauta sacrifices. The KarmP quotes Paiṭhīnasi,[26] according to whom the main priest is called Kartā because he performs all major acts. The second priest procures the substances required for the performance of the sacrifice. The third priest responds to the call of the main priest and the fourth makes a decision on the mantras to be employed in the ritual.[27]

5 Time and Place of the Performance in the Śaunaka Tradition

In the introduction to his commentary, Sāyaṇa explains the time and the place of the performance:

> These rites are to be performed outside the community (i.e., in the forest), to the east or the north, on the other bank of a big river, a deep pool and so on [. . .]. According to the opinion of the commentator, Rudra, the performance of the obligatory rites such as Puṃsavana and so on is to be done at home only. The time of the performance is the time of the two Parvan days, (i.e., the full moon or the new moon days,) or any other lunar day with an auspicious constellation. The time for the rite for the pacification of the omens and portents is immediately after the respective event takes place. The rites of sorcery are to be performed to the south of the community, on the dark half of the month, under the constellation Pleiades (*kṛttikāḥ*). In respect of these rites, the constituents (*aṅgāni*) related to the (directions, namely,) the east and the north are to be performed in the manner of (the constituents) of the Darśapūrṇamāsa.[28]

---

25 bhavanti yasya catvāro brāhmaṇāḥ karmavāhakāḥ |
ekas teṣāṃ bhavet kartā sadasyā itare trayaḥ ||
ṛtvik kartā tathā brahmā hotā yājaka eva ca | (KarmP, p. 19).

26 Paiṭhīnasi was an author of a Smṛti text and probably belonged to the tradition of the Atharvaveda. He is mentioned by Dārila, Keśava and Śrīdhara. For more details, see Bloomfield 1972: xvii–xviii; Rotaru 2016.

27 tathā ca paiṭhīnasiḥ |
[. . .]
ekaḥ karmaṇi yuktaḥ syād eko dravyopakalpane |
ekaḥ pṛṣṭaḥ pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye || (KarmP, p. 20).

28 eteṣāṃ grāmād bahiḥ prāgudagdeśe mahānadītaṭākādyuttarakūle 'nuṣṭhānam | [. . .] puṃsavanādīnāṃ tu nityānāṃ gṛha eveti rudrabhāṣyakāramatam | kālas tu parvadvayaṃ puṇyanakṣatrayuktaṃ tithyantaraṃ vā | adbhutakarmaṇāṃ tu tattannimittānantaram eva | [. . .] ābhicārikāṇāṃ tu

6 Time and Place of Performance in the Paippalāda Tradition

According to the tradition of the Paippalādins in Odisha, as reflected in the KarmP, there is no specific mention of the day and the time of the performance. We also do not find terms such as Ājyatantra, Pākatantra, or Darśapūrṇamāsa. The frequently used expression is *pākayajñikaṃ tantram*, the expression commonly used by the KauS and other Gṛhya Sūtras as well.[29] The day of the performance can be any auspicious day. As usual, at the time of the Saṃkalpa, the priest would mention the day following the usual Hindu way, irrespective of the Vedic Śākhās. This Saṃkalpa mentioned in the KarmP is related to the rite of Kanyādāna in the wedding ceremony but is a common one for all the rites.

> Then, in the second half (i.e., fifty years) of (the hundred years of the total life of) Brahmā, in the aeon of the White Boar, on the twenty-eighth year (i.e., *mahāyuga*) of (the seventh) Manu, the son of Vivasvān, in the first quarter of the Kali Age of the Four Ages, in the 4,691st year, in the year (called by the) name XXX, during the period of the journey of the sun (*ayana*) XXX, in the season XXX, in the month of XXX, in the XXX half of the month, on the lunar day XXX, under the constellation XXX; when the sun is dwelling in the zodiac sign XXX; when the moon is dwelling in the zodiac sign XXX; thus, when the planets, Mars and others, are dwelling in their respective places of the zodiac signs; with the Yoga, Lagna, Karaṇa, Muhūrta and Aṃśas; on (this) auspicious day, on (this) auspicious lunar day, marked by such and such kind of characteristics; here on the earth, in the Jambudvīpa, in the Bharata continent of the region of the Bharatas, in the country of Utkala, to the south of Meru mountain, to the north of Great Ocean, in the intermediate region between Śrī Virajā and Puruṣottama, in the vicinity of the feet of gods and Brahmins, I, belonging to the gotra XXX, having the name XXX, intend to give my daughter away (as a bride to the groom). This is the resolve.[30]

---

grāmād dakṣiṇadiśi kṛṣṇapakṣe kṛttikānakṣatre prayoga iti viśeṣaḥ | [. . .] eteṣāṃ karmaṇāṃ prācyodīcyāṅgāni darśapūrṇamāsavat kāryāṇī | (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 27).

29 *vyākhyātaṃ sarvapākayajñiyaṃ tantram* | KauS 14.1[137].43; cf. ĀśGṛS 1.1.2; BauGṛS 1.1.1, etc. Cf. Gonda 1980: 179–180; 421–422.

30 adya brahmaṇo dvitīyaparārdhe śvetavārāhakalpe vaivasvatamanor aṣṭāviṃśatitame caturyugasya kaleḥ prathamapāde | ekanavatyadhikaṣaṭśatottaracatuḥsahasraparimite 'bde | yathānāmasaṃvatsare | amukāyane | amuka ṛtau | amuke māsi | amukapakśe | amukatithau | amukanakṣatre | amukarāśisthite śrībhāskare | amukarāśisthite śrīcandramasi | evaṃ yathāsthānāvasthiteṣu bhaumādigrahayogalagnakaraṇamuhūrtakāṃśakeṣu | evaṃguṇaviśeṣaviśiṣṭāyāṃ puṇyāhaḥpuṇyatithau | iha pṛthivyāṃ jambudvīpe bharatakhaṇḍe | bhārate varṣe | utkale deśe | meror dakṣiṇataḥ | mahodadher uttarataḥ | śrīvirajāpuruṣottamayor antarāle | śrīdevabrāhmaṇacaraṇasannidhau amukasagotro 'mukadevaśarmā kanyādānakarmāhaṃ kurvīya | iti saṃkalpaḥ | (KarmP, p. 14–15).

On the contrary, the Saṃkalpa of the Śaunakīyas in Gujarat is brief:

> Here, today, in the month of XXX, in the XXX half of the month, on (this) lunar day XXX, on the day XXX, on the lunar day,[31] in order to obtain, for my own (benefit), the fruits (i.e. merit) mentioned in the Śruti, the Smṛti and the Purāṇas, or with the permission of the sacrificer (?), I shall perform the rite called Sthālīpāka as a part of the rite XXX, Upanayana and so on, along with (the performance of) the Grahamakha.[32]

The word *vā-* in this Saṃkalpa, denoting an option, is significant. Generally, the resolve is to be made by the sacrificer, repeating the words after the priest. However, it may not be possible for the sacrificer to do that. In that case, the priest recites the resolve on behalf of the sacrificer, with his permission.

As regards the place of the ritualistic performance, there is a considerable difference between the traditions of the two Śākhās. We have seen that the Śaunaka tradition prescribes certain places outside the home for various rituals except for the Jātakarman and so on that have to be performed at home. The Paippalāda tradition prescribes a rather unique venue. They do not go to the banks of a river or a forest, nor do they perform the rituals at home. For that purpose, they have a rite of constructing a special hall outside the house. The rite is called bahiḥśālāropaṇavidhi (KarmP, p. 2–10). This is recommended for all rituals (*sarvakarme praśasyate*, KarmP, p. 2). The KarmP says:

> jātasaṃsthāyāṃ bahiḥśālāropaṇam avaśyaṃ kāryam | gṛhādeḥ
> karmācaraṇe niṣiddhatvāt | yathoktaṃ paribhāṣāyām –
> gṛhamadhye na kartavyā jātasaṃsthā kadācana |
> prāṅgaṇe maṇḍapaṃ kṛtvā tatra karma samārabhet || (KarmP, p. 2–3).[33]
>
> In respect of the Jātasaṃsthā, one should invariably carry out the construction of the outhouse, because it is prohibited to perform the act in the house and other places. As it is said in the Paribhāṣā –
>
> 'One should never perform the Jātasaṃsthā in the house. Having constructed a pandal in the courtyard, one should commence the performance.'

31 The word *tithau* repeated here appears to be superfluous.

32 atrādya amukamāse 'mukatithāv amukavāsare tithau mamātmanaḥ śrutismṛtipurāṇoktaphalaprāptaye vā yajamānānujñayā sagrahamakha-upanayanādi-amukakarmāṅgatvena sthālīpākākhyaṃ karmāhaṃ kariṣye | (*Atharvavedaprayogabhānu*, Sthālīpākaprayogaraśmi, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 65a).

33 For the current practice of bahiḥśālā with relevant photographs, see Sumant 2017.

7 Ājyatantra and Pākatantra

The basic domestic ritual of the Atharvavedins is variously called Gṛhya Darśapūrṇamāsa, Pākayajña,[34] Sthālīpāka,[35] Pārvaṇa Sthālīpāka[36] and Kuśaṇḍikā.[37] The rite has two varieties, namely, Ājyatantra[38] and Pākatantra. The rite where there are oblations of clarified butter (*ājya*) is called Ājyatantra, while the Pākatantra involves the oblations of cooked rice (*caru*), sacrificial bread (*puroḍāśa*) and so on.[39] This is the main offering (*pradhāna-homa*). The ritual is divided into two parts, namely, the Pūrvatantra and the Uttaratantra. The main rite takes place after the Pūrvatantra is over and before the Uttaratantra begins.

There are some more differences between these two varieties. KauS (1.6[6].34) quotes a verse that says that the Pūrvatantra ends with the Ājyabhāga offerings (*ājyabhāgāntaṃ prāktantram*). However, this applies only to the Ājyatantra. The Pākatantra does not have these offerings. This is explained by Keśava: pākatantre abhyātānāni na bhavanti (KP, p. 468). See also Sāyaṇa's introduction, where he quotes Keśava: yad āha keśavaḥ – 'pākatantreṣv abhyātānāni na bhavanti [. . .]') (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28). The rite called Abhyātāna offerings is performed at the end of the Pūrvatantra and at the beginning of the Uttaratantra. After the Abhyātāna offerings in the Pūrvatantra are made, the Pradhāna karma takes place and the Uttaratantra begins again with the Abhyātāna offerings.

Caland has given the order of the constituents of the ritual in the introduction to his *Altindisches Zauberritual*.[40] The basis of this order is Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the AVŚ (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28), where Sāyaṇa provides a list of various acts to be performed in the Darśapūrṇamāsa, probably following the list given by Keśava in his Paddhati, at the end of his comment on KauS 1.6[6].37 (KP, p. 22). One may observe that none of the two lists is comprehensive. I have therefore modified the order to a certain extent on the basis of the description of the two parts of the Darśapūrṇamāsa, and a comparative study of the lists offered by Keśava and Sāyaṇa.

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34 imau darśapūrṇamāsau vyākhyātau | darśapūrṇamāsābhyāṃ pākayajñāḥ | KauS 1.6[6]. 29–30.
35 Sthālīpākādiprayogāḥ, MS. no. 4242, Gore Collection of the Vaidika Saṃśodhanamaṇḍala, Pune.
36 ĀśGṛS 1.10.1.
37 See footnote 38 below.
38 The Ātharvaṇīya Paddhati calls the Ājyatantra as Bṛhatkuśaṇḍikā (Bloomfield 1972: xv).
39 yatra pradhānaṃ havir ājyaṃ tad ājyatantram | yatra carupuroḍāśādikaṃ tat pākatantram | Sāyaṇa (Vishva Bandhu 1960: 28).
40 Caland 1900: VI–VII.

Pūrvatantra

Name of the rite	KauS (Adhyāya, Kaṇḍikā, Sūtra)
Avyasaś ca (AVŚ 19.68)	14.3[139].10
Barhirlavanam	1.1[1].28
Barhirupasādanam	1.1[1].28
Vediḥ	14.1[137].2–16
Uttaravediḥ	14.1[137].2–16
Agnipraṇayanam	14.1[137].25, (26, 27)
Agnipratiṣṭhāpanam	14.1[137].28
Vratagrahaṇam	1.1[1].36–39
Pavitrakaraṇam	1.1[1].40
Pavitreṇedhmaprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].15
Idhmopasamādhānam	14.1[137].29
Barhiḥprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].16
Brahmāsanam	1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33
Brahmavaraṇam	(1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33)
Brahmasthāpanam	(1.2[2].18;14.1[137].33)
Staraṇam	14.1[137].34–36
Stīrṇaprokṣaṇam	1.2[2].24
Ātmāsanam	1.3[3].5ff.; 14. 1[137].37ff.
Udapātrasthāpanam	1.3[3].2
Ājyasaṃskāraḥ	1.2[2].31
Sruvagrahaṇam	1.3[3].9
Grahagrahaṇam	1.3[3].10–15
Purastāddhomāḥ	1.3[3].16–17
Ājyabhāgau	1.4[4].1ff.
Abhyātānāni	14.1[137].42

Pradhānahomaḥ

Uttaratantra	
Abhyātānāni	14.1[137]. 42
Pārvaṇahomaḥ	1.5[5].5ff.
Samṛddhihomāḥ	1.5[5].7
Sannatihomāḥ	1.5[5].8
Sviṣṭakṛddhomaḥ	1.5[5].12
Sarvaprāyaścittahomāḥ	1.5[5].12 (13)
Skannahomaḥ	1.6[6].1

(Continued)

Uttaratantra	
Punarmaitvindriyahomaḥ	(Not mentioned in the KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137])
Skannāsmṛtihomau	1.6[6].2
Saṃsthitahomāḥ	1.6[6].3
Caturgṛhītahomaḥ	1.6[6].4
Barhirhomaḥ	1.6[6].7
Saṃsrāvahomaḥ	1.6[6].9
Sruvasthāpanam	1.6[6].10
Samidādhānam	1.6[6].11
Viṣṇukramāḥ	1.6[6].14
Udapātrotthāpanam	1.6[6].17
Vratavisarjanam	1.6[6].18–20
Dakṣiṇādānam	1.6[6].21
Brahmotthāpanam	(not mentioned in the KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137])
Brāhmaṇabhojanam	(1.6[6].23–28)
Yasmāt kośāt (AVŚ 19.72)	(14.3[139].26)

A reference to the priestly manual from Gujarat, namely the *Atharvavedaprayogabhānu*, has already been made above. This Prayoga adds some basic rites that are common to all such rituals. (Sthālīpākaprayogaraśmi, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 65a)

Ācamanam,
Prāṇāyāmaḥ
Brahma jajñānam
Saṃkalpaḥ
Svastyayana hymns (AVŚ 7. 85 [90]; 86 [91]; 117 [122])
Avyasaś ca (AVŚ 19.68.1)

After this, the order of the rites in the Darśapūrṇamāsa is similar to that given by Sāyaṇa on the basis of KauS 1.1–6 [1–6] and 14.1[137], cited above. In addition to those rites, the rite ends with the declaration of the end of the performance:

atrādya amukakarmaṇi sthālīpākākhyaṃ karma kṛtasya vidheḥ sarvaṃ paripūrṇam astu |

Here, today, in the rite (called) xxx[41] let all (the constituents) of the rite called Sthālīpāka be complete.[42]

There then follows the muttering of the Śāntisūkta which is not specified there. The end of the performance is marked by the usual statement: kṛtaṃ karmeśvarārpaṇaṃ kuryāt "One should dedicate the performance to God" (Sthālīpākaprayogaraśmi, Prakāśa I, Raśmi 18, fol. 77b).

The author provides some additional information about the procedure of the selection of the Brahmā priest. He mentions that the selection should be made with the recitation of the mantra oṃ yaja tatra tvam (fol. 68a, line 3). This appears to be a call to the Brahmā. The KP however quotes a pratīka of a different mantra to be recited on this occasion: bhūpate iti brahmavaraṇam (KP on KauS 1.2[2].18, p. 8); also, bhūpate iti brahmavaraṇavidhānena varaṇam (KP on KauS 14.1[137].33, p. 467). The procedure of selecting the Brahmā priest is laid down in the VaitS (1.17–18). Dārila too provides the same information, referring to the same text: atra brahmavaraṇam vitānavat | vṛtajapaś ca bhavati | vṛto japati iti vitānavacanāt | ahaṃ bhūpatiḥ iti (DB on KauS 1.2[2].18, p. 19, lines 2–3). This method is called *atideśa* "extension". Generally, there are a number of basic acts that are mentioned in the KauS and are referred to by the VaitS; but in this case, the commentators refer to the latter as this is not mentioned in the KauS but is necessary to use in the rite of the selection of the Brahmā. As said before, the role of the Brahmā is optional. Therefore, this rite from the VaitS is to be performed only symbolically.

8 Pūrvatantra and Uttaratantra in the KarmP

The editors of the KarmP have given the section titles and other elements of contents, as much as possible, based on Śrīdhara's own usage and at times have formulated their own designations (p. 163–172). While describing the Pūrvatantra, Śrīdhara says that there are eight Pākayajñas mentioned in the Śruti. They are:

sāyaṃprātarhomau sthālīpāko navaś ca yaḥ |
baliś ca pitṛyajñāś ca aṣṭakāś caiva saptamāḥ |

41 The word *amuka-* literally means 'such and such (by name)'. The word is to be substituted by the name (of the rite or the sacrificer or something else, as the case may be). This substitution is called *ūha* 'modification' (Gode & Karve 1957, sub voce).

42 This is what is meant by the Sanskrit sentence written in the typically priestly style.

paśur ity ete pākayajñā iti | aṣṭamaḥ pākayajñāś ca ity ete pākayajñāḥ |
(KarmP, p. 50)

The morning and the evening offerings, the Sthālīpāka, (the offering of) new (corn?),[43] the Bali, Pitṛyajñas, and the Aṣṭakās – these seven, (and) the animal sacrifice – the eighth, these are the Pākayajñas.[44]

All these Pākayajñas follow the basic ritual of the Pūrvatantra and the Uttaratantra. For these rites, the Paippalāda Śākhā has four tantras, i.e., "models", called Divya, Sāmpada, Prāyaścitta and Ābhicārika. The Paribhāṣā explains the purpose of performing these four types of tantras:

catvāraḥ karmaṇām ete bhavanty atra vicārakāḥ |
divyāś ca sāmpadāś caiva prāyaścittābhicārikāḥ |
eteṣāṃ karmabhedam āha –
svargādisādhane divyān sāmpadān kāmyasādhane |
aihikāmuṣmikacchidre prāyaścittān prayojayet |
uddṛptavairināśāya yojayed ābhicārikān iti || (KarmP, p. 96)

They consider these four rites, namely, the divine rites (*divya*), the rites for prosperity (*sāmpada*), the expiation rites (*prāyaścitta*) and the sorcery rites (*ābhicārika*). One should employ the divine rites in order to obtain heaven and so on, the rites for prosperity to obtain the fulfilment of various desires, the expiation in the case of a 'hole', i.e., sin while performing the acts for mundane and super-mundane aims, and in order to destroy an angry enemy, one should employ the sorcery rites.

Griffiths and Sumant observe:

Besides these, the Paippalāda Śākhā knows an option of choosing one further model that combines the first three, and this combined performance of the *divya*, the *sāmpada* and the *prāyaścittīya tantras* is known as the *samuccayatantra*. It is this *samuccayatantra* which is actually performed in all domestic rituals of the Paippalādins today, and the same seems to have been true in Śrīdhara's time. (KarmP, Intro., p. lxviii).

As regards the selection of the priests, the Paippalāda has a special procedure. As mentioned before, they employ four priests for the performance, namely, Kartā, Brhamā, Hotā and Yājaka. (KarmP, p. 19). First, they select the Hotā (KarmP, 25–26).

43 Cf. Patyal 1969: 185.

44 The editors point out in their introduction (cxxiv) that the text is seriously corrupt; however, they have chosen to retain the text as found in the manuscripts. The passage corresponds to the Gopathabrāhmaṇa 1.5.23, where the statement enumerates seven Pākayajñas. Cf. Gautama Dharma Sutra 1.8.19 (Pandeya 1966: 74). The translation of the passage, given above, is not a literal one. A possible emendation of the last two sentences could be: [. . .] *paśur ity aṣṭamaḥ | ity ete pākayajñā ity ete pākayajñā iti*. The repetition of the words *ity ete pākayajñāḥ* might denote the end of a chapter. This kind of repetition, denoting the end of a chapter, is found elsewhere, e.g. *śaṃ mayi jānīdhvaṃ śaṃ mayi jānīdhvam* | ĀśGṛS 2.10.8.

The procedure is similar to that of the Śaunaka using the mantra from the VaitS 1.17–18 (Garbe 1982: 2). It is quite a common phenomenon that the sacrificer, not being familiar with Sanskrit, would not be able to recite the mantra. In that case, some other Brahmin touches the Kartā and mutters the mantra:

> *yadā yajamāno vedasyāsāmarthyāt tadā anyaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ (sic)*
> *tatpratinidhitvena kartāraṃ spṛṣṭvā mantraṃ japati* | (KarmP, p. 26).
>
> When the sacrificer (cannot recite the mantra) due to (his) inability (to recite) the Veda, then another Brahmin, as his (i.e. the sacrificer's) substitute, touches the performer and mutters the mantra.

This is not unusual, other Vedic Śākhās having the same problem due to ignorance on part of the sacrificers. After the selection of the Hotā, the selection of the Brahmā, the Dravyopakalpaka, the Pṛṣṭaprativaktā and the Mantraniścāyaka is done. While doing so, the word *hotā* is to be substituted with *brahmā* and so on.[45] The same set of mantras is to be employed with the necessary modifications. This is a unique feature of the Paippalādins. If it is not possible to get all four priests, only two, namely the Ṛtvig and the Brahmā are selected. Still, there is one more option: one may select the Ṛtvig alone and in the place of Brahmā, a water jar is placed. This is in common with the Śaunaka as well as the Śākhās of other Vedas.[46] Even if it is difficult to find one priest who would play the role of the Ṛtvig, the sacrificer himself should act as Kartā.

> ācāryaṃ varayet pūrvaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tadanantaram |
> athavā ṛtviṅmātraṃ varaṇīyam | brahmā punar udapātram | evaṃ trividhā brāhmaṇavyavasthā | athavā ṛtvigabhāve svayaṃ yajamānaḥ kartā vā syāt | (KarmP, p. 28).
>
> One should first select the Ācārya (i. e. Kartā), then (one should select) the Brahmā. Alternatively, (one should select) (one) priest only. In that case, a water-jar (should be placed as) the Brahmā. Thus (there could be) threefold arrangement of Brahmins. Alternatively, when (even a single) priest is not available, the sacrificer himself may optionally be the performer.

We have already seen that in the tradition of the Śaunaka, the rite called Abhyātāna offerings is performed at the end of the Pūrvatantra and at the beginning of the Uttaratantra. These offerings are not mentioned in the KarmP, at least in the part published so far. The text called Paippalāda-vivāhādi-saṃskārapaddhati, edited by Paṇḍā, mentions the Abhyātāna mantras. They are the same as those found in the

45 See footnote 41 above.

46 brahmā ca sarveṣu pākayajñeṣu kṛtākṛto bhavati | Nārāyaṇa on ĀśGṛS 1.3.6. For various options prescribed by the Gṛhyasūtras, see, Bahulkar 2004: 510.

AVŚ. However, the rite takes place after the marriage ceremony, before the Caturthikākarman and not as the rite prefixed and suffixed to the Pradhāna offerings. At present, it is not possible to find out the basis of this rite mentioned by Paṇḍā.

9 Comparative Study of the Rituals

As mentioned in the beginning, the present article attempts to make a comparative study of the basic ritual of the domestic Darśapūrṇamāsa described in the relevant texts in the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda traditions. It will be important to make a further study of various rituals of both the Śākhās.[47]

10 Concluding Remarks

In connection with the performance of the basic ritual of the Pākayajñas, there are some noteworthy differences between the two Śākhās. The Prayogas in the Śaunaka tradition are based mainly on the KauS. Although they change the order of the sūtras for the actual performance, some of them actually quote the sūtras and explain them. For example, the Prayogadīpa of Devabhadra specifically says that it is not a common practice to compose the Prayoga by quoting the sūtras; however, the author of the Prayogadīpa does that.[48] The Prayogas also enlist the help of the commentaries on the KauS. Thus, the exegetical tradition of the Śaunaka is well established. On the contrary, the Paippalādins do not have a Gṛhyasūtra. They might be aware of the KauS but they do not have a tradition of studying that text. There is a work called Prapañcahṛdaya, composed in Kerala. The author and the date of the work are not known.[49] It mentions that there existed a Śrautasūtra in the Paippalāda Śākhā, ascribed to Agastya, but the information cannot be accepted as valid.[50] Veṅkaṭamādhava, the author of the Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, mentions that

47 For recent attempts in this regard, see Sumant 2013 and 2022.

48 For details, see Bahulkar 1978: 33.

49 In this connection, Bronkhorst remarks: "It is hard to determine with certainty the extent to which the accounts of the Prapañcahṛdaya are trustworthy." (2007: 294). He also points out that it is a relatively recent text, dating roughly from the time of Yāmuna and Rāmānuja." (2007: 297, n. 44). Also, see 2007: 292, n. 30. Witzel thinks that it was probably composed in the south of India, maybe in the 11th century (2020: 764).

50 *paippalādiśākhāprayuktam ātharvaṇikaṃ saptabhir adhyāyair agastyena pradarśitam* | Gaṇapati Śāstrī 1915: 33.

they have the Aitareya as their own (Brāhmaṇa) and the Atharvavedins, the Paippalādaka.[51] However, there is no trace of such a text.

Keśava states that the KauS, the Saṃhitāvidhi, is meant for four Śākhās of the AV, the Śaunaka being the first among them (*tatra catasṛṣu śākhāsu śaunakādiṣu kauśiko'yaṁ saṃhitāvidhiḥ* / KP, p. 1). Following him, Sāyaṇa makes a similar statement (Introduction to Sāyaṇa's commentary, Pandit 1895: 23). Summarizing that portion of the Introduction, Pandit (1880: 423) lists the four Śākhās, namely, the Śaunakīyās, the Ākshalās (? Jājalas), the Jaladās (? Jaladas) and the Brahmavādās (? Brahmavadas). Cf. Bloomfield 1972: xxxiv–xxxv; Whitney 1893: 89. I have argued in one of my papers that historically those four Śākhās could be the Śaunaka, the Paippalāda, the Jājala and the Cāraṇavaidya.[52] However, the statement about the KauS being the Sūtra for the four Śākhās need not be taken literally. It simply indicates that there existed four Śākhās of the AV and that the followers of the other three Śākhās began to study and follow the Śaunaka. In Gujarat, there were some Atharvavedins who claimed that they belonged to the Paippalāda but followed the Śaunaka. In Odisha, however, the Atharvavedins followed their own Śākhā and performed the ritual according to the priestly manuals. Those priestly manuals frequently mention Paiṭhīnasi as the source of their explanation. However, the Paiṭhīnasi Sūtra or the Paiṭhīnasi Smṛti is available only in the form of the citations from that work found in some works in the tradition of the AV and various works on Dharmaśāstra.[53]

The two traditions, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, also differ from each other in many respects. Although the rituals at the root could be the same, the traditions have diverged from each other in the course of time. The influence of local traditions is noteworthy. The followers of the Gujarat tradition of the Śaunaka are the Nāgara Brahmins who belong to all the four Vedic Śākhās, namely, the Ṛgveda – mainly Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra, the Śukla Yajurveda – the Mādhyandina, the Kauthuma Śākha of Sāmaveda and the Śaunaka Śākhā of the AV.[54] It is possible that there were some Paippalādins in Gujarat who were assimilated with the Śaunaka in the course of time. They have common deities and have common rituals that are also mentioned in the Prayogas of that Śākhā. In the case of the Paippalādins in Odisha, they have some unique rites. For instance, they establish a hall outside the house for the performance of the rites (*bahiḥśālāśubhavidhi*, KarmP, p. 1–10). At the outset, they

51 *aitareyakam asmākaṃ paippalādam atharvaṇām* | *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, 8.1.13ab; Vidyāvāridhi 1979: 288.

52 Bahulkar 2002a: 1–11.

53 For the citations from various works, see, Rotaru 2016.

54 I gathered this information from the famous Atharvavedin (the late) Pt. Vasudev Shastri Pancholi during my visits to his Ātharvaṇa Pāṭhaśālā in Sinor, Gujarat in 1976 and 1983.

worship ten deities, namely, Mita, Pramita, and so on (*mitādipūjā*).[55] It is possible to cite many more examples of such deviations. A further, detailed and systematic study comparing the ritualistic traditions of the two Śākhās is yet to be done.

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Abbreviations

ĀśGṛS	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
AVŚ	Śaunaka Saṃhitā of AV
BauGṛS	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
DB	Dārila's Bhāṣya on the Kauśika-Sūtra
KarmP	Karmapañjikā
KauS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KP	Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati on the Kauśika-Sūtra
Transl.	Translator
VaitS	Vaitānasūtra

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55 Griffiths & Sumant 2018: lii–lx; Sumant 2009.

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The Textual Divisions and the Conventions *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra* in Classifying the Rites in the *Kaušika Sūtra*: A Case Study of the Construction Rites

Abstract: It is commonly considered that the Kauśika Sūtra prescribes two rites accompanying the building of a house, in two different chapters. This study reconstructs the two rites with the help of the two medieval commentaries of Dārila and Keśava, an unedited late paddhati commentary (*Atharvaṇīya Paddhati*), and a prayoga manual for ritual performance (*Samskāraratnaprayoga*), further arguing that only one is a proper construction rite. As a prerequisite for the elucidation of the idiosyncratic ritual, the paper deals with the textual intricacies of the KauśS: textual divisions of the surrounding context, the two methods used by Kauśika to arrange the subjects of the sūtra text, the so called *mantrādhikāra* and *phalādhikāra*, etc. The paper shows that these devices are used as conventions indicating which procedures to perform first in order to understand the sūtra text and in the case in question, to classify the construction rites. In comparison with a similar rite construed around worshiping the Lord of the house, found in the rituals of the other Vedic schools, the Atharvavedins had a complex ceremony completed by the worshiping of Vāstoṣpati which includes two mantras that are found in the Paippalāda Saṁhitā (PS) 7.6.10 and 20.23.2, quoted in full by the KauśS and considered as kalpajā ṛcs "verses issued from the ritual" by Śaunakin ritual texts. The whole hymn PS 7.6 is employed by a Paippalādic ritual text in a ceremony connected with purification of the construction site. The two verses are found with minor variants as ṚV 7.54.1 and 7.55.1, and are appropriately employed by the ritual texts of other Vedic schools.

Acknowledgements: I thank very much the organisers of the conference "The Atharvaveda and its South Asian Contexts" at the University of Zurich for inviting me to contribute to the discussion. I am indebted to Robert Leach and Oliver Hellwig for their careful reading of my manuscript. This article is a tribute to guruji S.S. Bahulkar who has taught me how to read the Kauśika Sūtra.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-016

Introduction. Textual Divisions of the Kauśika Sūtra

The Kauśika Sūtra (KauśS) has the following textual divisions: adhyāyas (14), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya (this is an intrinsic division of the adhyāya, varying in number), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya (141), and sūtra. The first adhyāya which contains the metarules and sources of the texts, etc., is an exception and does not have the first type of kaṇḍikā. The manuscripts seen by me so far unanimously do not break the sūtras and, consequently, do not count them, but they invariably count the adhyāyas and have a different numbering system for the two types of kaṇḍikās, i.e. numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya, and numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya. This will be shown in the following.

The two types of counting the kaṇḍikās has been understood differently by scholars who have dealt with the text. Bloomfield's edition recognizes these four divisions, yet, while referring to a passage, the editor gives preference to the reference to kaṇḍikā counted from the beginning of the first adhyāya, and sūtra, and so do Caland and later Gonda in their translations. Lanman (1906: 1012) is the first to have a critical opinion on the issue. Having noticed that Sāyaṇa refers to the KauśS by adhyāya and "by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya" and that "Bloomfield and Whitney cite (underlined by J.R.) by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise", Lanman thinks the best way of reference is "by adhyāya, by kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the adhyāya and by sūtra."

Bahulkar (1990: 119) implements this threefold division of the text considering it "traditional", as opposed to a probably invented division of Bloomfield (personal communication, January 2013). Although Bahulkar refers to Lanman, he seems to have missed the latter's distinction between "kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya" and "kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise". However, Bahulkar says: "In his edition, Bloomfield has numbered the kaṇḍikās irrespective of the adhyāya – division. i.e. kaṇḍikās 1–141 and has consequently adopted only two divisions, namely, kaṇḍikās and sūtras." This is not tenable; the divisions are rightly numbered in their respective places in the actual edition (e.g. page 47: "vācayed eva vācayed eva |34| ||8||17|| ity atharvavede kauśikasūtre dvitīyo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ ||", i.e. sūtra 34; kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, 8; kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of first adhyāya, 17; adhyāya 2). I have checked at random and found in the ms. Bü used by Bloomfield the same numbering, (except for the sūtra), and similarly in the ms. Bh 1 used by Bahulkar.

To sum up, Bloomfield knew the fourfold textual divisions available in some mss. and noted them down in the respective places in his edition. Keśava's editors uncritically borrowed this numbering from Bloomfield (Bahulkar, personal communication, January 2013) leaving open for further investigation which division the medieval commentator actually knew. The same question applies to Dārila's commentary available in the codex unicus, which presents the division into adhyāya and kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya. Similarly, our awareness about Sāyaṇa's way of dividing and numbering the KauśS is limited to the text offered by S.P. Pandit based on a single complete ms. and another incomplete ms., which presents the same division assumed by modern exegetes as "traditional". Griffiths, in his GRETIL electronic edition,[1] puts in square brackets [] the kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, a method pursued in this paper also, and restores to the KauśS its original fourfold division, which is a merit of this e-edition.

While the most prevalent system of reference, that of adhyāya and kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of the treatise, for all of its convenience may be still used, it should not omit the significance of the various textual divisions of the KauśS. The present paper addresses this subject in regard to the internal division of the third adhyāya, as a prerequisite for seeking a correspondence between phalādhikāra (see further § 1.4 for this term) and kaṇḍikā as numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya division.

It is commonly considered that the KauśS prescribes two ceremonies accompanying the building of a house, at 3.6 [23].1–11 and at 5.7[43].3–15. However, it is difficult to ascertain precisely which sūtras prescribe the construction rite in the 23rd kaṇḍikā. Bloomfield (1889) rubricates 3.6[23].1–11 as "rites on building a house". Caland (1900: 147–148) thinks that only the sūtras 3.6[23].1–9 prescribe rites for good luck in a new residence. Keśava[2] and more specifically the late unpublished paddhati Atharvaṇīya Paddhati (AthPaddh) comment on the sūtras 3.6[23].1–6 as describing a rite for prosperity upon building a new house, whereas 3.6[23].7 and 8 are marked as two rites for prosperity, and 3.6[23].9–11 for one who wishes to divide his property. As for the rite prescribed in the 43rd kaṇḍikā, the traditional and the modern exegesis agree in understanding that it is a ritual accompanying the building of a big house.

In the following we shall analyse these rites as prescribed by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 and 5.7[43].3–15 and later unpublished Ātharvaṇic ritual sources, such as the AthPaddh, already mentioned, and the late prayoga Samskāraprayogaratna (SPR, see Rotaru 2021).

1 The content of the first adhyāya is input by Griffiths from Bahulkar's sample edition (1990).

2 Introduction to KauśS 3.6[23].1: atha niveśakarmocyate (Bhā 2 nave gṛhe).

In the structure of the rite there appear two verses which occur in the Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) and are found with minor variants as ṚV 7.54.1 and 7.55.1, which represent an invocation to Vāstoṣpati. The second part of the paper will focus on the exact identification of the verses addressing Vāstoṣpati in the ritual texts of the Atharvavedins, and the employment of ṚV 7.54.1–3 and 7.55.1 by the ritual texts of other Vedic schools. This is a chapter in the long story of how the Ātharvaṇic priests have constructed some missing portion in their rituals based on the texts of a bigger ritual tradition represented by the three canonical Vedas.

1 Rite for Prosperity when Building a New Residence, in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Texts

1.1 KauśS 3.6[23].1–6

> **yajūṃṣi yajña** iti (ŚS 5.26) navaśālāyāṃ sarpir madhumiśram juhoti[3] /1/ **doṣo gāye**ti (ŚS 6.1) dvitīyām /2/ yuktābhyāṃ tṛtīyām /3/ ānumatīṃ caturthīm / 4/ śālām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya gṛhapatnyāsāda upaviśyodapātraṃ ninayati /5/[4] **ihaiva ste**ti (ŚS 7.60.7) vācaṃ visṛjate /6/
>
> "When building a new house, with the hymn "The sacrificial formulae at the sacrifice. . ." (ŚS 5.26) he offers in the fire ghee mixed with honey. [He sacrifices] the second [oblation] with the hymn "Sing at evening. . ." (ŚS 6.1). The third, jointly with the two [hymns]. The fourth, with the verse to Anumati (i.e., ŚS 7.20.6).[5] Having sprinkled the house by means of the two little fingers, sitting with his wife in the kitchen,[6] he pours out water from the pitcher. With the verse "Stay right here!. . ." (ŚS 7.60.7) he releases his speech."

1.2 Keśava has comments in the manner of glosses upon the sūtras, but he explains this rite in detail at the end of his commentary ad KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, from where it is further copied with innovations by the AthPaddh.

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3 Edition: aśnāti. Caland 1900, based on Sāyaṇa's reading under the hymn ŚS 6.1 and probably on Keśava's reading in the commentary (for in the *mūlā* the lectio is *aśnāti*), considers *aśnāti* to be a *lapsus calami* for *juhoti*. Dārila, in the *mūlā* source text and in the *bhāṣya* commentary: *juhoti*. AthPaddh: *juhoti*. Based on all these readings, we may retain Caland's emendation as *juhoti*. Keśava's editors retain the reading of Bloomfield's edition in the reconstructed mūla root text.

4 Keśava: tataḥ śālām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya tūṣṇīṃ gṛhapatnyāsāda upaviśyodapātraṃ ninayati tūṣṇīṃ//.

5 So Caland 1900, see AthPaddh. Cf. Dārila: **anumatiḥ sarvam idam** ity (ŚS 7.20.6) anayā / anumataye svāhā iti kecit / mantranāmaitat /

6 See Dārila: bhaktagṛhe.

tataḥ pākayajñavidhānena vāstoṣpataye juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmi iti nirvāpaḥ / vāstoṣpataye tvā juṣṭaṃ prokṣāmi iti prokṣaṇam / vastoṣpatiṃ gacchatu haviḥ svāhā iti barhirhome / vāstoṣpatidevatākaṃ kṣīraudanaṃ cājyabhāgāntaṃ kṛtvā **vāstoṣpate prati jānīhi** iti dvābhyāṃ caruṃ juhoti / tataḥ pārvaṇādy uttaratantram / kecid asmin tantre'bhyātānāntaṃ hutvā / **yajuṃṣi yajñe** (ŚS 5.26) iti dvādaśarcena sūktena navaśālāyāṃ sarpimadhumiśraṃ[7] juhvati sakṛdekām āhutim / **doṣo gāya** (ŚS 6.1) *iti dvitīyām* (KauśS 23.2) ahutiṃ juhoti / *yuktābhyāṃ tṛtīyām* (KauśS 23.3) āhutiṃ juhoti / *anumatīṃ caturthīm* / (KauśS 23.2) kalaśodakapānīyam ācāryo gṛhītvā śalām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya yajamānapatnīsahiteṣu gṛheṣu madhya āsāda upaviśya kalaśodakaṃ bhūmau ninayati tūṣṇīm /[8] ācāryādyā ādau vāṅmaunaṃ kurvanti / **ihaiva sta** (ŚS 7.60.7) ity ṛcā vāgvisargaḥ /[9] abhyātānādy uttaratantram //

"Next, on the model of the pākayajña, [he does] the pouring [with the formula] "I pour what is acceptable to the Lord of the house!"; the sprinkling [with the formula] "I sprinkle you, so as to be acceptable to the Lord of the house!"; the offering of *barhi* grass [with the formula] "May the oblation go to the Lord of the house, svāhā!". Having done the offering of the milk porridge for the Lord of the house and having completed the ājyabhāga (ghee offering for Soma and Agni[10]), he offers rice with the two stanzas "Acknowledge, O Lord of the house!". Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa (offerings to the "junctions"[11]). Some[12] offer in this rite the offering ending with the abhyātāna.[13] With the hymn of twelve verses "The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . ." (ŚS 5.26) they offer at once in the new house ghee mixed with honey as the first āhuti (offering). He offers the second āhuti with the hymn "Sing at evening. . ." (ŚS 6.1). He offers the third āhuti jointly with the two [mentioned hymns], and the fourth to Anumati. The priest holds the pitcher with water and sprinkles the house with the two little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife sitting inside the house, silently pour water from the pitcher on the earth. In the beginning the priest and the others restrain their speech. They release their speech with the stanza "Stay right here!. . ." (ŚS 7.60.7). He continues the second part of the rite beginning with the abhyātāna offerings."

7 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].1: **yajuṃṣi yajña** (ŚS 5.26) iti navaśālāyāṃ sarpimadhumiśram aśnāti /

8 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].5: śalām aṅgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya gṛhapatny āsāda upaviśayodapātraṃ ninayati /

9 Cf. KauśS 3.6[23].6: **ihaiva ste**ti (ŚS 7.60.7) vācaṃ visṛjate /

10 Cf. ŚatBr 11, 7, 4, 2. See Rotaru 2021: 292, fn. 246.

11 See Rotaru 2021: 168 for this rite in the Ātharvaṇic tradition.

12 This divergent opinion is applicable only in the case of the rite prescribed by KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, whereas in case of the ceremony prescribed by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6, this injunction refers to the main rite.

13 Lit. "stretching", a peculiar rite performed between the first part and the second part of the ājyahoma. This rite is described by KauśS 137. See Rotaru 2021: 300, fn. 272.

1.3 AthPaddh copies from Keśava's commentaries ad KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 and ad 5.7[43].3–15:

atha laghuśālākarma[14] ucyate / nūtanagṛhe agniśālāyāṃ grāme vā pure vā / anyatrābhinaveṣu[15] kṛtvā karmaṇi / pāṣāṇāmaye vā iṣṭakāmaye vā kāṣṭamaye vā mṛttikāmaye vā tṛṇamaye vā sarvatra vāsitagṛhapuṣṭṭikāmo[']nuvarttate / idaṃ karma ājyataṃtram ājyabhāgāṃtaṃ kṛtvā atra sthāne pradhānakarma // **yajumṣi yajña** iti sūktena (ŚS 5.26) ghṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhoti sakṛdekām āhutiṃ / **doṣo gāye**ti tṛcena sūktena (ŚS 6.1) ghṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti dvitīyām āhutīṃ / **yajuṃṣi yajña** iti sūktena (ŚS 5.26) ca **doṣo gāye**ti tṛcena sūktena (ŚS 6.1) dvābhyāṃ yuktābhyāṃ sūktābhyāṃ[16] ghṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti tṛtīyām āhutīṃ / **anumatiḥ sarvam** ity ekayā (ŚS 7.20.6) ghṛtena madhumiśrāṃ juhotīti caturthīm āhutīṃ / *kalaśodakapānīyāṃ*[17] *ācāryo gṛhītvā śālām aṃgulibhyāṃ saṃprokṣya yajamānaḥ sapatnīkaḥ*[18] *gṛheṣu madhye āsādya upaviśati kalaśodakaghataṃ*[19] *bhūmau ninayati / tūṣnīṃ*[20] *ācāryādyā*[21] *ādau vākmaunaṃ kurvaṃti* / (Keśava ad 43.10) **ihaiva ste**ty ekayā (ŚS 7.60.7) vāk visarjayati / *abhyātānādy uttarataṃtraṃ* / iti laghuśālākarmasamāptaṃ //

"Next the rite of building a small house is described. In the case of building a new house or a fire-place, in the village or in the city, in the case of a house built of rock, of bricks, of wood, of clay or of grass, everywhere one desirous of prosperity in the new residence should employ [this rite]. After having completed the offering of ghee ending with ājyabhāga[22] now he should perform the main ritual. With the hymn "The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . ." (ŚS 5.26) he sacrifices in the fire one oblation of ghee mixed with honey. He sacrifices the second oblation of ghee mixed with honey, with the hymn of three verses "Sing at evening. . ." (ŚS 6.1). He sacrifices the third oblation of ghee mixed with honey, together with the two hymns, namely with the hymn "The sacrificial formula at the sacrifice. . ." (ŚS 5.26) and with the hymn of three verses "Sing at evening. . ." (ŚS 6.1). He sacrifices the fourth oblation of ghee mixed with honey, with one verse of "Anumati has become all this. . ." (ŚS 7.20.6). "The priest holds the pitcher with water and sprinkles the house with the two little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife, sitting inside the house, place silently on the earth the pitcher with water. The priest and the others in the beginning restrain their speech." (Keśava ad 5.7[43].10) They release their speech with the stanza "Stay right here!. . ." (ŚS 7.60.7). "He continues the second part of the rite beginning with the abhyātāna offerings." (Keśava ad 5.7[43].10). Thus, the rite of building a small house is completed."

14 Em., both the mss. have the same reading: laghuśākhākarma.

15 Em., v. B of Keśava 3.6[23].1. anyatrābhimanyeṣu Berlin, BORI.

16 Cf. **yajuṃṣi yajñe doṣo gāye**ti sūktābhyāṃ Keśava Ms. Bhā2; sūktābhyāṃ omitted by Mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā1 and Ba.

17 kalaśodakapānīyā Berlin.

18 Cf. yajamānapatnīsahiteṣu Keśava.

19 kalaśodakaghata Berlin, cf. kalaśodakaṃ Keśava.

20 Cf. bhūmau ninayati tūṣnīm / Keśava.

21 Em., thus Keśava. Cf. ācāryāya AthPaddh.

22 The tantra (prototype ritual) has been described by Keśava ad KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, as it was previously shown.

1.4 As reconstructed from the ritualistic exegesis, the ceremony described by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 consists in an offering to Vāstoṣpati on the model of the pākayajña[23] followed by the main rite. The latter is simple and consists of four offerings of ghee mixed with honey accompanied by the recitation of two hymns belonging to pauṣṭikagaṇa,[24] employed individually and jointly, and one verse addressing Anumati. The injunction "ānumatīṃ caturthīm" (KauśS 3.6[23].4) occurs in three other contexts: for obtaining Vedic knowledge through magic (5.6[42].11); in the cow immolation (5.9[45].10); in the funeral rites (11.3[82].38). In all these occurrences it concludes the fourth oblation, the first two being done with recitation of hymns appropriate to the ceremonies in question, and the third, with the two respective hymns. Anumati is invoked in all these contexts in her quality of being gracious, bounteous and specifically, for completing the sacrifice (see ŚS 7.20.4b: no yajñaṃ pipṛhi – "complete our sacrifice!"; 7.20.5a: emaṃ yajñam anumatir jagāma – "Anumati came to this sacrifice"; 7.20.5d: semaṃ yajñam avatu devagopā – "Protected by divine folk, may she preserve this rite"; etc). The actual vāstuśānti (expiation ceremony for a new house) is silently performed by the priest who enters the house holding a pitcher with water which he sprinkles around with his little fingers. The sacrificer and his wife receive, also silently, the pūrṇaghata (auspicious "filled pot"), and place it on the floor. At the end of this meditation, the appropriate mantra "Stay right here!. . ." (ŚS 7.60.7) is recited. There is no mention of the Brahmins being fed, from where we may assume that the ceremony is not an occasion for a function, as in the construction rite described at KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, as it will be further seen.

The ritual described by KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 does not have the ritual syntax of a proper construction rite as it is described at KauśS 5.7[43].3–15. It is not a ritual of construction, but a ceremony performed by one who wishes to obtain prosperity after moving in his new residence.

1.5 Nested Textual Division of the Third adhyāya of the KauśS

The third adhyāya to which the sūtras 3.6[23].1–6 belong, is grouping the pauṣṭika rites for prosperity. Bahulkar (2004: 30) considers that the rites are randomly grouped in this chapter, denoting a looseness of composition in the KauśS text. *Prima facie*, this holds true, as rites having the same purport occur in random

23 The pākayajña is the domestic ritual for the new moon and full moon. The following elements are specifically mentioned (see § 1.2): pouring of ghee, sprinkling with propitiatory water, consecration of barhis, offering of milk porridge, ājyabhāga offerings, offering of cooked rice; and abhyātāna offerings after the description of pradhānahoma.

24 For puṣṭikā mantrāḥ see Bloomfield ad KauśS 3.2[19].1, fn. 12.

places in the chapter: see items 1 and 22, 4 and 17, 12 and 21, respectively, etc in the table below.

Table 1: Composition of the third adhyāya of the KauśS.

	Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
1	1[18].1–18	Rites for averting Nirṛti (bad luck)	pūrva (ŚS 1.1)	mantrādhikāra
2	1[18].19–26	citrākarma ceremony for welfare (pauṣṭika)	pūrva (ŚS 1.1)	mantrādhikāra
3	1[18].27–31	Prosperity upon starting on a journey	< ŚS 4.1>[25]	Explicit injunction: dvitīyena 'with the second' <hymn of the salilagāṇa> which is mentioned at 1[18].25. Second from this hymn group.
4	1[18].32–38	Seafaring welfare rituals (samudrakarma)	< ŚS 1.4.1>[26]	mantrādhikāra
5	2[19].1–21	Prosperity in cattle	ŚS 1.4.1[27]	mantrādhikāra
6	2[19].22–27	Amulets for obtaining prosperity	ŚS 3.5.1	mantrādhikāra
7	2[19].28–31	"the eighth-day offerings" (aṣṭakā), seasonal rite	ŚS 3.10	mantrādhikāra
8	3[20][28].1–24	agricultural rites	ŚS 3.17.1	mantrādhikāra
	3[20].25–26	for obtaining a bull	< ŚS 3.17.8[29]>	mantrādhikāra
9	4[21][30]1–7	for plenty	ŚS 3.24	mantrādhikāra
10	4[21].8–11	prosperity proper (puṣṭi)	ŚS 4.21	mantrādhikāra
11	4[21].12–14	for getting clothes	ŚS 5.1.3	mantrādhikāra
12	4[21].15–20	for dividing the inherited propriety	ŚS 5.1.8	mantrādhikāra

25 For the identification of the hymn see Rotaru 2016: 323.

26 For the identification of the hymns employed, see Bloomfield 1889: 51, fn. 11.

27 Here starts the enumeration of a series of pratīkas designated as puṣṭikā mantrāḥ by AthPaddh ad KauśS 3.7[24].22. These mantras are used throughout the 3rd adhyāya. (see Bloomfield's note ad KauśS 3.2[19].1, p.51, fn 12).

28 Bloomfield does not divide this kaṇḍikā. He considers 3.3[20] a description of the "ploughing festival".

29 V. KauśS 8.7.

30 Cf. Bloomfield 3.4[21].1–11 "cattle charms".

Table 1 (continued)

	Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
13	4[21].21–25	The rites employing the "flavours" (rasas)[31]	ŚS 5.2.3	The mantrādhikāra method is followed, but Kauśika had to first introduce the paribhāṣā regarding the rasakarmāṇi.
14	5[22][32].1–5	puṣṭikarma (ritual for obtaining prosperity)	ŚS 5.1–2	mantrādhikāra
15	5[22].6, 7–9	for obtaining land and villages	<ŚS 5.1–2[33]>	mantrādhikāra
16	5[22].10–13	for wealth	<ŚS 5.1–2[34]>	mantrādhikāra
17	5[22].14–16	for commercial gain from navigation	ŚS 5.3	mantrādhikāra
18	**6[23][35].1–6**	**prosperity in a new residence**	**ŚS 5.26**	mantrādhikāra
19	6[23].7	rite for prosperity in general	ŚS 5.27	mantrādhikāra
20	6[23].8	rite for prosperity in general	ŚS 5.27	mantrādhikāra
21	6[23].9–11	for dividing a propriety	ŚS 6.4	mantrādhikāra
22	6[23].12–16	Citrākarma ceremony for welfare (pauṣṭika)	ŚS 6.141	mantrādhikāra
23	6[23].17	Charm for ploughing	ŚS 6.33	The hymns 6.141 and 6.33 are consecutive hymns of the group puṣṭikā mantrāḥ
24	7[24].1–2	Rites for sowing	ŚS 6.142	mantrādhikāra
25	7[24].3–6	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.14	mantrādhikāra

31 Rasakarmāṇi composes a peculiar class of rites performed with the "flavours" (*rasas*). In a paper "Simple ritual and complex textual exegesis in the Kauśika Sūtra: the case of rasaprāśanī (21.21 ff.)." presented at Deutscher Orientalistentag, Westfälische Whilhelms Universität, Munster, September 2013, I have explained the logic of construing in this order the sūtras which are paribhāṣās explaining this class of rites.

32 Cf. Bloomfield 3.5[22] "for success, prosperity."

33 V. KauśS 1.8.7.

34 V. KauśS 1.8.7.

35 Cf. Bloomfield 3.6[23].1–11 "rites on building a house".

Table 1 (continued)

	Textual reference	Purport of the rite	First mantra employed in the rite	Device/operator precedence
	7[24].7	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.15	mantrādhikāra
	7[24].8	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.33	mantrādhikāra
	7[24].9–10	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 7.39	mantrādhikāra
26	7 [24].11–18	Rites upon entering a journey and returning from it	ŚS 7.60	mantrādhikāra
27	7 [24].19–23	Ceremony of letting loose a bull	ŚS 7.111	mantrādhikāra
28	7 [24].24–36	Āgrahāyaṇī (domestic full moon sacrifice)	ŚS 12.1	mantrādhikāra
29	7 [24].37–46	Rite for prosperity	ŚS 12.1.38–40	mantrādhikāra

The terms mantrādhikāra and phalādhikāra are explained by Dārila (Intro. p. 1) as two methods used by Kauśika in arranging the subjects of the sūtra text. The former reflects the sequence of the ritual subjects according to the order of the Saṃhitā hymns, and the latter, the classification consistent with the "fruits"/portents of the rites (see Bahulkar 1994: 27–30). Bahulkar rightly highlights that out of the two methods, Kauśika gives preference to the mantrādhikāra. The sūtra text is coined as Saṃhitā vidhi "a commentary of the Saṃhitā" (Sāyaṇa, Introduction, in Vishva Bandhu et al 1990: I, 23, etc), and therefore, the order of the rites follows the order of the mantras. The same convention applies in the arrangement inside each adhyāyas, as clearly indicated in the table.

The order of the textual divisions is thus mentioned in the KauśS text: kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of each adhyāya (k), kaṇḍikās numbered from the beginning of the first adhyāya (K), sūtra (s) adhyāya (a).[36]

KauśS{a{k[K(s)]}}

The third adhyāya classifies the rites for prosperity (phalādhikāra); the k is further dividing and grouping the rites according to the similarity of subjects (phalādhikāra); the K isolates the grouping by the mantra-usage. Each textual division isolates a segment of text/data and indicates the order of operations similar to operator precedence, the so called phalādhikāra and the mantrādhikāra.

KauśS{a{k[K(s)]}}=mantrādhikāra{phalādhikāra{phalādhikāra[mantrādhikāra(phalādhikāra)]}}

36 E.g. 46.7.24. tṛtiyo'adhyāya samāptaḥ.

The nested textual divisions override the precedence conventions reflecting which procedures to perform first in order to evaluate the sūtra-expression and to assess the purport of the rite prescribed.

3{6 [18 (1-18) (19-26) (27-31) (32-38)] [19 (1-21) (22-27) (28-31)] [20 (1-24) (25-26)] [21 (1-7) (8-11) (12-14) (15-20) (21-25)] [22 (1-5) (6) (7-9) (10-13) (14-16)] **[23 (1-6)** (7) (8) (9-11) (12-16) (17)] [24 (1-2) (3-6) (7) (8) (9-10) (11-18) (19-23) (24-36) (37-46)]}

2 Construction Rite in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Texts

From the conclusion § 1.4. of the previous chapter, it follows that the proper rite for construction of a building is prescribed only by the KauśS 5.7[43].3–15.

2.1 KauśS 5.7[43].3–15

ati dhanvanīty (ŚS 7.41) avasānaniveśanānucaraṇātinayanejyā /3/[37] vāstoṣpatīyaiḥ[38] kulijakṛṣṭe[39] dakṣiṇato'gneḥ saṃbhāram āharati/4/ vāstoṣpatyādīni mahāśāntim āvapate /5/ madhyame garte darbheṣu vrīhiyavam āvapati /6/ śāntyudakaśaṣpaśarkaram anyeṣu /7/ **ihaiva dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12)[40] ity mīyamānām ucchrīyamāṇām anumantrayate /8/ abhyajy**artene**ti (ŚS 3.12.6) mantroktam /9/ **pūrṇaṃ nārī**ty (ŚS 3.12.8–9)[41] udakumbham agnim ādāya prapadyante /10/ **dhruvābhyāṃ** (ŚS 6.87 and 88)[42] dṛṃhayati /11/ **śaṃbhumayobhubhyāṃ** viṣyandayati /12/

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37 For the emendation and translation of this sūtra see Rotaru and Sumant 2012, endorsing Bloomfield 1892: 1–24.

38 vāstoṣpatīyāni are prescribed by the paribhāṣā KauśS 1.8.23. see further note 100.

39 Dārila: agner dakṣiṇataḥ kulīyena (em. by the editors kulijena) karṣati / tatra saṁbhārān nidadhāti / – "He ploughs by means of a plough (?) at the south of the fire. There he places the utensils." We cannot offer for the moment a better understanding of this hapax other than the explanation of Caland (1900: 147 fn. 4).

40 The hymn belongs to vāstoṣpatīyagaṇa (see KauśS 1.8.23). See further note 99.

41 The consecutive mantra having the same purport should also be inferred here, on account of the paribhāṣā KauśS 1.8.7, anantarāṇi samānāni yuktāni / – "The consecutive hymns having common use are to be employed in the ritual collectively, though the sūtra mentions the pratīka of the first hymn in the series." (For this paribhāṣā see Bahulkar 1977: 35, n.126). This paribhāṣā application, which changes the understanding of the whole sūtra, is not noticed by Bloomfield 1889 or Caland 1900.

42 Dārila glosses for dhruvābhyām ṛgbhyām. Keśava and probably from him Bloomfield 1889; 1897; and Caland 1900 understand the "two dhruvas" as the first two stanzas of the hymn recently mentioned, ŚS 3.12. The "two dhruvas mantras" seems to be a technical term in the KauśS. See KauśS 136.7: anyaṃ kṛtvā dhruvābhyāṃ dṛṃhayitvā, wherein the "two dhruvas" are identified

vāstoṣ pate prati jānīhy asmān svāveśo anamīvo na edhi /
yat tvemahe prati nas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipada ā veśayeha // (PS 7.6.10)
anamīvo vāstoṣ pate viśvā rūpāṇy āviśan /
sakhā suśeva edhi nah iti// (PS 20.23.2) vāstoṣpataye kṣīraudanasya juhoti /13/ sarvānnāni brāhmaṇān bhojayati /14/ maṅgalyāni /15/

[With the hymn] "Beyond dry sandbanks. . ." (ŚS 7.41)[43] [are performed the acts, namely,] the sprinkling of the propitiatory water at the spot for placing [the pitcher], the pouring of water inside the house, and the sacrifice [for the falcon]. With the hymns related to Vāstoṣpati he ploughs [the soil of the enclosure] [and next] he brings the ritual utensils to the south of the fire. He performs the mahāśānti with [the groups of hymns] beginning with vāstoṣpatīya [gaṇa]. He throws rice and barley on the grass in the middle ditch.[44] [He throws] sprouts of grass and pebbles sprinkled with propitiatory water in the other [ditches]. With the hymn "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) he concentrates [upon the house] which is being measured out [and next on the main pillar] which is set up.[45] Having anointed [the main pillar], he does as prescribed in the stanza "With due order. . ." (ŚS 3.12.6) (i.e. he sets the transom over the main pillar). With the [mantra] "The full <pitcher>, O woman. . ." (ŚS 3.12.8) [the wife] brings in a pitcher with water, [and the sacrificer] brings in the fire, [and afterwards all] come inside [the house].[46] With the "two dhruvas" (ŚS 6.87 and 88) he should make [the house] firm. With the

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by Sāyaṇa (intro. to ŚS 6.87) with the two consecutive hymns ŚS 6.87 and 88 (see also Whitney, introduction to ŚS 3.12). The two hymns are used together in a ceremony for one who wishes firmness (KauśS 7,10[59]13). Dārila's and Keśava's editors alike are not aware of this late exegesis, and similarly Bodewitz 1978: 60, although he sensed the inappropriateness of the employment of ŚS 3.12.1–2 while "ramming down the central post", considering it a secondary application.

43 The hymn belongs to vāstugaṇa (v. Bloomfield 1889 note ad 1.8.23) and the two verses are called samprokṣanyau and used in sprinkling.

44 Dārila: pradhānasthūṇāgarte . . . "in the ditch where the main pillar has to be erected".

45 See Keśava: **ihaiva dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) iti sūktena mīyamānāṁ śālām anumantrayate / yadā sthūṇocchrīyate tadā **ihaiva dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) iti sūktena anumantrayate / – "He concentrates with the hymn "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) upon the enclosure which is being measured up and when the pillar is being erected he concentrates [upon it] with the hymn "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12)." Cf. Dārila: **ihaiva dhruvām** (ŚS 3.12) madhyamasthūṇām ucchrīyamāṇām anumantrayate / – "He concentrates with "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) upon the central pillar which is being erected." Cf. Bloomfield 1897: 346: "The hymn AV III, 12 is recited while the (central post) is being fixed and erected."; and Caland 1900: 148: "das Lied III.12 spricht er aus, wenn der Hauptpfeiler abgemessen und aufgerichtet wird." Bloomfield wrongly understands that Keśava, like Ath-Paddh (see further at § 2.3) read "more generally, śālām". In fact, Keśava envisages two actions and rightly thinks mīyamānā refers to śālā and ucchrīyamāṇā to sthūṇā. Renou 1939: 488 refers precisely to this passage for the distinction between mi- and ucchri-.

46 See also Dārila: **pūrṇaṃ nārī**ty (ŚS 3.12.8) ekayā udakapūrṇaṁ ghataṁ gṛhṇāti / uttarayā agnim / tābhyām agrasthitābhyāṁ sarvāṇi manuṣāṇi gṛhaṁ praviśanti / ekaikā aṅgakarmatvāt / ata evā vidhikarmatvam / -- "With one [stanza of the hymn] "The full [pitcher], O woman!. . ." (ŚS 3.12.8) he brings the pitcher full with water, with the second [verse] [he brings] the fire. All the people enter the house following these two ahead. One after the other, as per subsidiary actions. Thus is the nature of vidhikarma (rites in which the entire hymns from the Saṃhitā are quoted; see

two hymns "śaṃbhumayobhu" (ŚS 1.5–6) he pours the water. He offers an oblation of milk porridge to the Lord of the house (Vāstoṣpati) [with the verses]:

> O lord of the building, admit us; to us be of good entrance and free of afflictions. Take pleasure in this, on our behalf, what we ask of you: let the biped and the quadruped [moving creatures] enter here. (PS 7.6.10, trsl. Griffiths 2009)

> Free of afflictions, O lord of the building, all the forms have entered here; a friend, a good treasure to us be! (PS 20.23.2)

He feeds the Brahmins all kinds of food. [He makes them recite] the blessings.

2.2 Keśava has a (brief) word by word exegesis on each sūtra which partially has been given in the footnotes at § 2.1 and § 2.3. At the end of the rite he has an ample commentary with ritualistic injunctions, ad KauśS 5.7[43].3–15 (see supra at § 1.2). Keśava records a divergent opinion of certain ritualists (see supra, note 12) who employ the tantra (prototype ritual) described at KauśS 3.6[23].1–6 in the beginning of the actual construction rite.

To sum up, Keśava assigns each sūtra to a peculiar ceremony of the construction rite: bhūmiśuddhi, "purification of the site" (sūtras 3–4), in which the sacrifice for the falcon is done on the model of the pākayajña on the very spot of the construction ground for removing the obstacles (there are other schools of ritualists who sacrifice for the falcon in the new house itself, in the other rituals); vāstusaṁskāra, "consecration of the house" (sūtras 4–12), which consists in ploughing the ground (sūtra 4) for removing the vegetal layer and sprinkling it with the propitiatory water (mahāśānti, sūtra 5), and various acts of construction ceremoniously performed (digging the ditch for the middle pillar and consecrating the same [sūtra 6]; digging the other ditches and their consecration [sūtra 7]; measuring the enclosure and consecrating it [sūtra 8]; erecting the main pillar and consecrating it [sūtra 8]; setting the transom over the main pillar which is eventually besmeared with ghee [sūtra 9]; the construction proper, probably filling in the walls with grass, placing the roof, etc. [sūtra 11]). Gṛhapraveśaḥ, i.e. the ceremony of ritually entering the house for the first time, proper starts with the installation of the pūrṇaghātā and the fire (which presupposes the existence of a fire place; see sūtra 10), and the entering inside of the invitees (sūtra10), continues with the sprinkling around of propitiatory water (sūtra 12) and with an offering to the Lord of the house (sūtra 13), and gaily ends

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Bahulkar 1994: 33)." Keśava understands the sutra in the same lines. Bloomfield 1897: 343 on the hymn in question envisages one subject for the three actions: "Having taken a pitcher of water, and the fire, they enter the house while reciting the eighth stanza."; Caland (1901: 148), two: "indem er die Strophe III.12.8 ausspricht, treten sie (n.l. die Frau des Hausherrn) mit einer mit Wasser gefüllten Schale, und (er selbst) mit dem (in eine Schüssel gelegten) Feuer, hinein."

with feeding of the Brahmins summoned at the ceremony who in return make “the declaration of the day auspicious”, and with the old women singing and blessing.

2.3 AthPaddh mainly copies Keśava’s glosses, but also adds some useful information. As it may be seen in the footnotes, the text is corrupted, and a setback as compared to Keśava’s scholarship and the general understanding of the rite.

> athabṛha[c]chālākarma ucyate / **ati dhanvānī**ti (ŚS 7.41.1–2) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyāṃ*[47] *udapātram abhimaṃtrya bhumau*[48] *ninayati* / *yatra gṛhaṃ kariṣyati tatra vighnaṃ śamayati*[49] / *senedevatā*[50]*pākayajñavidhānenājyabhāgaṃtaṃ kṛtvā*[51] / **ati dhanvānī**ti (ŚS 7.41) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyāṃ caruṃ juhoti / pārvaṇādyuttarataṃtraṃ* //cha// *bhūmisthāne yatra gṛhaṃ kariṣyati* / *tatra śyenayāgaṃ kariṣyati*[52] / *kuryāt* //[53] *athavā nave gṛhe śyenayāgaḥ karttavyaḥ* / (Keśava on 43.3) iti dārilabhāṣyakāraḥ //[54] *atha gṛhapraveśe vāstusaṃskāra ucyate* //[55] (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].4–5) **ihaiva dhruvām** ityādi (ŚS 3.12) catvārigaṇair bhūmi[ṃ] yatra gṛhaṃ kariṣyati tatrāgner dakṣinataḥ saṃbhāram āharati /[56] tato yathoktavignanaṃ[57] śāmtyudakaṃ karoti prathamaṃ **śaṃ no devī** (ŚS 1.6) punaḥ sāvitrī (ṚV 3.62.10) // **aṃbayo yaṃtī**tyādilaghuguṇaiḥ[58] (ŚS 1.4 ff.) śāṃtyudakaṃ karoti / tāvatparyaṃtaṃ yāvat **yan mātalī** (ŚS 11.6.23) varjaṃ / atra sthāne i**haivām**[59] ity (ŚS 3.12) evam ādīnicatvāriguṇai[ḥ][60] kauśikok-

47 AthPaddh gloss.

48 Cf. tatra ninayati bhūmau Keśava.

49 Cf. vighnaśamanaṃ bhavati Keśava.

50 Sic! śyenadevatā. Thus Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā1, cf. śyenadevatāyai Keśava mss. Ba Bha2.

51 Thus Keśava mss. Ba Bhā2, cf. bhavati Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā1.

52 Cf. kṛtvā gṛhaṃ kuryāt Keśava.

53 AthPaddh Berlin uses distinctly the single and the double daṇḍa whereas AthPaddh BORI uses the single daṇḍa throughout.

54 See Keśava: vikalpa iti bhāṣyakāraḥ /. Thus, AthPaddh says that Dārila is the author of this metarule. However, Dārila does not refer to a metarule regarding a *vikalpa* option: athavā nave gṛhe. . . might be a quotation from a lost commentary. Keśava glosses: prathamato vā śyenayāgo nave gṛhe / – “Or he should perform the rite for the falcon in the new house, with priority.”

55 Cf. atha gṛhapraveśa ucyate / vāstusaṃskāra ucyate Keśava.

56 Keśava has the following phrasing: **ihaiva dhruvām** ityādi (ŚS 3.12) gaṇena (Cf. iti sūktena mss. Ga, Vā, Sā, Bhā 1) bhūmiṃ halena karṣati / tato dakṣiṇataḥ saṃbhāram āharaty agneḥ / tataḥ śāntyudakaṃ karoti / mātalīvarjaṃ kṛtvā vāstoṣpatyadīni caturgaṇī mahāśāntiḥ / śāntyudaka āvapate / tato mātalīṃ kṛtvā tataḥ śāntyudakaṃ samāpyate / tena bhūmiṃ prokṣayet / tataḥ // – “With the group of hymns beginning with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12) he ploughs the soil with a plough. Then he brings the utensils at the south of the fire. Next, he prepares the pacificatory water. He performs the mahāśānti with the four groups of hymns beginning with the vāstoṣpatī group. He sprinkles the pacificatory water. Then he recites the verse “mātalī” (ŚS 11.6.23), and next he concludes the rite of the preparation of the pacificatory water. He sprinkles the ground with this. Thus.” For the significance and the employment of the “mātalī” verse in KauśS see Rotaru 2009: 184, fn. 98.

57 Sic! vighnaśamanaṃ.

58 Sic! gaṇaiḥ.

59 Sic! ihaiva.

60 Sic! -gaṇaiḥ.

taiḥ anuyojanaṃ karttavyaṃ / tato yanmātalīpaṭhitvāt / tataḥ sāvitrī (ṚV 3.62.10) punaḥ **śaṃ no devī** (ŚS 1.6) śāmtyudakena tena śālāṃ saṃprokṣati / madhyame gartte nikhanati // sadarbheṣu vrīhiyava āvapati nikhiyati / *śāṃtyudaka*[61]*śaṣyaśarkkaramanyeṣu sthāṇāgarteṣu prakṣipati*[62] / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].7) **ihaiva dhruvām** *iti* (ŚS 3.12) *sūktena mīyamānaṃ śālāṃ anumaṃtrayate* / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].8) *sthūṇāvaṃśaṃ ghṛtenābhyajya tūṣnīṃ* // *tataḥ* **ṛtena sthūṇām** *ity ekayā*[63] (3.12.6) *sthūṇāvaṃśāṃ ropayati*[64] // (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].9) tataḥ *puṇyāhavācanaṃ kṛtvā* **pūrṇaṃ *nārī*ty ekayā**[65] (ŚS 3.12.8) *udakuṃbhasahitāṃ patnīṃ anumaṃtrayate* / *gṛhe praviśati* //[66] *yajamānapuruṣo[ʻ]gniṃ gṛhītvā*[67] *anye praviśaṃti*[68] (Dārila ad 5.7.[43].10) / **ihaiva dhrūvām** *iti* (ŚS 3.12.1–2) *dvābhyām ṛgbhyāṃ*[69] *vṛṣṭiṃ*[70] *kārayati śālābhūmim*[71] / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].11) śaṃbhumayobhubhyāṃ sūktābhyāṃ (ŚS 1.5–6) udakuṃbhaṃ[72] gṛha[m][73] ā[c]chādayati[74] / tataḥ *vāstoṣpataye kṣiraudanasya juhotī*ti kauśikasūtraḥ (KauśS 5.7.[43].13) / tatra vāstoṣpatir devatā juṣṭaṃ[75] nirvapāmīti nirvāpaḥ // *vāstoṣpataye tvā juṣṭaṃ prokṣāmi prokṣaṇam*[76] // (Keśava ad 5.7[43].13) vāstoṣpatibhyāṃ gachaṃtu[77] / barhirhomaḥ / ājyabhāgāṃtaṃ kṛtvā / vāstoṣpataye devataye[78] vāstoṣpatīyagaṇe[79] ca **anamīvā vāstoṣpate** (KauśS 5.7[43].13) śāṃkhāyikīye ṛce[80]
vāstoṣ pate prati jānīhy asmāṃ śvāveśo anamīvo na edhi[81] /
yat te mahe[82] **prati nas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipada ā veśayeha** //[83]

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61 śāntyudakaṃ Keśava.
62 Cf. pārśvasthiteṣu prakṣipati // Keśava.
63 ity ṛcā Keśava.
64 Thus Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā, cf. sthūṇāvaṃśān Keśava Bhā2, vaṃśān Keśava Ba Bhā 1.
65 Cf. ity ṛcā Keśava.
66 Cf. gṛhe praviśaṃti Keśava mss. Ga Vā Sā Bhā 1, bāhyato gṛhaṃ praveśayanti Keśava Ba Bhā2.
67 Cf. gṛhitvā / Keśava.
68 AthaPaddh BORI praviśam with ti inserted with kākapada.
69 See note 45.
70 Cf. dṛdhāṃ Keśava.
71 Em., thus Keśava. Cf. kārayati / śālābhūmi AthPaddh.
72 Thus AthPaddh BORI. udakumbha AthPaddh Berlin.
73 Cf. gṛhabhūmim Keśava.
74 Cf. āplāvayati Keśava.
75 nuṣṭaṃ AthPaddh BORI.
76 Em., prokṣāmi / prokṣaṇā AthPaddh, cf. prokṣāmi iti prokṣaṇam Keśava.
77 Cf. vāstoṣpatiṃ gacchatu haviḥ shāvā iti barhirhome / Keśava.
78 Sic! devatāyai.
79 vāstoṣpatīyāni (KauśS 1.8.23) are: ŚS 3.12, 6.73, 6.93, 12.1. Neither Dārila, nor Keśava refers to the employment of the group of hymns related to Vāstoṣpati. It might be a confusion with vāstoṣpatīyarce.
80 ṛcer AthPaddh BORI.
81 Thus AthPaddh BORI. eti AthPaddh Berlin.
82 See all mss. readings of KauśS, cf. Bloomfield's conjecture: yat tve mahe. See also PS 7.6.10 adopted reading, cf. yatvemahe PS ms. Or, yantvemahe PS ms. K.
83 V. PS 7.6.10.

anamīvā[84] **vāstoṣpate viśvā rūpāṇy āviśan** //
sakhā suśeva edhi naḥ /[85] (KauśS 5.7.[43].13)
*vāstoṣpate prati jānīhī*ti (KauśS 5.7.[43].13) dvābhyāṃ kalpajāṃ śrapya kṣiraudanaṃ caruṃ juhoti / *tataḥ pārvaṇādyuttarataṃtraṃ* / (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13) *sarvānnāni brāhmaṇān bhojayati* // (KauśS 5.7.[43].14) striyā maṃgalyāni vācayati /[86] *brāhmaṇāya*[87] *puṇyāhāni paṭhati*[88] // *śrāddhaṃ kurvati // kecit pūrvaṃ* / *paścāt kecit* /[89] *sarvatra bhūmiśuddhividhānaṃ* // *gṛhakaraṇavidhānaṃ*[90] / *yatra yatra gṛhaṃ maṃḍapaṃ vā kuṭī vā citraśālikaṃ vā maṭsthānaṃ*[91] *vā*[92] *gṛhādikaṃ karoti* / *tatra sarvatra*[93] *vidhānena vāstuyāgaḥ karttavya* iti (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) paṃḍitakeśavapaddhatikāraḥ / anena vidhinā śālāṃ kṛtvā sarve gṛhe nirupadravaṃ śuddhipuṣpavaṃtā[94] godhanadhānyapuṣpabhogyā[95] ca śālā vasaṃti /[96] *evaṃ vāstuśaṃdhanaṃ*[97] *bhavaṃtu*[98] / iti gṛhapraveśaḥ samāptaḥ // //cha// //

Now the rite of building a big house is described. “Having consecrated the water pitcher with two stanzas of the hymn “Beyond dry sandbanks. . .” (ŚS 7.41), [the priest] pours [the water] on the earth. On that spot where one builds a house, he should pacify the obstacle. Having performed the ājyabhāga up to the end, on the pattern of the pākayajña, with two stanzas of the hymn “Beyond dry sandbanks. . .” (ŚS 7.41), he should offer a rice oblation to the deity Śyena. Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa offerings. On the place where one will build a house, he shall perform a *śyenayāga*. He does that.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].3) Or he should perform the *śyenayāga* in the new house, thus says the commentator Dārila.

“Now the consecration rite upon entering the house is being described.” (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].4–5) With the four groups of hymns beginning with “Right here firm. . .” (ŚS 3.12)[99] [he ploughs.] the soil on that very spot where one wishes to build the house [and next] he

84 V. KauśS 5,7[43].13 mss. K P, the rest: anamīvo. Cf. amīvahā vāstoṣpate ṚV 7.55.1, MS 1.5.13, Mś 1.6.3.1, ŚGṛ 3.4.8, ParGṛ 3.4.7, ApMB 2.15.21 (ApG 7.17.12), MG 2.11.19, PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2], ṚgVidh 2.26.5, 27.2.

85 V. PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2].

86 Cf. Keśava: vṛddhā striyo gītamaṅgalyādi kurvanti |

87 Sic! brāhmaṇāḥ, cf. Keśava.

88 Sic! paṭhanti, cf. Keśava.

89 Cf. śrāddhaṃ ca kecit paścat kurvanti kecit pūrvaṃ kurvanti / Keśava.

90 Cf. gṛhakaraṇavidhānaṃ ca Keśava.

91 So Keśava mss. Ba Bhā2, cf. avasthānaṃ Keśava mss. Ga, Vā Sā Bhā1.

92 AthPaddha omits the following: prākārāṭālakaṃ vā devagṛhaṃ vā'nyad vā tṛṇamayaṃ vā kāṣṭamayaṃ veṣṭikāmayaṃ vā pāṣāṇamayaṃ vā.

93 Cf. tatrānena Keśava.

94 Cf.putravanto Keśava.

95 Cf. godhanadhānyapuṣṭāḥ Keśava.

96 Cf. anena vidhinā śālā kṛtā śāntā / gṛhiṇo nirupadravāḥ sukhinaḥ putravanto godhanadhānyapuṣṭāḥ / bhogyā ca śālā bhavati / Keśava.

97 Cf. vāstusukhaṃ Keśava.

98 Sic! bhavatu, cf. bhavati Keśava.

99 The four gaṇas beginning with ŚS 3.12 are those enumerated by KauśS 1.8.23–25, 1.9.1–2, viz. vāstoṣpatīyāni, mātṛnāmāni, cātanāni, and the two śāntigaṇas. Cf. AVPariś 30b1.15: vāstoṣpatyādibhiś caturbhir ganaiḥ śāntyudakaṃ kṛtvā. In fact, KauśS prescribes the employment of the first gaṇa

brings the utensils to the south of the fire. Then he prepares the propitiatory water for removing the obstacle, as it was already prescribed,[100] first with "Favourable to us, the divine. . ." (ŚS 1.6), next with the sāvitrī mantra (ṚV 3.62.10). He prepares the propitiatory water with the short group of hymns beginning with "The mothers go. . ." (ŚS 1.4), as far as the verse "Which Mātalī. . ." (ŚS 11.6.23), which should be avoided[101] He should employ on that enclosure the four groups of hymns beginning with "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) mentioned by Kauśika. Then he should recite the verse "Which Mātalī. . ." (ŚS 11.6.23). Next, he sprinkles the house with propitiatory water [reciting] the sāvitrī mantra (ṚV 3.62.10), then "Favourable to us, the divine. . ." (ŚS 1.6). He digs in the middle ditch. He throws rice and barley in the ditch covered with grass and makes [the sacrificer] dig it. "He throws propitiatory water in the ditches of the enclosure. With the hymn "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) he speaks a mantra upon the house which is being measured out. He silently anoints the central bamboo pillar with ghee. Next, he should erect the central pillar with one stanza, "With due order. . ." (ŚS 3.12.6). Next, after having performed the puṇyāhavācana he should concentrate upon the wife sitting with the water pitcher with one stanza, "The full <jar>, O woman. . ." (ŚS 3.12.8).[102]

Now [the ceremony performed when] one enters the house. After the sacrificer fetches the fire the others enter too. With the two verses of the hymn "Right here firm. . ." (ŚS 3.12) (sic!) [the priest] makes [the sacrificer] fix [the house] firm." (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].7–11) With the two hymns "śaṃbhumayobhu" (ŚS 1.5–6)" he covers (sic! sprinkles) the ground of the house with water from the pitcher. Next, "he offers an oblation of milk porridge to the Lord of the house (Vāstoṣpati)", as Kauśikasūtra says. The pouring [is done] with "Vāstoṣpati is the tutelary deity, I offer what is enjoyed." He performs the sprinkling to Vāstoṣpati: "For you I sprinkle what is enjoyed." (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13) The sprinkling may go with the two [verses related to] Vāstoṣpati. [Next], the offering of the sacrificial grass [follows]. He performs until the end of the ājyabhāga. To Vāstoṣpati, the tutelary deity, the two groups of hymns related to Vāstoṣpati (sic!) and the two verses belonging to Śānkhāyana.

Having boiled milk porridge "with the two verses issued from ritual":

O lord of the building, admit us; to us be of good entrance and free of afflictions. Take pleasure in this, on our behalf, what we ask of you: let the biped and the quadruped [moving creatures] enter here. (PS 7.6.10, trsl. Griffiths 2009)

Free of afflictions, O lord of the building, all the forms have entered here; a friend, a good treasure to us be! (PS 20.23.2),

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(v. Keśava and supra note 40) for the ploughing and the four gaṇas for the mahāśānti (For the mahāśānti see Rotaru: 2009: 166–167, and fn.8, 170, fn. 13, 185, and fn.100, 187).

100 AthPaddh refers to the order of the rites as prescribed by the KauśS. The śāntyudakavidhi is described by the AthPaddha prior to the current rite. For the rite of the pacificatory water see Rotaru (2009: 162–204).

101 For the significance of the 'Mātalī verse' see Rotaru 2009: 184, fn.98. This verse in inauspicious and should be avoided in a ritual for propitiation.

102 The mantra is used in VaitS 16.1 for urging the adhvaryu to fetch the vasatī water in the ceremony of setting the fires in the Agniṣṭoma: vasatīvarīḥ parihṛiyamāṇāḥ **pūrṇam nāri prabhara** ity (3.12.8) anumantrayate /

he should offer a rice oblation." (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) "Next, he continues with the second part of the rite, beginning with the pārvaṇa offerings. He should feed the Brahmins all kinds of food." (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].13–14) He makes the women utter good wishes. "The Brahmins recite 'the declaration of the day as auspicious'." (Keśava ad 5.7.[43].14) Some perform the śrāddha before, some afterwards. Whenever one performs the rite of purification of the ground in the construction rite. Whenever [one wishes to build] a house, a sacrificial hall, a hut, an exhibition hall, a pavilion or a small house, he should perform the construction rite with [the other] prescription. Thus says the learned Keśava. Having built the house, with the other prescription [one should induce] happiness in the entire house and make the building endowed with pure flowers (sic!) and rich in cows, plenty, crops, flowers (sic!). This brings happiness to the house. Thus is accomplished the rite of entering the house."

3 Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati Employed in the Ritual Texts of Other Vedic Schools

ṚV 7.55.1= MS 1.5.13, MānavaŚS 1.6.3.1, ŚGS 3.4.8, ParGS 3.4.7, ApMB 2.15.21 (ApG 7.17.12), MG 2.11.19, cf. PS 20.23.2 [PSK 20.22.2], ṚgVidh 2.26.5, 27.2.

3.1 Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati in the Ātharvaṇic Ritual Tradition

As a rule, in the auxiliary Vedic literature, the mantras quoted from the Samhitā of the school of which the text belongs is referred by pratīka, a symbol composed of the incipit of the hymn or verse, while the mantras from other śākhās are quoted in full (sakalapāṭha). We have seen in the above sections that Kauśika quotes sakalapāṭhena two mantras invoking the Lord of the house, which are considered by traditional exegesis, starting with the commentator Dārila as kalpajā ṛcs "mantras issued from the ritual performance", and quoted with reliability by Keśava and the AthPaddh. Griffiths (2004: 63 and n.34) considers that these two mantras in KauśS hail from the Paippalāda tradition and that they are attributed by AthPaddh to the Śāṅkhāyana tradition because they actually occur in the śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of this school. However, as seen above, the respective fragment in AthPaddh is loosely composed, quotations from Keśava are significantly inaccurate,[103] Dārila is mis-

103 Besides the emendations and critical comments to the text noted in the footnotes, it should be added that there is hesitation as to the reading śyenadavatā, which is read instead senedavatā, a ritual restriction of odiosum nomen unknown to Keśava, but imposed by latter diaskeuasis on the KauśS (Rotaru and Sumant 2012).

quoted once, and the two verses hesitantly called vāstoṣpatīyagaṇe (sic!), "the two verses belonging to Śānkhāyana", and "the two verses issued from ritual". Without bothering with higher textual criticism, the composer of the paddhati commentary might have indeed attributed the stanzas in question to the school the ritual of which was prevalent in his quarters, most probably Gujarat.[104]

In the description of the grahayajña 'pacification of the planets', the SPR prescribes after the worshiping of Kṣetrapati with the hymn ŚS 2.8.5, the worshiping of Vāstoṣpati, with the two stanzas in question. However, although reference is made to KauśS 5.7[43].13, the quoted verses have the same readings as ṚV 7.54.1 and ṚV 7.55.1, from which they were actually taken.

> vāstoṣpatiḥ kauśiko (KauśS 5.7[43].13) vāstoṣpatis triṣṭup[105] vāstoṣpatisthāpane viniyogaḥ //
> **Oṃ vāstoṣpate prati jānīhy asmānt svāveśo[106] anamīvo bhavā naḥ** //[107]
> **yat tve mahi**[108] **prati tan no juṣasva śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ catuṣpade** //7// (ṚV 7.54.1)
> **amīvahā vāstoṣpate viśvā rūpāṇy āviśan** /
> **sakhā suśava**[109] **edhi naḥ** / (ṚV 7.55.1)

3.2 Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati in the Ritual Tradition of Other Vedic Schools

Sarvānukramaṇī on ṚV 7.55 says that the first stanza of this hymn refers to Vāstoṣpati, whereas the remaining seven are held to be lullabies (amīvahāṣṭau vāstoṣpatyādyā gāyatrī śeṣāstry upariṣṭādbṛhaty ādayo'nuṣṭubhaḥ prasvāpinya upaniṣat). Bṛhaddevatā 6.1.2 records the whole hymn of three stanzas 7.54 and the first stanza of the next hymn, 7.56, as addressed to Vāstoṣpati.

3.2.1 Sāyaṇa under ṚV 7.54 records the traditional information about this hymn and quotes AśvGS 2.9.9:

> smārte gṛhanirmāṇe vāstoṣpate iti catasṛbhiḥ pratyṛcaṃ juhuyāt / sūtritaṃ ca **vāstoṣ pate prati jānīhy asmān** iti (ṚV 7.54, 55.1) catasṛbhih pratyṛcam hutvā iti (AśvGṛ 2.9.9)[110] // – "In

104 Bühler 1871: V; and for further estimation on this śākhā Witzel 2016.

105 See Sarvānukramaṇī 7.54 vāstoṣpate iti tṛcātmakam ekaviṃśaṃ sūktaṃ vasiṣṭasyārṣaṃ traiṣṭubhaṃ vāstoṣpatyam.

106 Cf. asmān śvāveśo ṚV.

107 This is recited ekaśruti.

108 Sic! tvemahe ṚV.

109 Cf. padapāṭha suśeva.

110 ĀśvGS 2.9.9 madhye agārasya sthālīpākam śrapayitvā vāstoṣpate pratijānīhy asmān iti (ṚV 7.54.1) catasṛbhih pratyṛcam hutvā annam samskṛtya brāhmaṇān bhojayitva śivam vāstu śivam vāstv iti vācayīta /

> the tradition, at the building of a house, one should offer individually with the four stanzas ṚV 7.54.1–3, 55.1. As it is said in the sūtra, "having offered individually with the four stanzas ṚV 7.54.1–3, 55.1", etc".

Thus, the first stanza of the adjoined hymn, 7.55, does not have any connection with the traditional story associated with the rest of the hymn.[111]

The hymn ṚV 7.55 occurs as such in the so called Āśvalāyana Saṃhitā, followed by a hymn of eight verses, 7.56, being a prayer to Vāstoṣpati for sound sleep and good dreams for the family, as well as an incantation for the avoidance of snakes biting family members. Chaubey (2009: 45) connects this hymn with the ceremony of burying a snake effigy when laying the foundation of a house, and rightly thinks it was recited in the rite of building a house. It is worth noting that *Paippalāda-vivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati* (p. 44) employs the whole hymn PS 7.6 together with the Śālāsūkta PS 3.20 (≈ ŚS 3.12) in the consecration of the arghya water for the eight serpents beginning with Ananta and so on. This is a clear indication of the employment of those mantras in a construction rite in the Paippalāda tradition.

The four verses ṚV 7.54.1–3, 55.1 are thus employed by various ritual sūtras:

3.2.2 ŚaṅkhGS 2.14.5–6

> atha vāstumadhye baliṃ hared etābhyaś caiva devatābhyo namo brahmaṇe brāhmaṇebhyaś ca **vāstoṣpate pratijānīhy asmān** iti (ṚV 7.54.1) vāstumadhye vāstoṣpataye
>
> Next, he presents a food offering (bali) in the centre of the floor to the same deities, [another bali with] "Salutation to Brahman and to the brāhmins!" and with the hymn ṚV 7.54.1 to the Lord of the house in the centre of the floor.

111 See Wilson (1884: 370) for the composite character of the hymn made of three distinct parts, verse 1, verses 2–4, and 5–8, the last four corresponding to ŚS 4.5.6,5,1,3 (PS 4.6.6,5,1,3). The joining of the first stanza to the rest of the hymn is a mis-division. Sāyaṇa is aware of this and quotes the story from the Ṛṛgvedasarvānukramāṇiparibhāṣa 7.55 and the Bṛhadddevatā 6.3.11–13: Vasiṣṭha being hungry at the end of a three-day fast, has entered his father house during the night, searching for food. Upon Saramā's barking at his furtive entrance, the priest lulled him to sleep with two stanzas, ṚV 7.55.2–3, and put to sleep the other attendants of Varuṇa with the last four verses of the same hymn. Bṛhadddevatā 6.3.14,15 further narrates that when Varuṇa bound him with his famous fetters, Vasiṣṭha praised his father with four successive hymns starting with a supplication to soothe Varuṇa's wrath (ṚV 7. 86), a praise to the plenipotential and omniscient god (ṚV 7.87), a recollection of the two's togetherness (ṚV 7.88), and ending with a surrender to the Almighty's mercy, due to the poet's (physical) affliction (ṚV 7.89).

3.2.3 ŚaṅkhGS 3.4.1–8

vāstoṣpatīye karmaṇi / agniṃ dadhāmi manasā śivenāyam astu saṃgamano vasūnām / mā no hiṁsī sthaviraṃ mā kumāraṃ **śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ catuṣpada** iti (cf. ṚV 7.54.1c) gṛhyam agniṃ bāhyata upasamādhāya / prāgagreṣu naveṣu kuśeṣūdakumbhaṃ navaṃ pratiṣṭhāpyāriṣṭā asmākaṃ vīrā mā parāseci no dhanam ity abhimantrya / rathantarasya stotriyeṇa punarādāyaṃ kakupkāraṃ tisraḥ pūrvāhṇe juhoti / vāmadevyasya madhyaṃdine / bṛhato'parāhṇe / mahāvyāhṛtayaś catasro **vāstoṣpata** iti (ṚV 7.54.1–3) tisro **'mīvahā vāstoṣpate** (ṚV 7.55.1) **vāstoṣpate dhruvā sthūṇā** (ṚV 8.17.14) sauviṣṭakṛtī daśamī sthālīpākasya rātrau / jyeṣṭhaṃ putram ādāya jāyāṃ ca sahadhānyaḥ prapadyeta / "In the rite to the Lord of the house, having established the domestic fire outside [with the formula] "I place Agni with auspicious mind; may he be a source of goods. May he not harm us, the old or the young! May he be weal to the biped and the quadruped!" Having placed a new water pot on fresh kuśa blades having the ends pointing to the east, he concentrates: "May our man be unhurt; may our wealth be unspoiled!". He offers before midday three oblations with the Stotriya text of Rathantara[112] (ṚV 7.32.22) with repetition and with that which makes the kakubh metre, at noon [three oblations with the Stotriya text] of the Vāmadevya (ṚV 4.31.1–3), in the afternoon [three oblations with the Stotriya text] of the Bṛhat (ṚV 6.46.1), at night a tenth oblation of cooked food for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt with the four mahāvyāhṛtis, the three [verses] Vāstoṣpati (ṚV 7.54.1–3), [the verse] ṚV 7.55.1, [and the verse] ṚV 8.17.14. Having taken along his eldest son and his wife, he should enter the house along with grains."

3.2.4 GoGS 4.7.32

vasām ājyaṃ māṁsaṃ pāyasam iti saṃyūya / aṣṭagṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā juhuyāt / **vāstoṣ pata** iti (MB 2.6.1, cf. ṚV 7.54.1) prathamā / vāmadevyarcaḥ / mahāvyāhṛtayaḥ / prajāpataya ity uttamā /

Having mixed the omentum, the ghee, the flesh and the rice boiled in milk, having taken eight portions [of that mixture] he should offer [them as follows]: the first with "Vastoṣ pate!" (MB 2.6.1), the [three] verses of the Vāmadeya, the [three] Mahāvyāhṛtis, the last [with the formula] "To Prajāpati!".

3.2.5 In addition to the above references, ParGS 3.4.7 prescribes four ājya oblations with the four mantras, ṚV 7.54.1–3 and 55.1 in the rite of building a house, after having established the fire in the new residence and before ceremoniously entering the house.

112 See Oldenberg 1886: 95, n.5–7.

3.3 Discussion: Two Paippalādic Verses Addressing Vāstoṣpati in the KauśS

To sum up this section, it becomes clear that the ritual texts recognise the unity of subject of the first verse of ṚV 7.55 with the preceding hymn, i.e. ṚV 7.54, by employing these four stanzas specifically together in an offering to Vāstoṣpati, in the greater structure of a construction rite.

However, only the first stanzas of the hymns in questions have passed, with some variants, to the Ātharvaṇic tradition, recorded only by the Paippalāda Saṃhitā, in two hymns belonging to kāṇḍa 7 and 20, respectively. The paper argues that at the level of the KauśS text, the Atharvavedins have borrowed the two mantras from the Paippalādic milieu and when this śākhā had become obsolete in their quarters, the two verses were firstly quoted in full and later borrowed from the ṚgVeda, although claiming an Ātharvaṇic source text.

Already in the 7th century Dārila, not aware of the other śākhā, has called those two stanzas kalpajā, "issued from the ritual". Still later, the paddhatikāra of the AthPaddh calls them śāṃkhāyikīye ṛce, "two stanzas of śāṅkhāyana", and apud Dārila, kalpajā. Later on, the prayogakāra of the SPR, when in need of a mantra related to Vāstoṣpati, borrowed the Ṛgvedic stanza 7.54.1, but safeguarded the reference to svaśākhā (i.e. the own Vedic school) by saying that it quotes from the KauśS, whereas Kauśika knew the mantras from PS.

4 Conclusions

In comparison with the other Vedic schools which had the construction rite construed around worshiping the Lord of the house, Vāstoṣpati, the Atharvavedins had a complex ceremony (cf. KauśS 5.7[43].3–15, Keśava, AthPaddh, SPR) completed by the worshiping of Vāstoṣpati. As concluded in the section § 3.3, in their effort to relate their ritual tradition to the schools of greater recognition, the Ātharvaṇic ritualists have included the two mantras related to Vāstoṣpati, not borrowed from the common ritual stock, but taken from their Paippalāda Saṁhitā. When this śākhā has become obsolete in their quarters and they did not have access to that hymn collection, the two verses were firstly quoted in full and later borrowed from the ṚgVeda, although claiming an Ātharvaṇic source text. Umākānta Paṇḍā in his compilation employs the whole hymn PS 7.6 together with the Śālāsūkta PS 3.20 (≈ ŚS 3.12) in the preparation of the arghya water for the pacification of the eight serpents, a likely preliminary ceremony for a construction rite. Similarly, the hymn ṚV 7.55 from the so called Āśvalāyana Saṃhitā, is followed by a prayer to Vāstoṣpati

and an incantation for snakes (ṚV 7.66), connected with the ceremony of burying a snake effigy when laying the foundation of a house (Chaubey 2009: 45).

As it was already suggested in the section § 1, the only construction rite recorded by the KauśS is the one prescribed at 5.7[43].3–15, whereas the injunctions at 3.6[23].1–6 refer to a prosperity rite performed when moving into a new residence. Keśava records a second ritualistic tradition, in which the latter rite forms the first part of the former complex tantra (prototype ritual).

The sūtras 3.6[23].1–6 belong to the third adhyāya which classifies rites connected with various forms of prosperity. Kauśika has arranged the text inside the adhyāya using mainly the mantrādhikāra method. The phalādhikāra device is also used, as nested parentheses, when Kauśika wishes to override the precedence conventions.

The mantrādhikāra and phalādhikāra function as rules indicating the order of operations similar to operator precedence. By using these conventions Kauśika eliminates the notational ambiguity. The portent of the ritual prescribed by the sequence 3.6[23].1–6 as ritual for prosperity becomes thus clear. Also, these conventions allow notation to be as brief as possible, brevity being one of the virtues of the KauśS text.

In general, in the KauśS the mantrādhikāra is granted a higher precedence, the sūtra text being defined as saṁhitāvidhi "a ritualistic manual explaining [the employment] of the [Śaunaka] Saṁhitā [mantras]" (Sāyaṇa, Introduction, in Vishva Bandhu et al 1990: I, 23, etc).

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The Neonatal Rites in the Paippalāda Śākhā: The Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi Section in the Karmapañjikā

Abstract: There are seven basic rituals – *jātasaṁsthā*s – for a male brahmin in the Paippalāda tradition of the Atharvaveda. The Jātakarman is one of them for a newborn baby. The present paper examines the Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi rituals as prescribed in the Karmapañjikā, the *paddhati* text of this school. There are six rituals involved in the collective term Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi, namely Jātakarman, Sūtakāgnihomavidhi, Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, Māsavṛddhikarman, Bahirniṣkramaṇa, and Annaprāśana.

The paper comprises three parts. The first part brings out the features of all the neonatal rites in the Paippalāda tradition and their comparison with the rites in other Vedic traditions. The second parts presents observations on the style and priestly language of the Karmapañjikā. The third part contains the text of Jātakarmādyannaprāśanakarmāṇi section edited by collating respective folios of the five manuscripts of Karmapañjikā available for this section. This part also contains a translation of the Sanskrit text.

Introduction

The Karmapañjikā (KP) is the *Paddhati* text, the ritual manual, of Paippalāda Atharvavedins residing in the eastern Indian states of Orissa and Jharkhand. It deals with the domestic rituals of this school. There are seven basic rituals – *jātasaṁsthā*s – for a Paippalādin Brahmin. These are: Vivāha (wedding), Garbhādhāna (impregnation), Puṁsavana (rite for obtaining a male child), Jātakarman (rite for a newborn baby), Godāna (first ritual shaving of a boy), Upanayana (Initiation) and Āplavana (ritual bath of a bachelor).[1]

The rite of Jātakarman is dealt with in detail in the section named Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the KP. The name of this section is a collective term that includes the rituals beginning with Jātakarman and concluding

1 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 3) for the verse विवाहो गर्भकरणं ततः पुंसवनं पुनः । जातकर्म च गोदानोपनयनाप्लवनानीति ॥

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-017

with Annaprāśanāna. These six rituals are Jātakarman, Sūtakāgnihomavidhi, Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, Māsavarṣavṛddhi, Bahirniṣkramaṇa, and Annaprāśana. All these rites are to be performed for a newborn baby. The section will form chapter four of the second volume of the KP edition.[2]

The present paper consists of three parts:

Part I: The description of the neonatal rites in the Karmapañjikā.

Part II: Observations on the style and language of the Karmapañjikā

Part III: The edited text and translation of the Karmapañjikā for the section under discussion

Part I discusses certain features of Paippalāda rituals, and I make an attempt to compare these with similar rites in other Vedic traditions. Part II discusses the peculiar style of the author of the KP and part III presents the text in the KP based on the collation of respective folios of the five manuscripts of the KP available for this section. These are Gu_1: 78r–83v; Gu_2: 81v–87v; Gu_3: 86r–92r; Ku: 73v–78r and Ni: 65r–69r.[3]

Part I The Description of the Neonatal Rites in the Karmapañjikā

I.1 Jātakarman

(Ritual to be performed immediately after birth of a child) [Ku 73v3–74v3]

This rite is performed immediately after the birth of a child. There are two persons involved in the ritual, namely the *kartṛ* and *yajamāna*. The *kartṛ* is a performer, that is the performing priest. The *yajamāna* is the father of the newborn baby.

I.1.1 The Procedure of the Jātakarman Ritual

The acts involved in the Paippalāda ritual are as follows:

1. As soon as the baby is born, the performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80).

2 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xxxiii).

3 For the sigla and the description of the manuscripts, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xvi–xxx), introduction item number 2 “Manuscripts”. In this paper, reference to Ku folios and lines is given in square brackets wherever necessary. This manuscript is available at https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-02573/1.

2. The father of the baby performs Vṛddhiśrāddha. The Vṛddhiśrāddha is the worship of the forefathers on any auspicious occasion. It is also called Nāndīmukhaśrāddha or Nāndīśrāddha.[4] The procedure of Vṛddhiśrāddha in the Paippalāda tradition is described in the Vivāha ritual of KP[5].
3. The father gives gifts such as a cow, land, gold etc. to the performing priest according to his ability.
4. The performer recites Svastivācana. This involves the recitation of certain formulas that proclaim the auspiciousness of the day, well-being and prosperity.[6]
5. The performer establishes the fire on the *sthaṇḍila* (the ground prepared for establishing the fire). The description of establishing the *sthaṇḍila* can be found in the seventh chapter named Dvividhastaṇḍilavidhāna of the first volume of the KP.[7]
6. The performer establishes *brahmapātra*.[8] The details of this act are found in the Pūrvatantra ritual, the fourth chapter of the first volume of the KP.[9]
7. The basic rituals of Pūrvatantra and Uttaratantra are mandatory in every *jātasaṁsthā*. The Pūrvatantra is the first part of the ritual that takes place before the main rite (*pradhānakarman*). The main rites are the *jātasaṁsthā*s. The Uttaratantra is the latter part of the ritual after the main rite. However, the Jātakarman rite is an exception to this rule. The acts in the Pūrvatantra up to the offerings of clarified butter are dropped in the Jātakarman. Some verses from the text named Paribhāṣā are cited by the author of the KP, in support of the omission of these acts. These verses state a practical reason for this omission: the baby will be hungry and will not wait until the completion of the lengthy ritual of the *tantra*. Therefore the *tantra* is dropped and the baby is given the breast of its mother. The ritual included in the Jātakarman is for this reason very brief.
8. The performer makes a *pāśa* (noose) of *mauñja* grass and throws it on the head of the baby, and then removes it with his feet without recitation of any mantra. Holding that noose in the hand, he recites the verse यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि (PS 1.61.1) and throws it to the south-west corner of the altar. The PS verse makes it clear that the purpose of this act is to release the newborn baby from the fetters

4 See Kane (1941[1997]: 218, 286).

5 See Sumant (2007: 449–450).

6 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 25).

7 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 129–131).

8 Establishment of *brahmapātra* is an important act in the preliminaries of rituals. A pot made of bell metal is filled with water and is placed on a grass seat. In the rituals, the pot represents Brahman priest in his absence.

9 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 80–85).

of Death. The noose of *mauñja* grass symbolizes these fetters, and its removal symbolizes the freedom of the baby from Death. This act is unique to the Paippalāda Śākhā.

9. The next important act in the Jātakarman is the tying of an amulet on the baby. The performer takes the wool of a living white sheep and puts one grain of rice and one grain of barley in that wool. He wraps the wool with cloth. This amulet is first consecrated by putting it in a water jar with the recitation of three verses beginning with अभि त्वा जरिमा (PS 1.61.2–4), and with the repetition of the same verses it is taken out of the jar and is then tied on the neck of the newborn baby.
10. The performer takes water in another pot and puts the grains of rice and barley in it. He consecrates the pot with three verses beginning with प्र विशतम् (PS 1.61.3–5) and puts this consecrated water into the mouth of the baby with his right hand. Then the performer recites the verse यस्ते स्तनः (PS 20.2.10) while the mother breastfeeds the baby.
11. The eyes of the baby are anointed with a paste prepared from rubbing gold against stone with the two verses beginning with सहस्राक्षेण (PS 1.62.3–4).
12. The performer carries out the ritual of Uttaratantra.[10]

I.1.2 Some Observations Regarding the Jātakarman Ritual

1. In the Jātakarman, all the mantras accompanying the acts are from the PS.
2. The Jātakarman of the Paippalādins involves some peculiar acts which are not seen in other Vedic Śākhās. A common act in this rite according to other Vedic Śākhās is making the baby lick the clarified butter or honey with a golden spoon. The Kauśikasūtra (KauśS) 10.16 prescribes making the baby lick the *kalka* (pasty sediment) of *śuklapuṣpa*, *haritapuṣpa*, *kiṁstyanābhi* and *pippalī* rubbed on a piece of gold. Further, KauśS 10.18 mentions making the baby lick honey and curds. This practice seems to have been continued in the *paddhati*s and *prayoga*s in the Śaunaka tradition.[11] In the Paippalādins' rite, we encounter the practice of making the baby sip the rice and barley water, which seems to be unique. Such an act is not described in the KauśS or in later *prayoga* texts in the Śaunaka Śākhā.

10 The details of the Uttaratantra ritual can be found in chapter 6 named Uttaratantra of the first volume of the KP. See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 113–128).

11 See Rotaru (2021: 120) for the details of this rite in the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati and p. 214–217 of the same work for this rite in the Saṁskāraprayogaratna in the Śaunaka tradition of the AV.

3. In the Paippalādin rite, we see the practice of tying the amulet. Tying the amulets is peculiar in many Ātharvaṇic rites of both Atharvavedic Śākhās. However, such practice in not seen in the Jātakarman described by the KauśS or in later *prayoga*s in the Śaunaka Śākhā.
4. The Medhājanana rite which is a very important part of the Jātakarman ritual according to other texts is absent in the Paippalāda Śākhā.
5. The amplification of the rite with the performance of Vṛddhiśrāddha or Nāndīmukhaśrāddha is common to the rituals of both Śākhās of the Atharvaveda.

I.2 Sūtakāgnihomavidhi (Offerings on the Sūtaka Fire) [Ku 74v3–75r3]

The next act in the KP is called the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi. In the opening section of this rite the name of the rite is mentioned as Sūtakāgnau Dvādaśarātrahomavidhi, the offerings for twelve nights on the Sūtaka fire.

I.2.1 The Procedure of the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi

1. The performer kindles the fire. The name of this fire at the time of the birth of a child is Sūtaka or Sūtika. He prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the lying chamber[12] of mother and child. Everyday he kindles the fire and performs the acts of the Pūrvatantra up to the establishment of *brahmapātra*.[13]
2. There are daily offerings of white mustard seeds and small pieces of *aśvagandhā* (*Physalis Flexuosa*) in the morning and evening with the group of hymns, ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11) and the three hymns beginning with यौ ते मातः (PS 16.79–81). The opening formula before the recitation of the mantras is: ॐ बृहस्पतिर्ऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दः इन्द्रो देवता सितसर्षपादिहोमे विनियोगः "The seer [of this group of mantras] is Bṛhaspati, the metre *anuṣṭubh*, and the deity Indra. It is employed in the offerings of white mustard seeds etc.".

12 Usually, in old Indian houses there used to be a separate room prepared for the delivery of a baby. After the birth, the mother and the baby were supposed to stay in that room till the period of impurity incurred due to the birth is over. This period is usually of ten days. There are offerings on the Sūtaka fire in this period of impurity and naturally take place in that room where the mother and baby are staying. The word for this room is *ariṣṭagṛha*, (a safe or secure room) in the passage of KP.

13 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 49–80).

3. The offerings are continued for up to ten days. For the remaining two days the performer cooks normal rice mixed with sesame powder.
4. The performer invokes the Sūtaka fire with the verse अग्ने प्रेहि (PS 3.38.3), worships it, and sprinkles it with water three times with the *kalpajā*[14] verse अद्भिष्ट्वा.[15] The *kalpajā* verses are those which are not found in the Saṁhitā but are recited in the tradition. They must have been borrowed from some other source (Kalpa). The present verses are not available in the known Vedic literature but are cited in *sakalapāṭha* in the Karmasamuccaya.[16]
5. The sesame-rice is offered into the fire with eight formulas: ॐ नताय स्वाहा । विनताय स्वाहा । खञ्जाय स्वाहा । काणाय स्वाहा । कुणाय स्वाहा । कुटाय स्वाहा । चिपटाय स्वाहा and ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहा. The deities in these formulas do not appear in any other ritual text in the known literature.
6. The fire is dismissed with the proper procedure.
7. On the eleventh day the performer prepares *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water)[17] on another fire. The mother and the child are made to sip *śāntyudaka* and it is also sprinkled on them. Then they are bathed.
8. The performer recites Śānti.
9. The Sūtaka fire is taken out of the house to the northeast direction and is disposed of on the main road.

The Paippalādavivāhādisaṁskārapaddhati (Paṇḍā 2000) names this rite of Sūtakāgnihomavidhi as Kuṇḍahoma in the opening formula of the offerings (wrongly mentioned as Kuṇḍāhomavidhi in the table of contents as well as in the title). *Kuṇḍa* can be a synonym for *sthaṇḍila.*[18]

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14 For more information about *kalpajā* verses in the KP, see Sumant (2011: 480).

15 The full *kalpajā* verse is as follows: अद्भिष्ट्वा परिणयामि । माप्याशङ्कयामि । मात्रा त्वग्ने (ms. KS/Gu$_1$ त्वाग्ने) परिणयामि । स मे पद्यन्ताममृतं ms. KS/Gu$_1$ पद्यन्त्वमृतं) त्वा अमृतेन परिणयामि । मामेष्वमृतमस्यमृतं मयि धेहि । [Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 63)]

16 For more details of the Karmasamuccaya and its manuscripts, see Sumant (2016).

17 Śāntydaka is a technical term in the Atharvavedic literature used for water consecrated with specified mantras. It is often used in the Atharvavedic rituals of both Atharvavedic *śākhās*. For more information on *śāntyudaka*, see Rotaru (2009) and also Geslani (2018).

18 Both the words refer to the place for the establishment of the fire. See for instance the entry *agnikuṇḍa* in Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary (2006: 5). The meaning given here is 'a pan with live coals; a hole or enclosed space for the consecrated fire'. The meaning given for the word *sthaṇḍila* is 'a piece of open ground (levelled, squared, and prepared for a sacrifice)' (Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary 2006: 1261). Both the entries in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary are based on the Sanskrit Wörterbuch (1855–1875: 1.30 and 7.1281). The Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (kürzerer Fassung) (1883–1886: 3.206), while giving the meaning of *sthaṇḍila*, directs us to the commentary on Gobhilagṛhyasūtra 1.5.13 and 4.8.14 (15 in the edition referred to here) where in the second place *sthaṇḍila* is paraphrased as *lohapātra* (iron pot). Thus, in the

I.2.2 Some Observations Regarding the Ritual of Sūtakāgnihomavidhi

1. The fire in which the offerings are made is named as Sūtaka or Sūtika. The same names are found in the Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra 1.26, Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra 1.16.23, Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtra 2.3.4 etc. and as Jātakāgni in the Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra 4.10.1, Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtra 3.15 etc.
2. In the Jātakarman ritual of other Vedic Śākhās we see offerings with various materials. The Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtra prescribes white mustard seeds with small grains of rice. The Āpastambagṛhyasūtra prescribes mustard seeds and rice chaff.[19] Paippalāda Homa ritual also prescribes white mustard seeds. However, the offering of small pieces of Aśvagandhā along with that is unique to the Paippalāda Śākhā. Also the preparation of rice with sesame powder is not found in other Vedic Śākhās. They prescribe the offering of only *caru*, rice. In the Śaunaka tradition, we do not find any mention of the ten-day or twelve-day offerings.
3. The deities to whom the offerings of sesame-rice are made do not appear in any other ritual text in the known literature.
4. The preparation and use of *śāntyudaka* is a unique feature of Atharvavedic rites, and the Jātakarman and other neonatal rites are no exception to that.

I.3 Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa[20] (Naming ceremony along with the ritual of seeing the sun) [Ku 75r3–76v1]

The next rite is Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa, the naming ceremony, which also includes showing the sun to the child. The KP gives two views as regards the day of performance of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa. Śrīdhara, the author of the KP, on the authority of Nakṣatrakalpa[21] says that the rite is performed on the same, that is twelfth day from the birth. He also mentions the usual practice seen in the society of its performance on any auspicious day. It appears here that this usual practice is

course of time the leveled and squared ground for establishing the fire, called *sthaṇḍila*, must have been replaced in the ritual with a square shaped metal vessel called *kuṇḍa.*

19 See Kane (1941[1997]: 232–233).

20 In the opening sentence of the description of this rite, the name of the rite occurs simply as Nāmakaraṇa. I maintain here the titles as given in the concluding sentence of each rite. The concluding sentence in this case is इति सूर्यदर्शनसहितं नामकरणं समाप्तम्. Therefore, the name of this rite is taken as Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa.

21 The Nakṣatrakalpa known to the Paippalādins appears to be different from that which is available today. For more details on the Nakṣatrakalpa, see Bahulkar (1984).

also acceptable to Śrīdhara, as later he gives the guidelines for choosing an auspicious day on the authority of the text named Jyotiḥśāstra.

I.3.1 The Procedure of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa

The ritualistic acts involved in the Nāmakaraṇa are as follows:

1. The *tantra* prescribed in the Nakṣatrakalpa is performed up to the *ājyabhāga*s, that is, up to the two offerings of clarified butter to Agni and Soma.[22]
2. The performer offers *caru* to Viśve devas, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of the constellation of that day or the deity of the constellation at the time of the birth of the baby.
3. He prepares the rice cooked in milk.
4. He makes to sprinkle *śāntyudaka* on the child.
5. He offers the *caru* to Prajāpati with the recitation of the verses वाचस्पते पृथिवी न स्योना (PS 18.16.7–9). He should offer to Sarasvatī with सरस्वति व्रतेषु (PS 20.27.10), to the presiding deity of the constellation of that day or to the deity of the constellation at the time of the birth with अग्निर्देवो यजमानः[23].
6. The performer offers the clarified butter with the verses यथा सूर्यः (PS 8.6.9), यो नो भद्राहम् (PS 19.24.18), यदाहुः शकधूमम् (PS 19.24.19) and शं मा वातः (PS 20.34).
7. The performer touches the baby and recites *rakṣāmantra*s,[24] which are रक्षन्तु त्वा (PS 16.2.1–4); त्रायमाणे (PS 19.44.7–10); असपत्नम् (PS 12.6.5–6) and अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10).
8. The performer completes the *ājyabhāga*s of the Uttaratantra and recites Śānti.
9. The performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80).
10. The mother covers the baby with her upper garment and goes out of the house.
11. The performer prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the courtyard. He draws an eight–petaled lotus with chalks.[25] He worships the sun on this eight-petaled lotus. He

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22 The procedure of the Nakṣatrakalpokta *tantra* is described in the general paradigms of ritual explained by Śrīdhara in the 8th chapter of the KP. See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 133–135).

23 The *sakalapāṭha* of these *kalpajā* verses is found at Paippalādavivāhādisaṁskārapaddhati, p. 215 as: अग्निर्देवो यजमानः प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषम् । इदम् ऋक्षं यक्षतु त्वाऽभि मर्त्या न मृताहविष्कृतात् । इदं यथा नक्षत्रदैवतं जन्मनक्षत्राय चरुं निर्वपामि । अद्य ऋक्षः रक्षतु त्वाऽभिवानो यो हि मा ते तन्वः सोममग्नेः । असौ नक्षत्रं तन्वं वर्धयस्तु (स्व) यो हि जातं तन्वं याहि अग्ने ॥ इदं तद्वस (sic!) नक्षत्रदैवताय चरुं निर्वपामि॥ (The obvious typos in these verses have been corrected silently. However, the unintelligible readings have been kept are they are.).

24 These mantras are given at Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 48).

25 The word used in the KP passage is *karṇaka*, which means a chalk. Perhaps it is used for drawing figures on the ground, similar to the *raṅgāvali*. The *raṅgāvali*, or Rangoli in vernacular, is the

shows the sun to the baby while reciting the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd).[26]

12. The performer utters the name in the baby's right ear. This name is as per the birth-constellation of the baby. While doing so, the performer attaches the word *śarman* at the end of that name. There are certain letters that are assigned to the respective constellations and the name begins with one of those letters. This is the secret name of the person to be pronounced while saluting the teachers and elders.[27] The baby's father utters baby's public name.
13. The ceremony ends with Svastivācana (proclamation of well-being) and blessings, followed by the Uttaratantra ritual.

I.3.2 Some Observations Regarding the Ritual of Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa

1. Unlike the Paippalāda Śākhā, in other Vedic Śākhās Sūryadarśana is a part of Niṣkramaṇa rite.
2. Śrīdhara cites the view of Nakṣatrakalpa according to which the ritual of Nāmakaraṇa is to be performed on the twelfth day. But he also mentions the popular practice of fixing some auspicious day for the ritual.
3. The author cites opinions of several authorities while searching a suitable name for the baby along with the extensions such as *śarma, varma, gupta* and *dāsa* as per the social strata which the person belongs to. Such rules for naming the child have been prescribed by several Dharmaśāstras.[28]

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art of drawing decorative figures with white powder at the entrance to the house, and signifies auspiciousness.

26 The title of the rite is Sūryadarśana, which means showing the sun or looking at the sun. The mantra 1.80.5cd means that "Let the bird (that is the sun) look at you (that is protect you)". Interestingly, the baby looks at the sun, while the mantra means that let the sun look at you (protect you). We must note here that on the basis of the verb *dṛś* in the mantra of sun, the mantra is accompanied in the act of *darśana* of the sun.

27 On the names of a person including the *nakṣatranāman*, see Kane (1941[1997]: 240). Kane (1941[1997]: 247) says: "The nakṣatranāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa (of Ṛg.) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra." He further (p. 248) cites the rules of Pāṇini for deriving male and female names from the *nakṣatra*s.

28 See Kane (1941[1997]: 243–253).

4. The deities to whom the offerings are made in Nāmakaraṇa in the Paippalāda tradition seem to be different from all those mentioned in other Sūtras.[29]
5. The KauśS 58.15 prescribes the amulet made of *pūtadāru* (*Butea Frondosa*). This practice is not seen in the ritual texts of the Śaunaka tradition, the Āthar-vaṇīyapaddhati[30] or the Saṁskāraprayogaratna.[31] It is also absent in the Paip-palāda tradition.

I.4 Māsavarṣavṛddhikarman (Ritual performed after completion of one month and year after birth) [Ku 76v1–77r1]

The next rite is Māsavarṣavṛddhikarman. It is to be performed when the baby has lived for one month, and is repeated every month on the lunar date of the birth (*tithi*) for one year. Thereafter it is performed on the birthday every year. In other Vedic traditions, this rite is called Varṣavardhana or Abdapūrti. In the Śaunaka tradition of the AV, it is called Vardhāpanavidhi. It is noteworthy that in the Paippalāda tradition, the rite is performed for the first time after one month. In other Vedic traditions as the name Abdapūrti suggests, it takes place after one year. The KP also describes the minute differences in the procedure when the rite is performed for the first time after one month and when it is repeated every year. This rite has already been discussed in my 2012–2013 article.[32]

I.5 Bahirniṣkramaṇa (Ritual wherein the baby is taken out of the house for the first time in the fourth month) [Ku 77r1–77r3]

The next act is Bahirniṣkramaṇa or Niṣkramaṇa, which is performed in the fourth month from the birth of a child. It is performed on an auspicious day according to the Jyotiḥśāstra. It is expected that the mother and the child after its birth do not go out of the house till the Niṣkramaṇa rite is performed.

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29 See Kane (1941[1997]: 253).

30 See Rotaru (2021: 125).

31 See Rotaru (2021: 223–233).

32 See Sumant (2012–2013). The article presents the paragraphs of the description of the rite in the Śaunaka ritual texts and the KP. It also discusses the points of similarity and difference between the procedure in both the traditions.

I.5.1 The Acts Involved in Bahirniṣkramaṇa

1. The baby is taken out of the house for the first time with the recitation of Svastyayanagaṇa. The mantras in this group of hymns are: यस्ते प्राचीः (PS 17.4.1); मा मा पश्चाद् (PS 17.4.2); ये ते पन्थाः (PS 17.5.5); ये ते आरण्याः (PS 17.5.7); इमाः पारे (19.31.4–7); अस्य पारे (PS 20.42.4); यदस्य पारे (PS 5.27.8); प्रपथे पथाम् (PS 20.3.2–6); इन्द्रं वयमनुराधम् (PS 3.35.2); भग प्रेहि (PS 20.25.7); अदितिः प्रैतु (PS 20.25.8); प्रेहि प्र हर पादौ (PS 20.50.5–8); आध्वस्तपक्ष्णे बृहते (PS 20.60.9–20.61.1–3).[33]
2. This is followed by the blessings from the Brahmins.

I.5.2 Some Observations Regarding the Bahirniṣkramaṇa

1. The rite is called Nirṇayana in the Śaunaka Śākhā. The KauśS 58.18 prescribes the first stepping out of the child with the ŚS verse 8.2.14.
2. The rite as described by the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati and Saṁskāraprayogaratna includes looking at the sun. This rite of Sūryadarśana seen in both Atharvavedic Śākhās – though on different occasions – is common to the practice seen in other Vedic Śākhās.
3. It is worth mentioning that the rite of the Paippalādins appropriately prescribes the recitation of Svastyayanagaṇa, which is meant for ensuring safety on a journey.

I.6 Annaprāśana (Ritual of first feeding solid food) [Ku 77r3–78r2]

The Annaprāśana is the last rite described in this group of neonatal rituals of the KP. It takes place in the sixth month from birth. The first ritual feeding of solid food to the baby is performed on an auspicious day declared so by the Jyotiḥśāstra.

I.6.1 The procedure of Annaprāśana

The acts involved are as follows:

1. The performer begins with the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāga*s.[34]

33 See Sumant (2017: 142).

34 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 133–135).

2. The performer cooks rice from the rich variety of rice ripening in the autumn. The rice is consecrated with the recitation of the mantras ये त्रिषप्ताः (PS 1.6), मुञ्चामि त्वा (1.62), अहं रुद्रेभिः (ŚS 4.30), ममाग्ने वर्चः (PS 5.4), यत्ते अन्नम् (PS 1.63.1), यदन्नमद्मि and यस्यामन्नम् (PS 17.4.11). The performer keeps rice in the brass pot.
3. He arranges gold, book[35] and an idol of god as per the custom of the house.
4. He makes the child sip *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) and sprinkles the child with the same.
5. The performer then makes the child eat that rice with शिवौ ते स्ताम् (PS 16.4.8–9). With the recitation of अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10) he gives the second feeding at day time. The third feeding at night with other food items is in the accompaniment of शरदे त्वा (PS 16.5.2). These three ritual feedings are mandatory. After these, food is given to the baby as per its requirement.
6. The rite concludes with the performance of Uttaratantra and the blessings by the Brahmins.

I.6.2 Some Observations Regarding Annaprāśana

1. In almost all the Vedic Śākhās including the Paippalāda, this rite is performed during the fourth month from the birth of a child. It is interesting to mention that the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati mentions the time of performance as the eighth month.[36]
2. The mantras prescribed in the Annaprāśana ritual of the KP are the same as mentioned in the KauśS 58.19–21.
3. The KauśS prescribes rice and barley as the first feeding as the accompanying mantra mentions both rice and barley. The KP, however mentions only rice.

I.7 Two Oracles in the Neonatal Rites

The Jātakarmādyannaprāśanānta section of rituals describes two oracles, where the relatives interpret future behaviour of the baby based on its reactions. The first

35 The author of the KP does not clarify which specific book is to be arranged here. Perhaps it is any book as a symbol of knowledge. Gold symbolizes prosperity and book symbolizes knowledge. It is wished that the child should obtain both wealth and knowledge in his life. The same wish is articulated in PS 1.6.3.

36 See Rotaru (2021: 132).

oracle is in the Jātakarman. The baby's eyes are anointed with the paste of gold rubbed against stone. After this, if the baby looks at its mother and other relatives without blinking eyes then it is believed that the baby is the lustre of the family (अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवंशतेजोऽयमिति [Ku 74v2]). This means that the baby will prove to be an asset to the family.

The second oracle is in the Annaprāśana. As per the custom of the house, gold, book and image of god etc. are kept near the rice pot from which the child is fed. His future is interpreted as per his choice of lifting the things (तदनन्तरमोदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोग्रे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् [Ku 78r1]).

It appears that these are the local customs and therefore have been described by the author of the KP. These are not the part of Vedic rite because they are not accompanied with the recitation of any Vedic or *kalpajā* mantras.

Part II Observations on the Style and Language of the Karmapañjikā

II.1 Author's Tutelary Deity

It is worth mentioning that each section of the KP begins with the benediction to Lord Nṛsiṁha, the tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the author Śrīdhara.[37] The benedictory verse of the section Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi is as follows:

नृकेसरिं नमस्कृत्य मनोवाक्कायिकैस्ततः । जातकर्मादिकं वक्ष्ये दयां मयि कुरु प्रभो ॥ [Ku 73v3]

Having paid homage to the Man-lion with (the acts performed by) mind, speech and body, I shall narrate the (procedure of) Jātakarman etc. O Lord, have compassion on me.

II.2 The Colophon

The style of the author in writing the colophon is uniform throughout the text. He calls himself as a servant at the feet of Lord Nṛsiṁha and uses the title Śrīmanmahopādhyāya.

37 For more elaboration on this point, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xlii, item 5.1).

The long name of the text Vivāhādikarmapañjikā occurs in each colophon, which is sometimes abbreviated as Vivāhakarmapañjikā or Karmapañikā in some of the manuscripts.

The colophon of the section Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi is as follows:

> इति श्रीमन्नृसिंहचरणपरिचारकश्रीमन्महोपाध्यायश्रीधरविरचितायां विवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां जातकर्माद्यन्नप्राशनान्तं नाम कर्म समाप्तम् । [Ku 78r 1–2]

In fact, the colophon has the singular expression *jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntaṁ karma,* which has been reframed in the plural by Griffiths and Sumant (2018: xxxiii), and is retained in this paper.

II.2.1 Beginning and Concluding Sentences of Each Section

The description of each rite begins with the opening sentence such as अथ जातकर्म व्याख्यास्यामः [Ku 73v3], अथ सूतकाग्नौ द्वादशरात्रिहोमविधिरुच्यते [Ku 74v3], अथ नामकरणविधिः कथ्यते [Ku 75r3], अथ बालकस्यायुर्विवृद्ध्यर्थं प्रतिमासं जन्मतिथौ आधानकर्मोच्यते [Ku 76v1], अथ निष्क्रमणं व्याख्यास्यामः [Ku 77r1], and अथ षष्ठे मास्यन्नप्राशनं कर्मोच्यते [Ku 77r3].

Besides the final long colophon discussed above there are intermediate short concluding sentences after each rite such as इति जातकर्म समाप्तम् [Ku 74v3], इति सूतकाग्निहोमविधिः [Ku 75r3], इति सूर्यदर्शनसहितं नामकरणं समाप्तम् [Ku 76v1], मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म समाप्तम् [Ku 77r1], and इति बहिर्निष्क्रमणम् [Ku 77r3]. There is a final colophon at the end of the sixth rite Annaprāśana.

II.3 The Features of Priestly Sanskrit

Similar to other sections of the KP, this section also presents features of priestly Sanskrit.

II.3.1 Problematic Sentence Construction and Readings

1. यावद्दशरात्रं समाप्य तावद्भ्रुवतीति [Ku 74v4–5]. The intended meaning is that this homa takes place and continues for ten days.
2. ओदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोऽग्रे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् [Ku 78r1]. In this case, we have to understand that ओदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनि बालकस्य अग्रे कृत्वा हिरण्यादीनां यद् द्रव्यं बालको गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनम्. The things near the rice bowl are kept in front of the child. Among them whichever

thing he lifts, he is entitled to achieve that in future. The genitive case of समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां is to be understood as accusative in the first place and as genitive in the second place. Also here we have spilt the compound word for construal.

3. ततः कर्ता यस्ते स्तन इत्यृचा पठित्वा माता स्तनं पाययेत् [Ku 74v1]. Here the agents of two acts connected with the gerund are different. Also the case of *ṛc* has to be the accusative *ṛcam* and not the instrumental *ṛcā*.
4. The Paribhāṣā verses are not claimed by the author as his own composition. These verses are also not free from flaws and grammatical mistakes. There is a clumsy construction in the Paribhāṣā verse. न हि प्रतीक्षते यस्माच्छिशुः कर्म सतन्त्रकम् । क्षुधया पीडितोऽत्यर्थं स्तनदानेन वर्जितम् [Ku 74r1]. Here the meaning is quite clear, namely that the baby will not wait until the ritual act including Tantra is over. It will be very hungry if deprived of its mother's breast. Instead of वर्जितम् there should be वर्जितः.
5. In one verse we read पाशमोक्षणमादिकम् [Ku 74r2] instead of the correct पाशमोक्षणादिकम्.
6. We have a reading जीववत्सितमेषस्य [Ku 74r3]. The author probably thinks that in जीववत् *vat* indicates the possessive suffix and the word means 'possessing life, living'. The reading जीवत्सितमेषस्य would have been more justifiable as *jīvat* is the present participle, meaning 'living'.

II.3.2 Violation of Metre

In a line of a verse we have उदपात्रं प्राशनं कुर्यादभिषिञ्चेच्च केवलादिति (Ku74v1]. Here instead of eight syllables, we have nine.

II.3.3 Non-Standard Nominal Stem

1. पिताहस्ते [Ku 73v4] is used for पितृहस्ते.

II.3.4 Grammatically Wrong Cases

1. ततस्तेनोदकेन स्नाता सूतिकामाचामति । अभ्युक्षति च । ततः स्नानं कृत्वा । बालकं चैतत् [Ku 75r2–3]. Here, the correct case for बालक should be dative बालकाय. 'And also for the child (The act is prescribed for the child also)'.
2. तदनन्तरं कर्ता चरुविधिना विश्वे देवा प्रजापतिः सरस्वती तदहर्नक्षत्रं जन्मनक्षत्रं वा इत्यादि क्षीरौदनं श्रपयित्वा [Ku 75v3]. In this case, the words विश्वे देवाः, प्रजापतिः, सरस्वती,

तदहर्नक्षत्रं, and जन्मनक्षत्रं in the nominative should be in the dative case. He cooks the rice for all gods, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, the deity presiding over the day and birth–constellation.

II.3.5 Wrong Verbal Suffixes

1. अथ कर्ता जातमात्रमेव संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रुवन् बालकमीक्षेत् [Ku 73v4]. Here, the root ईक्ष् takes *parasmaipada* suffixes instead of *ātmanepada.* Again the same form is found in the Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa [Ku 76r1–2].
2. अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवंशतेजोऽयमिति [Ku 74v]. In this case also the same root ईक्ष् is again used with the *ātmanepada* suffix.

II.3.6 Double *Sandhi*

1. ततोदपात्रादुद्धृत्य [Ku 74r] is found instead of तत उदपात्रादुद्धृत्य.

II.4 The *pratīka*s Used in the Section Under Discussion

As with all the ritual texts in all the Vedic traditions, the KP also mentions the mantras from its own Śākhā with their *pratīka*, that is the incipits of the mantras. The KP also mentions the *kalpajā* verses with the *pratīka.* Below are a few cases where the author of the KP uses strange *pratīka*s.

1. In the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi, we come across the *pratīka* of the mantra PS 16.79–81 as यौ ते मात इति [Ku 74v4]. The correct *pratīka* would have been यौ ते मातेति.
2. Another *pratīka* in the Sūtakāgnihomavidhi is ये पर्वतेति for the hymn ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11). Here we see double *sandhi.*[38]
3. In the Nāmakaraṇa, we see the *pratīka* यदाहुः शकधूमाहमित्यृचा [Ku 75v5] for PS 19.24.19 which is यदाहुः शकधूमं महानक्षत्राणाम्.
4. While showing the the sun to the baby the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd) is recited. The *pratīka* for this in the KP is सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्या इत्यर्धर्चेन [Ku 76r3]. The last consonant *t* is missing.
5. In the Annaprāśana, there is a *pratīka* यदन्नमद्मि [Ku 77v3]. Usually, if the mantra is from the PS, the author of the KP does not give any indication. But if the

38 The proper *prattīka* would be पर्वता इति. Griffiths and Sumant (2018: c) report similar case of the *pratīka* हिरण्यवर्णेति, which should be हिरण्यवर्णा इति.

mantra is from another source, he gives the indication as *kalpajā ṛc.* In the present case there is no indication. If we search for the verse in the PS there are three mantras beginning with these words, PS 2.28.2, 2.28.3 and 20.15.1. However, the ritual text of Karmasamuccaya gives the *sakalapāṭha* of this mantra as यदन्नमद्मि बहुधा विरूपं रुद्रैः प्रदग्धं यदि वा पिशाचैः । सर्वं तदीशानोऽभयं कृणोतु शिवं म ईशानाय स्वाहा.[39] This means that in the ritual, a different *kalpajā* verse is used, which is probably modeled after the PS verses. The author of the KP does not give his usual indication of identifying the verse as *kalpajā.*

II.5 Citations from Other Texts

1. Most of the accompanying mantras in the rites explained above are from the PS. There are only a few instances where the mantras used are *kalpajā* verses. The full *kalpajā* verses can be found in the Karmasamuccaya manuscripts and the published book Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati (Paṇḍā 2000) based on Karmasamuccaya manuscripts.
2. There are citations from unidentified texts such as Paribhāṣā and Jyotiḥśāstra.
3. In the Nāmakaraṇa, there are some verses in continuation with Jyotiḥśāstra verses. The author of the KP does not ascribe these verses to any text. नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् । पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्वित इति . This half verse is Manusmṛti 2.30. It says that Naming ceremony should take place on the tenth day of the birth or on an auspicious day, time and constellation. The verse शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राज्ञो रक्षासमन्वितम् । वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् is found in Manusmṛti 2.32. शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्य च । गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोरिति is found in Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.9. In the Nāmakaraṇa section of KP, there are three verses ascribed to Arthaśāstra which can be found with some variation at Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.10–11 and Manusmṛti 2.33 respectively. These are नार्थहीनं न चाशस्तं नापशब्दयुतं तथा । नामङ्गल्यं नायुग्मं वा नाम कुर्यात्समाक्षरम् ॥ नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं नातिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम् । सुखोच्चार्यं तु तन्नाम कुर्यान्नप्रणवाक्षरम् (Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.10.10.11) and स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमक्रूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोरमम् । मङ्गल्यदीर्घवर्णोत्तमाशीर्वादाभिधानवत् (Manusmṛti 2.33). They also provide the characteristics of the name that should be given to the baby. Śrīdhara makes use of various sources but is sloppy in citing their accurate name.
4. In the Annaprāśana section, the verse आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते etc. is Mahābhārata 13.70.25 with variation in *pāda* c, while verbatim with Kūrmapurāṇa 2.19.2

39 See Paippalādavivāhādisaṁskārapaddhati, p. 221.

and Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.86.7. But Śrīdhara does not cite the name of the source text.

II.6 Cross References

This section of Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the KP has many cross references. It is natural that it presupposes the earlier sections of KP dealing with preliminary rituals. These earlier sections are Pūrvatantra and Uttaratantra, that is the basic ritual performed in all the Jātasaṁthās. The rites of Sthaṇḍilavidhāna and Nakṣatrakalpoktatantra, dealt with in chapters seven and eight of the KP respectively[40] are specific to these neonatal rituals.

Part III The Text and Translation[41] of the Chapter on Jātakarmādyannaprāśanāntakarmāṇi in the Karmapañjikā

[Ku 73v3]
नृकेसरिं नमस्कृत्य मनोवाक्कायिकैस्ततः ।
जातकर्मादिकं वक्ष्ये दयां मयि कुरु प्रभो ॥

Having paid homage to the Man-lion with (the acts performed by) mind, speech and body, I shall narrate the (procedure of) Jātakarman etc. O Lord, have compassion on me.

अथ जातकर्म व्याख्यास्यामः ।

Now we will explain the (ritual of) Jātakarman.

अथ कर्ता जातमात्रमेव संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रुवन् बालकमीक्षेत् । तदनन्तरं वृद्धिश्राद्धं पिताहस्ते कारयित्वा । पिता क्षितिगोसुवर्णादीन् यथाशक्त्यापि दद्यात् । ततः कर्ता स्वस्तिवाचनं कारयित्वा । कर्तारं वरयेत् । ततः कर्ता स्थण्डिलेनाग्निमुपसमाधाय । ब्रह्मस्थापनं कृत्वा ।

As soon as the child is born, the performer looks at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80). After that, he makes the father of the baby

40 See Griffiths and Sumant (2018: 129–131 and 133–136).

41 The literal translation of the passages written in priestly Sanskrit appears technical. The working translation is provided for the interested readers to facilitate the understanding of the concerned passages. For the sake of convenience, this continuous chapter in the KP is divided in smaller sections while presenting the translation.

perform the Vṛddhiśrāddha himself.[42] The father should give (to the performing priest gifts such as) land, a cow, gold etc. according to his ability. Then the performer makes (the father) recite Svasti (auspicious verses). (The father of the baby, who is *yajamāna* in this ritual) appoints the performer (for the ritual act). The performer establishes the fire on the *sthaṇḍila.* He establishes *brahman*.[43]

अत्र कर्मणि कथमाज्यभागान्तं परित्यज्य स्थण्डिलमादरणीयं वचनमाह परिभाषायाम् ।
जातमात्रस्य यत्कर्म तत्र तन्त्रं न कारये[Ku 74r]त् । मध्येऽपि जातसंस्थानां पठितस्यापि कर्मणः॥
न हि प्रतीक्षते यस्माच्छिशुः[44] कर्म सतन्त्रकम् । क्षुधया पीडितोऽत्यर्थं स्तनदानेन वर्जितम् ॥
मणिं बद्ध्वा व्रीहियवं दत्त्वा व्रीहियवोदकम् ।
स्तनं प्रदीयते यस्मात्तस्मात्तन्त्रं न कारयेत् ॥
स्थण्डिलेऽग्निं समाधाय पाशमोक्षणमादिकम् ।
आञ्जनादिकं तु यत्कर्म तत्र सर्वं समाचरेत् ॥
मणेराबन्धनं तत्र यावदुक्तं समाचरेत् ।
स्थण्डिलेनैव कर्तव्या होमा द्वादशरात्रिकाः ॥
इति स्थण्डिलमात्रं भवतीति ।

In this ritual, how does one establish the *sthaṇḍila* by skipping (the acts in the Pūrvatantra) up to the offerings of clarified butter? (In this regard, the author) says in the Paribhāṣā text (as under:)

In the case of the ritual for the newborn, one should not perform the basic format of the ritual (*tantra*), even though (the ritual for the newborn) comes under the *jātasaṁsthā*s.

Because the baby will be very hungry if kept deprived of the breast, and cannot wait until the completion of the (lengthy) ritual along with the *tantra*.

Because the breast (of the mother) is given (soon) after amulet of rice and barley is tied and water (prepared with) rice and barley is given; for this reason, one should not perform the *tantra*.

After kindling the fire on the *sthaṇḍila*, one should perform all the acts such as loosening the noose etc., anointing the eyes etc. (in the Jātakarman ritual).

All the acts beginning from the tying of the amulet are to be performed as prescribed. The oblations for twelve nights are to be performed with the *sthaṇḍila* (fire itself).

Therefore, only (the act of establishing) the *sthaṇḍila* takes place.

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42 One may witness here Śrīdhara's priestly Sanskrit style of using gerunds instead of finite verbal forms. Such sentences have been translated into English using finite verbal forms.

43 See footnote 8 above.

44 शिशुः] corr., शिशु $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$. The style of editing follows Griffiths and Sumant (2018).

तदननन्तरं कर्ता मौञ्जस्य पाशं कृत्वा । बालकस्य शिरसि क्षिप्त्वा तूष्णीं पद्भ्यामपनीय । ततस्तं पाशं गृहीत्वा यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि इत्यृचमुक्त्वा तं पाशं वेदेनैर्ऋतकोणे त्यजेत् ।

Thereafter, the performer makes a *pāśa* (noose) of *muñja* grass, throws it on the head of the baby, and then removes it with (his) feet without recitation of any mantra. Holding that noose, he recites the verse यस्त्वा मृत्युरभि (PS 1.61.1) (and) throws that noose to the south-west corner of the altar.

ततो होता धान्यमेकं यवमेकं[45] च जीववत्सितमेषस्य लोममध्ये धृत्वा वस्त्रेण वेष्टयित्वा सूत्रेण बद्ध्वा उदपात्रोदके प्रक्षिप्य । अभि त्वा जरिमेति तिसृभिर्ऋग्भिरभिमन्त्र्य । ततोदपात्रादुद्धृत्य हस्ते धृत्वा पुनस्तैर्मन्त्रैरभिमन्त्र्य । पुनर्मन्त्रमुक्त्वा स्नापितस्य बालकस्य कण्ठे बध्नीयात् । ततो मणेः शान्तिं कृत्वा । ततो[46] पुनरन्यस्मिन्नुदपात्रं कृत्वा तस्मिन् व्रीहियवौ प्रक्षिप्य प्रविशतमिति तिसृभिर्ऋग्भिरनुमन्त्र्य । उदपात्रात्कियदुदकं दक्षिणहस्ते कृत्वा पुनरनेनैव मन्त्रेण बालकस्य मुखे दद्यात् ।

Then the *hotṛ*[47] puts one grain of rice and one grain of barley in the wool of a living white sheep, wraps a cloth around the wool with a thread (and) puts (it) in a water jar and consecrates it with the recitation of three verses beginning with अभि त्वा जरिमा (PS 1.61.2–4). Taking (it) out from the water jar, he consecrates (it) with the (repetition of) the same verses. With the recitation of the mantra, he ties (it) on the neck of the newborn baby, who has been given a bath. The performer performs the pacificatory rite of the amulet. After that, he prepares the *udapātra* (water jar) with another pot by putting the grains of rice and barley in it. He consecrates it with three verses beginning with प्र विशतम् (PS 1.61.3–5). He takes a little water from the *udapātra* (jar) in his right hand and with the same mantra pours it into the mouth of the baby.

तथा च परिभाषायाम्। [Ku 74v]
सहोदपात्रं धान्यादि मिश्रं शुद्धं तु केवलम् ।
उदपात्रं प्राशनं कुर्यादभिषिञ्चेच्च केवलादिति ॥

And thus (is stated) in the Paribhāṣā (text):

The water jar along with grains etc. is (called) *miśra* and when it is pure (water, it is called) *kevala.* One should drink (the water) from the *udapātra* and one should sprinkle (the pure water) from the *kevala.*

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45 यवमेकं] em., यवैकं $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$.

46 Here the original reading ततो as against the emended one ततः is retained honouring the priestly style of Śrīdhara's composition. Just see the phrase ततो मणेः in the previous sentence influencing this reading.

47 We come across two different priests, *hotṛ* and *kartṛ*. It is difficult to differentiate between them. I think probably the *hotṛ* is the main priest, who recites the mantras and the *kartṛ* is the performer of the acts. In the present-day ritual of the Paippalādins also we see two priests *pustakācārya* and *kartṛ*. The *pustakācārya* is the main priest, who recites mantras and supervises the whole proceedings. In the translation, I have kept the word as it is and have translated *kartṛ* as performer, similar to all rituals. Later in the Māsavarṣavṛddhi ritual also, we come across two priests *hotṛ* and *kartṛ*.

ततः कर्ता यस्ते स्तन इत्यृचा पठित्वा माता स्तनं पाययेत् । ततः शिलायां घृतं निक्षिप्य तस्मिन् सुवर्णं निघृष्य तेन कल्केन सहस्राक्षेणेति द्वाभ्यां बालकस्याक्षिण्यञ्जयेत् । अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं[48] मात्रादिकमवेक्षेत् तदास्मदीयवंशतेजोऽयमिति जानीयादिति श्रुतेः । ततः कर्ता ये देवादिकमुत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् ।

इति जातकर्म समाप्तम् ।

Then the performer recites the verse यस्ते स्तनः (PS 20.2.10), while the mother should breastfeed the baby. Then, pouring clarified butter on a stone, he rubs gold against it. He should anoint the eyes of the baby with that paste with the recitation of the two verses beginning with सहस्राक्षेण (PS 1.62.3–4). If the anointed baby looks at its mother etc. without blinking, then one should understand that the baby is the lustre of our family as per the Vedic statement.[49]

The performer carries out the ritual of Uttaratantra beginning with ये देवाः etc.

Here ends the ritual of Jātakarman.

अथ सूतकाग्नौ द्वादशरात्रिहोमविधिरुच्यते । तत्रादौ अरिष्टगृहान्तके स्थण्डिलमुपलिप्य । तस्मिन् कर्ता प्रत्यहं सायंप्रातः स्थण्डिलविधानेन सूतिकाग्निमुपसमाधाय ब्रह्मस्थापनान्तं कृत्वा ।

Now, the ritual of offering for twelve nights on the Sūtaka fire is being described. First of all, he prepares the *sthaṇḍila* inside the *ariṣṭagṛha* (secure room or the lying-in-chamber of the mother and child). Everyday in the morning and evening, he kindles the fire (called) Sūtika on it by following the ritual of *sthaṇḍila.* He (performs the Purvatantra up to the) placement of *brahman.*

ॐ बृहस्पतिर्ऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दः इन्द्रो देवता सितसर्षपादिहोमे विनियोग इति ध्यात्वा । ये पर्वतेति[50] कण्डिका । यौ ते मात इति तिस्रः कण्डिकाः । एतैः सितसर्षपाश्वगन्धकणकुण्डकान् मिश्रीकृत्य जुहुयात् । एवं प्रत्यहं सायंप्रातर्होमो भवति यावद्दशरात्रं[51] समाप्य तावद्भवतीति ।

He meditates (on the seer, deity and metre as described in the following manner:) The seer (of this group of mantras) is Bṛhaspati, the metre *anuṣṭubh*, and the deity Indra; the employment is in the offering of white mustard seeds etc. (This group of mantras contains) the hymn[52] ये पर्वताः (PS 7.11), the three hymns beginning with यौ ते मातः (PS 16.79–81). With these mantras, he should offer white mustard seeds and small pieces of *aśvagandhā* (*Physalis Flexuosa*) by mixing them together. In this manner, a daily morning and evening offering takes place, until the completion of ten nights.

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48 अञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं] Gu_1Gu_3, lac. Ni, अस्यञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं Ku, सहञ्जितश्चेदनिमिषं Gu_2.

49 The source of this unfamiliar Vedic statement could not be traced.

50 Here we see double *sandhi.* The reading here should be पर्वता इति. Griffiths and Sumant (2018: c) report similar case of the *pratīka* हिरण्यवर्णेति, which should be हिरण्यवर्णा इति.

51 यावद्दशरात्रं] Gu_2, यावद्द्वादशरात्रं $NiKuGu_1Gu_3$.

52 The word *kaṇḍikā* means a section. The author of the KP consistently uses this word in the sense of hymn throughout his text.

ततः कर्ता दशरात्रोपरिष्टादवशेषदिनद्वयं लौकिकमोदनं तिलचूर्णं श्रपयित्वा । सूतकाग्निः[53] प्रज्वलितं कृत्वा । तस्मिन्नग्ने प्रेहीत्यृचा सूतकाग्निमावाह्य । [Ku 75r] यथाविहितं सूतकाग्निं संपूज्याद्भिष्ट्वेति कृत्वा त्रिः पर्युक्ष्य । नतायेत्याद्यष्टाभिर्मन्त्रैस्तिलौदनं जुहुयात् । ॐ नताय स्वाहा । विनताय स्वाहा । खञ्जाय स्वाहा । काणाय स्वाहा । कुणाय स्वाहा । कुटाय स्वाहा । चिपटाय स्वाहा । ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहेति । ततः कर्ता तमग्निं विसृज्य । केचिदेवं दशरात्रोपरिष्टाद्वादशरात्रिमिच्छन्तीति ।

इति सूतकाग्निहोमविधिः ।

Then after ten nights, for the remaining (period of) two days, the performer cooks the usual rice mixed with sesame powder. He kindles the Sūtaka fire. He invokes the Sūtaka fire with the verse अग्ने प्रेहि (PS 3.38.3). After worshiping the Sūtaka fire in the prescribed manner, he sprinkles around it with water three times with (the *kalpajā* verse) अद्भिष्ट्वा. He offers the sesame-rice with the eight formulas beginning with नताय etc. (The formulas are:) ॐ नताय स्वाहा. विनताय स्वाहा. खञ्जाय स्वाहा. काणाय स्वाहा. कुणाय स्वाहा. कुटाय स्वाहा. चिपटाय स्वाहा and ॐ मातृभ्यः स्वाहा. Then the performer dismisses that fire. Some people wish to perform in this manner after ten days on the twelfth night.[54]

Here ends the ritual of Sūtakāgnihoma (offering on the Sūtaka fire).

ततः एकादशेऽह्नि कर्ता स्थण्डिले अन्यस्मिन्नग्नौ शान्त्युदकं करोति । ततस्तेनोदकेन स्नातां[55] सूतिकामाचामति । अभ्युक्षति च । ततः स्नानकृतबालकं चैतत् । ततः कर्ता शान्तिं वाच्य । तदनन्तरं सूतकाग्निं गृहाद्बहिरैशान्यां दिशं नीत्वा राजपथे निक्षिपेत् ।

इति जातकर्मणि शान्त्युदकविधिः ।

Then on the eleventh day, the performer prepares *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) on *sthaṇḍila* on another fire on the *sthaṇḍila*.[56] He makes the woman who has delivered (a baby), who has taken a bath, sip that water and sprinkles (her with it). Then the same (procedure is followed) for the baby who is given a bath. Then the performer recites Śānti (mantras). Thereafter, taking the Sūtaka fire out of the house to the northeast direction he should dispose of it on the main road.

Here ends the procedure of (preparation of) *śāntyudaka*, (which is a component) in the Jātakarman.

अथ नामकरणविधिः कथ्यते ।

Now, the ritual of naming ceremony is described.

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53 सूतकाग्निः] corr. सूतकाग्नौ $NiKuGu_1Gu_3$, सूतकाग्नि Gu_2.

54 This means that some people wish to perform longer than ten nights, up to the twelfth night.

55 स्नातां] corr. स्नाता $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$.

56 The fire named Sūtaka, which was used for offerings for up to tend days, is dismissed. The Sūtaka fire is not to be used for the preparation of pacificatory water. Therefore, another fire with another name, probably Pragalbha (see Griffiths and Sumant 2018: 60 for different names of Agni) is invoked on the *sthaṇḍila.*

नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तेन विधिना तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे नामकरणं कुर्यात् । इति नक्षत्रकल्पे कथितम् । लोकस्तु ज्योतिःशास्त्रोक्तशुभदिवसे नामकरणं करोति ।

According to the ritual described in the Nakṣatrakalpa, one should perform the Naming ceremony on the very same day (that is on twelfth day from the birth, on which the ritual offering for twelve days is concluded). Thus, it is stated in the Nakṣatrakalpa. People, however, perform the naming ceremony on an auspicious day, as prescribed by (the text called) Jyotiḥśāstra.

उक्तं च ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।
रोहिण्युत्तररेवतीमृगशिरास्वष्ठानुराधाश्विनी वातादित्यहरित्रयं सवितृभ्रंशस्तेषु तिथ्यादिषु ।
दशैकादशकेऽथ द्वादशत रात्रेः कुलाचारतः सौम्यैः केन्द्रत्रिकोणशेष्वपि शिशोर्नाम्ना प्रदत्तं शुभम् ॥
अन्यच्च ।
ध्रुवमृदुचरवर्गे वाजि[Ku 75v]हस्तो समेते क्षणमदुदयमथैषां सत्सु केन्द्रस्थितेषु ।
दशदिशि च गताहे तत्कुलाचारतो वा शुभदिनतिथियोगे नाम कुर्यात्प्रशस्तम् ॥

And it is stated in the Jyotiḥśāstra. . . . and also . . . .[57]

नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् ।
पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्वित इति ॥
शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राज्ञो रक्षासमन्वितम् ।
वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् ॥
अन्यच्च ।
शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्य च ।
गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोरिति ॥

One should give the name to this (baby) on the tenth or twelfth day or on an auspicious lunar day (*tithi*) or during an auspicious time span of the day (*muhūrta*) or an auspicious constellation possessing specific characteristics.

The name of a Brahmin is joined with (a word) *śarman* (denoting happiness). The name of a Kṣatriya is connected with (a word denoting) *rakṣā* (protection). The name of a Vaiśya is connected with (a word denoting) prosperity and the name of a Śūdra is joined with (a word denoting) command.

And also (this is stated in the text):

It is said (in case) of (the name of a) Brahmin (that it should be connected with) *śarman.* It is said (in case) of (the name of a) Kṣatriya (that it should be connected with) *varman.* The name of a Vaiśya and of a Śūdra is praiseworthy, when has *gupta* and *dāsa* (connected to these names respectively).

57 These two verses in Jyotiḥśāstra indicating the auspicious day have been cited as found in the manuscripts without further editing. I prefer not to translate these corrupt verses.

अस्य विधिरुच्यते । गृहे नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तं तन्त्रमाज्यभागान्तं कुर्यात् । तदनन्तरं कर्ता चरुविधिना विश्वे देवाः[58] प्रजापतिः सरस्वती तदहर्नक्षत्रं जन्मनक्षत्रं वा इत्यादि क्षीरौदनं श्रपयित्वा । बालकं शान्त्युदकेनाचमनाभ्युक्षणं कारयित्वा । तदनन्तरं बालकमन्वालभ्य महेध्मानाधाय उक्तदेवताभ्यश्च चतुरवत्तधर्मेण[59] चरुं जुहुयात् । वाचस्पते पृथिवी नः स्योना इति तिसृभिर्ऋग्भिः प्रजापतये प्रत्यृचं क्षीरौदनं जुहुयात् । प्रत्याहुतिं प्रजापतये न मेति त्यागः । सरस्वति व्रतेष्वित्यृचा सरस्वत्यै अग्निर्देवा यजमानेत्यादि [60] नक्षत्रदैवतं तदहर्नक्षत्रमपि जन्मनक्षत्राधिदैवतं वा हुत्वा । यथा सूर्य इत्यृचा यो नौ भद्राहं इत्यृक् यदाहुः शकधूमाहमित्यृ[Ku 76r]चा शं मा वात इत्येका एतैराज्यं हुत्वा ।

Its procedure is being described. One should perform the *tantra* in one's house as prescribed in the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāga*s. Thereafter, the performer, in the manner of offering *caru*, cooks the rice (mixed) with milk for Viśve devas, Prajāpati, Sarasvatī, (the presiding deity of) the constellation of that day or (the deity of) the constellation at the time of the birth of the baby. He makes the child sip *śāntyudaka* and sprinkles (the child with) it. Thereafter, touching the baby (the performer) after putting the big logs (on the fire) should offer the *caru* to the (above-) mentioned deities with the procedure of *caturavattadharma* (by dividing the *caru* into four parts). With the three verses वाचस्पते पृथिवी न स्योना (PS 18.16.7–9), he should offer the milk-rice to Prajāpati (three times) with each verse. At each offering offering is with प्रजापतये न मे (this is for Prajāpati and not for me). He should offer (the same) to Sarasvatī with सरस्वति व्रतेषु (PS 20.27.10), to (the presiding deity of) the constellation of that day or to (the deity of) the constellation at the time of the birth with अग्निर्देवो यजमानः etc. He offers the clarified butter with the verses यथा सूर्यः (PS 8.6.9), यो नो भद्राहम् (PS 19.24.18), यदाहुः शकधूमम् (PS 19.24.19) and शं मा वातः (PS 20.34).

तदनन्तरं कर्ता रक्षन्तु त्वेत्येवमादि अहने च त्वेत्यन्तं रक्षामन्त्रान् बालकं स्पृष्ट्वा जपति । ततः कर्ता ये देवादि स्विष्टकृतान्तं कृत्वा । ततः शान्तिं वाच्य ।

Thereafter, the performer touches the baby and recites *rakṣāmantra*s (prayers for protection), beginning with रक्षन्तु त्वा and ending with अहने च त्वा (PS 16.2.1–4). Then the performer performs (the acts) beginning with ये देवाः ending with the *sviṣṭakṛt* offerings (that is the *ājyabhāga*s of the Uttaratantra), then he recites Śānti.

तदनन्तरं कर्ता संपश्यमाना इति सूक्तं ब्रूवन् बालकमीक्षेत् । माता च उत्तरीयवस्त्रेणाच्छाद्य । यथाकुलधर्मेण गृहाद्बहिर्निष्क्रामयति । ततः कर्ता प्राङ्गणे स्थण्डिलमुपलिप्य तस्मिन्नष्टदलपद्मं

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58 देवाः] corr. देवा $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$. As per their normal tendency, all manuscripts drop the *visarga* of देवा before प्रजापतिः.

59 चतुरवत्तधर्मेण] em. चतुरवद्धर्मेण $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$. For the discussion of this reading, see Griffiths and Sumant (2018: cxxiii).

60 Here also, we find double *sandhi* as the style of the author. The proper reading should be यजमान इत्यादि.

कर्णकैर्लिखित्वा[61]। तत्कर्णिकायां भगवन्तमादित्यं कर्ता पूजयित्वा। तदनन्तरं सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्या[62] इत्यर्धर्चेन बालकमादित्यं दर्शयेत्।

Then the performer should look at the baby with the recitation of the hymn संपश्यमानाः (PS 1.80). And the mother covers (the baby) with (her) upper garment. He makes (the mother with the baby) move out of the house as per the custom of the family. Then the performer prepares the *sthaṇḍila* in the courtyard. He draws an eight-petaled lotus with chalk. He worships the sun on the pericarp of the lotus (diagram). Thereafter, he shows the sun to the baby while reciting the half verse सुपर्णस्त्वाभ्यवपश्यात् (PS 1.80.5cd).

तदनन्तरं कर्ता बालकस्य दक्षिणकर्णे तस्य नक्षत्रदेवतानाम शर्मेत्यन्तं कथयति। ततो बालकस्य पिता दक्षिणकर्णे बालकस्येष्टनाम ब्रूयादिति।

Thereafter, the performer utters in the baby's right ear, its name as per the birth-constellation by attaching the word *śarman* at the end. Then the baby's father utters the baby's desired name in the baby's right ear.

नामलक्षणमाह। यदुक्तमर्थशास्त्रे।
नार्थहीनं न चाशस्तं नापशब्दयुतं तथा।
नामङ्गल्यं नायुग्मं वा नाम कुर्यात्समाक्षरम्॥
नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं नातिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम्।
सुखोच्चार्यं तु तन्नाम कुर्यान्न प्रणवाक्षरम्॥
स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमक्रूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोरमम्।
मङ्गल्यदीर्घवर्णोत्तमाशीर्वादाभिधानवत्॥
एवं पुंनाम कुर्यात्। स्त्रीणां तु वृक्षनदीऋक्षनगपर्वतादिवर्जमक्रूरमतिश्लक्ष्णमलंकारवत् समाक्षराभिधानं दद्यात्।

He declares the characteristics of the name as is stated in the (text named) Arthaśāstra:

The name should not be meaningless, not disapproved, not a vulgar word. It should not be inauspicious, not with the odd syllables. One should make is having even syllables (in it).

It should not be too long or too short. It should not contain many heavy syllables. The name that is easy to pronounce and does not contain the syllable *oṁ* should be given.

The name of a girl child should be easy to pronounce, not harsh, it should have a clear meaning and be beautiful. It should contain auspicious (meaning), should have long syllables, and containing good blessings.

61 कर्णकैर्लिखित्वा] NiKuGu$_1$Gu$_3$, वर्णकैर्लिखित्वा Gu$_2$.

62 Here again we see the strange style of cutting the last consonant of the *pratika.*

In this manner, one should give the name of a boy. The name of a girl child should not be (a name of) a tree, river, constellation, hill, mountain etc. It should not be harsh, it should be very soft, it should be like an adornment and with even syllables.

ततः [Ku 76v] कर्ता स्वस्तिवाचनं कुर्यात् । आशीर्वादं कारयेत् । कर्ता उत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् ।

इति सूर्यदर्शनसहितं नामकरणं समाप्तम् ।

Then the performer performs Svastivācana (proclamation of well-being). He makes (the elders) give blessings. The performer performs the Uttaratantra ritual.

Here ends the (ritual of) Sūryadarśanasahitanāmakaraṇa (Naming ceremony along with showing the sun).

अथ बालकस्यायुर्विवृद्ध्यर्थं प्रतिमासं जन्मतिथौ आधानकर्मोच्यते । ततः कर्ता पूर्ववन्नक्षत्रकल्पोक्ततन्त्रं आज्यभागान्तं कृत्वा पूर्ववच्चरुविधिनाग्निचन्द्रप्रजापतीन् श्रपयित्वा । ततः कर्ता त्वमग्ने प्रमतिरित्यृचाग्नये चरुं चतुरवत्तधर्मेण हुत्वा । पूर्ववद्यथादैवतं नामोद्दिश्य त्यागः । ततो नवो नवो भवतीति चन्द्राय । प्रजापते न हि त्वदन्य इत्यृचा मनसैव प्रजापतये हुत्वा । शेषं पूर्ववत् । इति चरुहोमं समाप्य ।

Now is described the act of establishing (the fire for offering)[63] every month on a child's birth-*tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to the birth) for the long life of the child. Then, the performer, performs the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāga*s (butter oblations to Agni and Soma at the end of the principal offerings) as (is described) earlier. He cooks (rice with milk) in the manner of cooking *caru*, for Agni, Candra and Prajāpati as earlier. Then the performer offers the *caru* to Agni with the practice of *caturavatta* (dividing the *caru* in four parts for four oblations) with the verse त्वमग्ने प्रमतिः (PS 1.54.1). Each offering is made by assigning the name of the deity, as before. (He makes an offering) to Candra (with the verse) नवो नवो भवति (PS 18.3.3). He makes an offering, to Prajāpati, only mentally with the verse प्रजापते न हि त्वदन्यः (PS 20.32.10). The rest (of the procedure is) as (prescribed) earlier (which includes an offering to Anumati, immediately following an offering to Prajāpati). In this manner he completes the *caruhoma.*

ततो होता मुञ्चामि त्वेति कण्डिका । आयुर्दा देवेति चतस्रः । एतैराज्यं हुत्वा । ततः कर्ता ये देवादि स्विष्टकृदन्तं हुत्वा । ततः शान्तिं वाच्य । एवं प्रतिमासं कृत्वेति । वर्षमेकं समाप्तं यावत् ।

Then, the *hotṛ* (recites) the hymn (*kaṇḍikā*) मुञ्चामि त्वा (PS 1.62) and the four verses (beginning with) आयुर्दा देव (PS 15.5.1–4). (The performer) offers clarified butter with these (verses). Then the performer performs (the acts) beginning with ये देवाः up to the *sviṣṭakṛt* offerings (in the Uttaratantra). Then he recites Śānti (verses). In this manner he performs (the ritual) every month until one year is complete.

63 This act seems to be the establishing of the *sthaṇḍila.*

तदनन्तरं प्रतिवर्षं जन्मतिथाविदं कर्मोच्यते । प्रतिवर्षकृते तु विशेषः । तद्यथा । मनायै तन्तुमिति कण्डिकासम्पातवत्कृतवस्त्रं धाता ते ग्रन्थिमित्यृचा[64] ग्रन्थिमाबध्नीयात् । ततः कर्ता तुभ्यमेव जरिमन्निति कण्डिकयोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य[65] बालकमाचामेत् । हुतशेषं क्षीरौदनं भोजयेत् । तदनन्तरं[66] होता दूष्या दूषिरसीति कण्डिकाप्रतिसरमभिमन्त्र्याबध्नीयात्[67] । ततः कर्ता[68] शेषं समापयेत् ।

इति मासवर्षवृ[Ku 77r]द्धिकर्म समाप्तम् ।[69]

Hereafter is described the ritual (to be performed) every year on the birthday (of the child according to the lunar calendar). But there is a distinction (in the procedure performed every month until one year, and which is performed on the birthday) every year. It is as follows: (He takes) a garment consecrated with the remnants of offerings (with the recitation of) the hymn मनायै तन्तुम् (PS 2.87), (and) he should make a knot (in it) with the verse धाता ते ग्रन्थिम्. Then the performer should make the child sip water (from) the water-pot (consecrated) with the hymn तुभ्यमेव जरिमन् (PS 1.12). He should feed (the child) the milk-rice, the remainder of the offering. Thereafter, the *hotṛ* should (recite) the hymn दूष्या दूषिरसि (PS 1.57) (and the performer should) tie the *pratisara* amulet consecrated with (the mantras in the hymn). Then the performer should complete the rest (of the procedure of the Uttaratantra).

Thus ends the rite of Māsavarṣavṛddhi.[70]

अथ निष्क्रमणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
चतुर्थमासि कर्तव्यं शिशोर्निष्क्रमणं गृहादिति ।
शास्त्रोक्तदिवसे निष्क्रमणं कर्तव्यमिति ।

Now, we will explain the ritual of the first taking out (of the the baby) (Niṣkramaṇa).

One should perform the ritual wherein the baby is taken out of the house for the first time in the fourth month (from the birth). The Niṣkramaṇa (ritual) is to be conducted on an auspicious day prescribed by the (Jyotiḥ)śāstra.

उक्तं च ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।
स्वात्यश्वितिष्यकरणमूलपुनर्वसुपौष्टानुराधहरिपङ्कजवासवेषु ।
वारे भृगुभानुशशीन्दुजानां निष्क्रमणं शुभकरं प्रथमं शिशुनाम् ॥

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64 ग्रन्थिमित्यृचा] NiKuGu$_1$Gu$_3$, om. Gu$_2$.

65 कण्डिकयोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य] em., जरिमन्निति कण्डिकोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य NiGu$_2$, जरिम कण्डिकोदपात्रमभिमन्त्र्य Ku, जरिमन्निति कण्डिकोदपात्ररभिमन्त्र्य Gu$_1$ Gu$_3$.

66 तदनन्तरं] Gu$_1$ Gu$_2$Gu$_3$, दतनन्तरं Ni, ततो Ku.

67 °भिमन्त्र्याबध्नीयात्] Ku Gu$_2$, °मभिमन्त्र्य बध्नीयात् NiGu$_1$Gu$_3$.

68 कर्ता] NiGu$_1$Gu$_2$Gu$_3$, om. Ku.

69 मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म समाप्तम्] em. इति मासवर्षवृद्धि समाप्त Ni, इति मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म्मं समाप्तम् Ku, इति मासवर्षवृद्धिकर्म्मं करोति ॥ समाप्तम् Gu$_1$Gu$_3$, इति मासवर्षवृद्धि समाप्तं Gu$_2$.

70 Sumant (2012–2013) contains the translation of this passage. However, a fresh translation has been presented here for the convenience of readers.

आर्द्राधोमुखवर्जितानुपहतेष्वर्क्षेष्वरिक्ते तिथौ वारे भौमशनीचरे घटतुलाकन्यामृगेन्द्रोदये ।
सद्दृष्टेऽथ चतुर्थमासि यदि वा मासे तृतीये शशिन्यक्षीणे शुभदे शिशोरतिनवं निष्क्रमणं कारयेदिति ॥

It is said in the Jyotiḥśāstra (text):

On (the constellations of) Svātī, Aśvinī,[71] Tiṣya, Karaṇa, Mūla, Punarvasu, Pauṣṭa (Puṣya), Anurādhā, Hari (that is probably Maghā, which falls in the Siṁha zodiacal sign), Paṅkaja (probably Abhijit, whose symbol is the lotus), Vāsava (Dhaniṣṭhā); on Fridays, Sundays, Mondays and Wednesdays, taking the babies out of the house for the first time is auspicious.

Avoiding the constellations of Ārdrā and the constellations (termed as) *adhomukha* (such as Āśleṣā etc.), on the unimpaired (i.e. auspicious) constellations, on the days avoiding *riktā tithi*s (which are the fourth, ninth, or fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight), (if Niṣkramaṇa is performed) on Tuesdays and Saturdays, (then only) when the zodiac signs of Kuṁbha, Tūlā, Kanyā and Siṁha have arisen, when aspected by auspicious (planets),[72] in the fourth month or in the third month when the Moon (of the child) is strong and auspicious, (on that day) the very first taking out of the child from the house is to be performed.

ततः कर्ता स्वस्त्ययनगणेन यथाकुलमर्यादानुसारेण शिशोर्निष्क्रमणं कारयित्वा । ब्राह्मणैराशीर्वादं कारयेत् ।

Then the performer, while reciting the Svastyayanagaṇa, should conduct the first taking out of the child from the house as per the customs of the family. He should make the Brahmins give blessings (to the child).

इति बहिर्निष्क्रमणम् ।

Here ends the ritual of Bahirniṣkramaṇa.

अथ षष्ठे मास्यन्नप्राशनं कर्मोच्यते ।

Then, the ritual of the (first) feeding (Annaprāśana) is being described, (which is to be performed) in the sixth month (from the birth).

यदुक्तं ज्योतिःशास्त्रे ।
षष्ठे मासि शुभे चन्द्रे पक्षे चाप्यसितेतरे ।
अन्नस्य प्राशनं कुर्यादितो यत्प्रथमं शिशोः ॥

---

71 This constellation is taken as Aśvinī in the translation, though the text has Aśvi.

72 *Saddṛṣṭa* is translated as "when aspected by auspicious (planets)". The plantes are classified as auspicious or inauspicious. *Dṛṣṭi* (aspect of a planet) is a specific characteristic assigned to planets in Astrology. The auspicious and inauspicious planets occupy a particular position (called a 'house') in the horoscope of a person depending on the birth time of that person. They completely influence the seventh house (and in the case of some planets even the other houses) from the occupied house. The aspects have good or bad effects on the life of a person.

हस्तापुष्यपुनर्वसुकमलजत्वाष्ट्रे[73] न्दुमिन्द्राश्विनीवायव्योत्तरवासवानलमघापौष्टास्वरिक्ते तिथौ ।
वारेष्विन्दुजभार्गवेन्दुदिनकृद्वाचस्पतीनां शिशोरन्नप्राशनमङ्गनामिथुनसोमानोदये(?) शोभनम् ॥
लाभत्रिषष्ठोपगताश्च पापाः सोमग्रहाश्च नवपञ्चमकण्टकस्थाः ।
लग्नेषु दैत्यशचिवर्ज्या बृहस्पतिनामन्नोपभोगकरणे विविधोपभोक्तेति ॥

As is said in the (text called) Jyotiḥśāstra:

One should perform the ritual of the first feeding of the child in the sixth month, in the bright fortnight, when the moon (as per the horoscope of the child) is auspicious.

The (first ritual) feeding of the child is favorable during the constellations of Hasta,[74] Puṣya, Punarvasu, Kamalaja, (probably Abhijit, whose symbol is the lotus), Tvāṣṭra (Citrā, whose deity is Tvaṣṭṛ), Mṛgaśīrṣa (whose deity is Indu, the Moon), Viśākhā (whose deity is Indra), Aśvinī, Svāti (whose deity is Vāyu), Uttara,[75] Dhaniṣṭhā (whose deity is Vasus), Kṛttikā (whose deity is Agni), Maghā and Pauṣṭa (Revatī (whose deity is Puṣan); not on the empty *tithi* (the fourth, ninth, or fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight); on Wednesdays, Fridays, Mondays, Sundays and Thursdays; and when the zodiac signs of Kanyā and Mithuna . . .[76].

अन्यच्च ।
दीप्तान[Ku 77v]लः कमलबन्धुदिने मनुष्यः शान्तानलः शशधरे कुजे रुगार्तः ।
बौधे बली विपुलभोगसुखः सुरेज्ये शुक्रे तु विक्रमयुतस्त्वशितो गतायुः ॥
आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते यशस्यं दक्षिणामुखः ।
श्रियं प्रत्यङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते ऋतं भुङ्क्ते उदङ्मुखः ॥
पञ्चपर्वसु सप्तम्यामेकादश्यां सितेतरे ।
शिशूनां प्राशनं हन्यादायुर्विद्यायशोबलमिति ॥

And also:

(If the ritual of the first feeding is performed) on Sunday, the man becomes of good appetite, on Monday of contented appetite, on Tuesday afflicted by diseases, on Wednesday of strong constitution, on Thursday the one with many enjoyments and pleasures, on Friday enjoined with victory (and) the one who has eaten (on Saturday) dead.

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73 त्वाष्ट्रे°] em. त्वाष्टे° NiKuGu$_1$Gu$_2$Gu$_3$.

74 The word Hasta is lengthened in the verse, perhaps *metri causa*.

75 I am not sure whether by Uttara, the text means Uttara Phālgunī, Uttara Āṣāḍhā or Uttara Bhādrapadā.

76 I am not sure what this °सोमानोदये means and I therefore refrain from translating this word. Probably by Soma the text means the zodiac Karka, presided over by the deity Moon. Also the reading of the verse following this one is obscure, and is hence left untranslated here.

(While feeding, the child) facing the east enjoys a long life. The one facing the south enjoys (what is) glorious. The one facing the west enjoys wealth. The one facing the north enjoys (the fruit of) righteousness.[77]

On the five *parvan* days (the days on which moon changes its course, namely the full moon, the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights), on the seventh and eleventh day of the dark fortnight, the ritual feeding of children harms life, knowledge, fame and strength.

ततः कर्ता शुभदिवसे नक्षत्रकल्पोक्तं तन्त्रमाज्यभागान्तं कृत्वा । तत्रौदनं स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा । ओदनं महाव्रीहीणां कर्तव्यम् । महाव्रीहिशब्देन बृहद्धान्यं शारदमिति । यवान्नं वा । ये त्रिषप्ता मुञ्चामि त्वेति द्वे कण्डिके । अहं रुद्रेत्यादिभिरष्टौ । ममाग्ने वर्च इति कण्डिका । यत्ते अन्नं यदन्नमद्मि[78] यस्यामन्नमित्येकैका । एतैरोदनमभिमन्त्र्य । ततः कर्ता तमोदनं कांस्यादिपात्रे निक्षिप्य । तस्य समीपे हिरण्यपुस्तकमूर्तिकादीन्यथाकुलधर्मेण स्थापयेत् । ततः कर्ता बालकं शान्त्युदकेनाचमनाभ्युक्षणं कृत्वा । तदनन्तरं शिवौ ते स्तामिति द्वाभ्यामृग्भ्यां तमोदनं प्रथमं बालकं प्राशयेत् । ततः अह्ने च त्वेत्यृचा अहोरात्राभ्यामपरमन्नं द्वितीयं प्राशनं ददाति । केचिदहोरात्राभ्यामग्रमन्नं ददाति । शरदे त्वेत्यृचा ऋतुभ्यस्तृतीयं प्राशनं दत्त्वा । ततो यथा[Ku 78r]सुखं शेषमन्नं बालकं प्राशयेत् । तदनन्तरमोदनस्य समीपस्थादिहिरण्यादीनां बालकोग्रे यत्र द्रव्यं गृह्णाति स तत्र भाजनमिति जानीयात् । ततः कर्ता उत्तरतन्त्रं कुर्यात् । ब्राह्मणैराशीर्वादं कारयेत् ।

On an auspicious day, the performer performs the *tantra* prescribed by the Nakṣatrakalpa up to the *ājyabhāga*s. He cooks rice (intended for) *sthālīpāka*. The rice should be cooked with the (rich variety of rice called) *mahāvrīhi*. By the word *mahāvrīhi*, one should understand the long grain ripening in autumn. Or (one should use) the grains of barley. He consecrates rice with the recitation of the mantras ये त्रिषप्ताः (PS 1.6), मुञ्चामि त्वा (1.62), the eight verses beginning with अहं रुद्रेभिः (ŚS 4.30.1), ममाग्ने वर्चः (PS 5.4), यत्ते अन्नम् (PS 1.63.1), यदन्नमद्मि [79] and यस्यामन्नम् (PS 17.4.11). Then the performer puts rice in a pot made of brass etc. He arranges near it (the rice pot) a piece of gold, a book and an idol (of god) as per the custom of the family. Then the performer makes the child sip *śāntyudaka* (pacificatory water) and sprinkles (the child) with the same. Then he makes the child eat that rice for the first time with the two verses beginning with शिवौ ते स्ताम् (PS 16.4.8–9). With the recitation of अह्ने च त्वा (PS 16.4.10) he gives the second feeding of other food (items) during the day and at nighttime. Some (recommend that he should) give the foremost (?) food day and night. The third feeding is in the accompaniment of the verse शरदे त्वा ... (PS 16.5.2) (to be modified) according to the seasons.[80] Then he

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77 The translation of this sentence is based on the meaning of the word *ṛtabhj*, 'enjoying (the fruit of) one's righteousness or pious works' given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary (2006: 223).

78 यदन्नमद्मि] em., यदन्नमज्मि $NiKuGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$.

79 For the complete mantra see item 4, point 4 above.

80 The mantra mentions four seasons Śarad, Vasanta, Hemanta and Grīṣma. The mantra is to be modified according to the season, in which the ritual is being performed as शरदे त्वा परिदद्मसि,

feeds the baby at ease. Thereafter, (he keeps) the things near the rice bowl in front of the child. Among them whichever thing (the child) lifts, he is entitled to achieve that (in the future). Then the performer performs Uttaratantra. He makes the Brahmins give blessings.

इतिश्रीमन्नृसिंहचरणपरिचारकश्रीमन्महोपाध्यायश्रीधरविरचितायांविवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां[81] जातकर्माद्यन्नप्राशनान्तं नाम कर्म समाप्तम् ।

Here ends (the chapter describing) the ritual beginning with Jātakarman up to the Annaprāśana in the Vivāhādikarmapañjikā composed by Mahopādhyāya Śrīdhara, who is the servant at Śrīnṛsiṁha's feet.

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DB= Dārilabhāṣya

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हेमन्ताय त्वा त्वा परिदद्मसि, वसन्ताय त्वा परिदद्मसि and ग्रीष्माय त्वा परिदद्मसि. This verse is an example of *vidhiprayogasaṁhitā*. The verse in the *ārṣisaṁhitā* is modified in the ritual. For the three types of Saṁhitā, see DB (p. 1, l. 12–p. 2, l.4). They are: *ārṣīaṁhitā*, *ācāryaaṁhitā* and *vidhiprayogaaṁhitā*. For more discussion on this, see Divekar 1971.

81 विवाहादिकर्मपञ्जिकायां] $NiGu_1Gu_2Gu_3$, विवाहकर्मपञ्जिकायां Ku.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111244433-018

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